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VOL. XIV.

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LIFE OF MARY DUDLEY.
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BRIEF MEMOIR

OF THE LIFE OF

JOHN CROKER.

"The Lord is with you, while ye be with Him; and if ye seek Him, he will be found of you."—2 Chron. xv. 2.

I WAS born on the eighth of the Twelfth month, in the year 1673, in the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon. My father was of the family of the Crokers of Lyneham, being by birth one called a gentleman. He married Anstice, the daughter of Nicholas Tripe, a shopkeeper at Kingsbridge, in that county. They were both early convinced of the blessed Truth, and stood boldly for it in the time of persecution, many times to the loss of their goods and imprisonment of their bodies, which they bore with patience, accounting it as nothing, in comparison with the blessed truth, which God had revealed and made them sharers of.

Although I was then but young, yet I can remember their love and zeal for the way of truth professed by them. Notwithstanding great was the rage of men against the professors of the light, which had discovered many of the dark ways of the professors of that time, my father and mother, with others, would not neglect the assembling of themselves together for Divine worship, but frequently met together, and took their children with them; and sometimes they met in the open streets, because they were forcibly kept out of their meeting-house. Thus they were made a gazingstock, and were mocked at by men of corrupt minds, who often ill-treated them, by pulling them down from their seats, and haling them before magistrates; who often separated husband from wife, and parents from their children. This was the lot of my father, who was kept a prisoner some time at Exeter, forty-four miles from home, and my mother was at the same time a prisoner in the Bridewell at Plymouth. In all these trials I never heard or saw them uneasy; but they often encouraged their children to be sober and good, that they might come to be the servants of God, and to stand in *their* places, when they might be called hence; believing, however it might fare with them as to outward things, that God would be a portion to their children, as they kept in his fear, and the lot of their inheritance, if they proved faithful; which would be the best of riches and the best of ornaments, far exceeding gold or silver, or any of the soft and shining raiments, which they themselves had found a concern, in a great degree, to forsake and deny; accounting all things as nothing, that they might win Christ, for whose sake they were made willing to be as the off-scouring of many people. They would not allow in us their children, that which they found Truth called them out of; but still showed us an example of self-denial, and constrained us, as much as in them lay, to refrain from all things that were not of a good savour, or seemed any thing like going back again into the rudiments of the world, or into that which they were brought to deny themselves of for Christ's sake.

Nevertheless, when I was young I found there was an evil stubbornness or rebellion, which grew in me; so that I often kicked at the reproofs of my parents, and slighted their tender counsel, and vainly spent my childish days to their, and since to my own, grief and sorrow; so that when they had brought me up to about twelve years of age, and educated me with some learning, as reading, writing, and arithmetic, and were earnest I should learn Latin, I was stubborn, and would not learn it.

In the year 1686, some Friends of Plymouth being about to remove to Pennsylvania, and I being willing to go with them, my father and mother concluded to bind me apprentice to a Friend, one John Shilson, by trade a serge maker, but who also professed surgery; with whom I went to be instructed in the art of surgery. They had a good end in it; for I was sensible my mother was greatly exercised for my preservation, and that I might be brought to a sense of the power of God, to work me

into a new lump; and by separating me from them and from my companions, I might be brought to a thoughtfulness how I had behaved myself towards them, and to a remembrance of my Creator in the days of my youth, before the strength of evil days came on. And truly this separation, and what I met with before I returned again, had a good effect upon me, as may be seen hereafter.

My parents' care for me was so great, that they sent in the same vessel with me a considerable parcel of goods, and appointed two Friends my overseers, who had the care of disposing of the said goods and the care of me, if anything might happen which should call for assistance, that I might not suffer too much the want of the things of this life; which proved very helpful. Soon after I came to Pennsylvania, my master put me with the rest of the servants into the woods, in order to clear land for a plantation; where I was made to work hard like the rest, for the space of about one year; in which time I often thought of my parents, and of their former care and advices, also of my stubborn rebellious behaviour towards them; which made me often say, "Lord forgive me, and look down in mercy upon me." Thus I mourned many times;—yet I soon got over it, and at times grew wanton and foolish with the rest of my fellows, and got over the reproofs of instruction, that were at work in my heart, which reproofs and chastisements I was not willing to bear. But the Lord intended good to me, and did not leave striving (at times) in my soul; and troubles outwardly followed one another, as the Lord saw good, for ends best known to himself. He soon took my master and mistress, their daughter and maid-servant out of the world, by the distemper of the country, which was then prevalent: then all our affairs in the country were shut up, and I was destitute as well as others of the servants, some of whom soon went off.

I still remained in the country with one young man. We were like two pilgrims walking up and down the woods, making use of such provisions as were left in the house, and what we gathered in the woods; which being a solitary life, various considerations of different matters came before my mind, concerning time and things past and present, and how the Lord had hitherto preserved me by sea and land; and that I was not swallowed up by the one, neither was I taken away by the distemper that reigned on the other,—being fearful of the latter, which was very mortal, having never had the seasoning of the country; but blessed be God I was never sick there. As the sense of these things grew on me, love to God increased in my bosom; and this drew me into tears and solitary sittings with my Bible in my hand, reading oftener than I commonly used to do,—desiring the Lord to open my understanding in what I read, and to show me my duty, for I was willing to serve him; and that he would be pleased to open a way for my return to my father's house, for now I was free from my apprenticeship by the death of my master;—then would I serve him, and be obedient to my tender parents, and walk in awfulness before the Lord the remaining time I had to spend;—with some such breathings as honest Jacob had, when he said to this effect—If God will be with me in the way that I go, so that I come again in peace to my father's house, then shall the Lord be my God, and I will serve him.

Although I did not suffer want as to food, not having spent what was left by the deceased, yet being fifteen miles from Philadelphia, those Friends to whom my father had committed the care of me in case I should meet with any adversity, consulted each other what to do with me, until they could hear from my father, which they endeavoured to do, with what speed they could. In the mean time, one of them, James Fox, took me to his house, where I remained a little while doing such small business as I was set about, being still in the country about the same distance as before. At length they got me into the city, and put me to school to George Keith, who was then in esteem among Friends. But growing high and conceited in his arts and parts afterwards, he became troublesome to Friends and himself; so that at length for the clearing of truth, they were forced to deny him, and he became disesteemed, like unsavory salt, as it were trodden under feet of men. Before they (the two Friends) heard from my father, I began to take liberty, and forsook my very frequent retirements, wherein I had been often tendered and broken before the Lord; and thus I became indifferent, and came to a loss as to my inward state and condition. But God having many ways of visiting his people, in order to bring them to a sense of their states, yet found me out, and another sore trial I had to pass through, whereby I might see the Lord could and would do as seemeth good in his sight; and that those who will not bow in mercy, he will make to bow in judgment, and they shall see the goodness of God in and through all—which was my lot: indeed the great goodness of God to me, I hope I shall never forget.

After a while I heard from my father, who was desirous of my return; and in order thereunto my friends made preparations, and got me a passage in a vessel to Newcastle upon Tyne, in England; in which vessel they put some effects, which might be for my accommodation when I came to England, as well as to carry me to my father, who lived some hun-

dreds of miles distance from Newcastle. Some other effects were put on board another vessel, which sunk in the sea, but being in company with other ships, the crew were saved by boat. So after having been four years in the province of Pennsylvania, I embarked for England, having taken leave of my friends in Pennsylvania, with hopes I should now see my native land, and my dear parents and relations.

Notwithstanding our vessel was alone, and it was war time, we were in hopes that the Lord would carry us safe. We were preserved on the boisterous seas, until, according to the opinion of the sailors, we were within one hundred leagues of England, when we met with three ships. The master of our vessel (who was a Friend) was willing to speak with those vessels, to know what news in England, though persuaded to the contrary by his mate, who feared what they might be. But to our great trouble and sorrow, they proved to be three French privateers, who soon bid us strike; and presently they hoisted out their boats, and came and stripped us almost naked, and dispersed us, some on board one ship, and some on board another, and afterwards they separated themselves; for one of those ships went for France with our vessel, and the other two were parted in a mist, so that they could not see each other, nor come together again. This fresh exercise brought more than a common fear upon me, (I being in one of those ships that remained at sea,) fearing how I should be dealt with, and what sufferings I should undergo. I was, in respect of clothes, almost naked, and destitute of relief, beyond what our enemies would be pleased to bestow; whose hearts God so far opened towards us, that we did not want for bread or water, and sometimes were allowed pork, beef, peas, and beverage, and at certain times a draught of sour wine; yet still I was in fear, not knowing whither we should be carried.

The ship in which we were, being a privateer of twenty-six guns, and out at sea on that account, she sailed far northward, until we fell in amongst islands of ice, and were forced to lie by in the night, for fear we should run amongst some of these islands, or great rocks of ice. For about six weeks I took my rest on the boards in the ship's hold, in which time they chased one vessel, which, when they came near to her, was thought to be too mighty for them, and the ship wherein we were, being the better sailer, they let the said vessel pass without examining what she was. Soon after they took a Dutch ship bound for Newfoundland, which had little on board, only ballast and a few cheeses; which vessel and men they rifled, and took the vessel with them to Newfoundland; and as we drew near it, they put us on shore upon a small island or rock, (which lay between some other islands,) upon which there was no house, nor any fresh water or shelter. Being twenty-eight of us in number, they gave us a sail and some oars and poles, to make a tent; in which we all lay without any beds, having only some straw, which they brought us, and stones for our pillows, with which we were forced to be contented. Yet I found God's providence was over me, so that I was preserved healthy and sound. Oh! the great goodness of God is fresh in my mind, now at the time of my writing this, and I hope the impression of it will remain as long as I live; so that I may never forget what I met with in my youth, and how the Lord preserved me through it all.

The French used once or twice a week to visit us, and bring us some spruce beer, water, pork, peas, and plenty of bread. Of the bread we eat sparingly, laying up some in store against a time of scarcity, fearing such might come; the bread we hid in some of the hollow rocks, that it might not hinder or stop them from bringing or supplying us with more as usual. There were also about our rock, or little island, plenty of lobsters, of which we caught some, and boiled, and ate them, which were a great help to us; and although we were not in any great want considering our circumstances, yet we were but thinly clothed, and the season not very hot;—I having left me only one shirt, one pair of breeches, and a hat; until some taking compassion on me, gave me a thin linsey-woolsey frock, one old shirt, and an old pair of stockings and shoes, for which I was very thankful.

In this mean condition, I with the rest continued on this island about six weeks, in which time we contrived our escape. There was an island at about half a mile distance from us, which was inhabited by the French for the fishing, whose boats went to and fro by us almost every day; and there were also on our island, some pieces of boards and wood, which had been used, I suppose, by the Frenchmen, at times when they dried fish there, and were by them left; their boats were also lying at a wharf on the said inhabited island, but guarded, as we afterwards understood, though then unknown to us. We one day took particular notice of one of their boats, which, with several others, lay near the said wharf; and our men proposed in the night by a float, to endeavour to swim out and get it. We, therefore, made a raft, by tying together with rope-yarn such wood and boards as we found on the island, and two of our men, notwithstanding several privateers were lying by us as a guard, were so courageous, that they adventured in the night to stand on this raft we had made, and put off towards the boat which we had observed. Having got to her, they found nobody in her, and

the watch or guard being in their huts very busy in discourse, those two men cut the moorings of the boat, and let her fall off with the tide which was going out, and brought the boat towards us; by their help, we attained the same, which made us rejoice.

There happened (far beyond expectation) to be in the boat, oars, sails, a compass, some pork and butter, a tinder box and candle, with materials for striking fire; also some of the Frenchmen's jerkins, made of lamb skins, with the wool inward, and a pottage pot, an axe, and some fishing lines; all which were very needful and serviceable to us. We soon got what we had into the boat, having in six weeks time saved about two hundred weight of bread, which was now of great service; and such of us as were willing, being in number twenty-five, got into the boat, leaving seven, who were of fearful hearts, behind us,—our number having been increased since our being put ashore on the island, they having added more to us. And trusting ourselves to Divine Providence, we put off for the main ocean, amidst the mighty waves of a troublesome sea, not without divers fears lest we should be taken again by our enemies, or swallowed up by the great waters, the waves of which grew very high and dreadful. Although it did not rain, yet we could not keep ourselves dry, because the sea broke and ran so high over our boat, that some of us were forced with our hats to be often casting the water out, while others managed her by rowing and sailing. After being three nights and two days in this open boat, through the good hand of Providence, we arrived at the wilderness part of Newfoundland, (where were no inhabitants,) being almost wearied out; but before we went on shore we cast our hook and line, and it proved to be on the right side of our boat, for we soon caught some famous cod fish, which we carried ashore, and making a fire dressed them, and there we satisfied our hunger. We then made a great fire on the beach, and laid ourselves down to rest; and for my part, I think I may say, I never slept more sweetly in a bed, than I did on those stones, notwithstanding the impression of them remained in my sides for some time afterwards. I cannot forget to bless God for this deliverance, and to admire his wonderful providence, who had preserved us, and given me strength and health to undergo such hardships,—who, when with my parents, had been brought up in the full plenty of all things needful.

"O! Lord, keep me in the remembrance of these things, that I may ever trust in thee." This I believe was a day of tender love to my soul, whereby I was to be humbled, and brought to a sense of my former misspent time; that I might no more seek my own ways, but give up in obedience to the leadings of God's holy Spirit, which leads out of the broad way into the narrow way of life and peace; and this sweetens all afflictions, and leads to glorify the name of the Lord, who is worthy for ever.

In the morning we got into our boat again, and committed ourselves for direction to George Stidson, who was mate of our former ship, and had formerly been in these parts, and knew most of the places of fishery in Newfoundland. About the middle of the day we came to the entrance of a small fishing place, I think called Renuse. It being war time, the inhabitants, (who were but few,) were greatly surprised by reason of our number, fearing we were come to rob them; and with what men and arms they had, they appeared very furiously against us, to oppose our landing; so that we were afraid they would without mercy have fired on us and taken away our lives, before they knew what we were. At length, with signs and loud words, to let them know what we were, we stopped their intention; and they sent a single man to us in a small boat, who, finding we were all English, and had no arms, but were poor, ragged, and distressed men, invited us kindly ashore, by the name of brothers! This I looked on as a fresh deliverance from the point of death; for if they had fired on us, no doubt but some of us had been killed. When we came on shore, they treated us with a good fire, spruce beer, and broiled fish; this was grateful to our hungry stomachs and weary bodies, and the best return we had to make them for the favours we received, was our thankful acknowledgements, and to give them an account of what we had met with; which so far opened their hearts, that they desired our stay awhile with them.

We stayed with them two or three days, and then with return of thanks took our leave of them, and went into our boat again, intending to keep along near the shore, until we came to some place where we might meet with shipping. So like wayfaring men we called at a place or two, and tarried a night; when the people hearing of us before we came, entertained us cheerfully, for which we were thankful. At length we came to a cove, called Todes Cove, where they had not heard of us before, and our coming surprised them, that they repaired to their arms; but they became soon sensible what we were, and let us come on shore. There was but one dwelling at that place, the master's name, as I remember, was Dier; he had many servants, and cured much fish: he entertained us with much civility, and we stayed and helped him about his fish several days. Here our mate (the chief amongst us) fell dangerously ill, which proved an exercise to us all, and to me in particular, for I had a kindness for him,

he being always civil to me, both before we were taken by the French, and after, during the time we were together. We took the best care of him we could, and wrapping him very warm, laid him on a hand-barrow, and carried him to the boat; and taking leave of our noble landlord, we made what haste we could to the Bay of Bulls, where he had an aunt, to whose care we left him, and hastened to a place called St. Johns, (where we understood lay a fleet of ships,) hoping to meet with a passage for England: but when we came there we found they were bound to Cadiz and Bilboa.

Now my sorrow began afresh, and as great as ever; for I not being a sailor, and but about seventeen years of age, not any of the ships would admit me as a passenger, fearing they should not be paid for my passage; and a sailor they did not look upon me to be. My fellow-prisoners and companions dispersed themselves, some in one ship and some in another, and disposing of the boat and materials, turned all to their own use, leaving me destitute of friends, relations, acquaintances, and money, in a strange country,—having nothing wherewith to make friends, unless the Lord was pleased to raise some up for me. To Him, therefore, I made my complaint in secret: and I was willing to be as contented as I could, taking my walks amongst the inhabitants, who were generally kind, and gave me at their houses bread and fish, when I looked for it. When night came I lodged in an open boat, or in a hay-loft, such as I could most conveniently meet with. I was but very thinly clothed, and dirty for want of change. The cold winter was coming on, which is grievously hard in those countries: the ships were hastening away for fear of the frost, and no more were expected that season. All these circumstances increased my sorrow, and my near approaches to God in these great straits,—that he would be pleased to spare me, and work a way for my deliverance out of that country; and I would serve him according to the strength and wisdom, which he might in his love be pleased to bestow on me. At these times I brought myself under promises, which I desire, at the writing of this, the Lord would please to bring to my remembrance,—that if I have not performed them, I may strive with all diligence to the performance of them; for he is good and worthy to be served by all who have received the least of his mercies and favours.—"Lord, humble the hearts of the people;—bring them to see their own outgoings, and what any of us are without thee, who art the alone help of thy people;—when all men forsake them, thou hast worked a way for them unthought of, as thou didst for the least of many thousands."

Before the fleet sailed, I heard that there was one vessel that was bound for Bristol, with train oil and fish, one Barrister being owner or master. To him I made my application, laying before him my distressed condition, which I believe he was not insensible of; but, like one of a hard heart, he would not admit me a passage in his vessel, unless I paid him three pounds before I went, which I could not do, being not worth three farthings. This made me mourn to see him so hard, and with a heavy heart I went on shore; but still being earnest to try the second time, I entreated him again for a passage, desiring him to consider my condition, and that he was sensible I had not then wherewith to pay him, but he should be faithfully paid when I came to England. All this seemingly made no impression on him; so that my countenance began to show the sorrow of my heart, and tears began to fall from my heavy eyes; and I passed from his presence without any hope. But in an unexpected manner the Lord was pleased to order it thus:—there was a merchant on board with this Barrister, who, perceiving the sorrowfulness of my countenance, came after me with compassion, as one sensible of my grief, and desired to know my name and the place of my birth, which I readily told him; he then inquired my father's name and trade, and in what part of the town of Plymouth he lived, which I told him likewise. It so struck him, that he said, "What, are you his son?—how came you in this condition? I am sorry to see you thus; for I know him," (meaning my father.) "Well, I would not have you trouble yourself, for you shall go for England, if I pay your passage; and my wife (said he,) is going in the same vessel, and whatever you want, apply to her, and she shall assist you."

This sudden alteration brought renewed thankfulness upon my heart to God, the author of all these favours and deliverances, that in such an unthought of way, when my expectations were laid aside, He should raise up a friend to make way for my returning to England. I have cause to remember these things; although I had another sharp season to pass through, before I set my feet in my native land, which was then hid from me, but was after the following manner. After this my great friend, (whose name was Strong, a brother to one of the same name, a schoolmaster in Plymouth,) had made way for me, by promising payment for my passage, and I was got on board the ship; the master being a wicked base fellow, after we were out at sea, would not let me have a cabin, but I was forced to lie between two hogsheads of train oil. This was hard lodging,—yet necessity obliged me to be as contented as I could; and I can truly say, my lot was often made sweet to me; for the thoughts and meditations of my heart were very often upon

the law of my God, and I had comfort and delighted myself therein. Yet having nothing but my wearing clothes day or night to keep me warm, which had not been washed or changed for two months; I need not relate how it was with me. But not to leave the reader without some charity towards the master, I may let him know that he afterwards dealt with me somewhat more favourably; for having lodged some nights in this condition, he gave me an old sail, to lay under me, or partly over me as I pleased; for which I was thankful to God, being a favour I wanted, and also thankful to the master for showing some good nature.

The sense of what I had met with, and the goodness of God which I had experienced in it, with the consideration of my former transgressions, drew me into tenderness of heart and brokenness of spirit, so that my very head and hair would be wet with tears; and the Lord was often near me in his goodness. Oh! that I may never forget that day!—but that it may be imprinted upon my mind, and engraven on my heart, as with the point of a diamond, that I may always have it in my view; that when I may meet with afflictions in my older years, I may look back to the days of my youth, like Job,—who desired it might be with him as in the days of his youth, when the secret of God was upon his tabernacle, and in whose light he walked through darkness; which dark ways the Lord hath in some measure now given me to see, by the lifting up the light of his countenance upon me. I am not able to express the seasons that I had upon the mighty waters during that great affliction,—which makes me say, it was good for me that I was afflicted, or else I had gone astray; for now I know of thy judgment, O Lord,—and I can praise thee for thy manifold mercies, which are lengthened out beyond my deserts: and what shall I render to thee, O Lord, for them all, but holy praises and high renown for ever!

After about ten or twelve days sail, having had pretty good weather and wind most of the time, we unexpectedly in the night, fell in with the Land's End of Cornwall, on the north side of it: the wind increasing blew us in very near land, which put the seamen in a fright, believing they should all be drowned, and the vessel wrecked; for the wind rent our mainsail in pieces, which occasioned a great outcry and trouble to get another to the yard. During this I lay still, believing it not fit for me to appear amongst them at that time, their fury being great towards each other. I lay as much retired as I could, with my mind freely given up to death, if the Lord did so please; at which time I thought I enjoyed abundance of sweetness in my heart, and the thought of death was nothing, the sting being taken away. I heard the master say, there was not a soul likely to be saved, and that he and another would get into the long boat, and the rest should shift for themselves;—this he said several times. But it pleased God, who commandeth both wind and sea, and sayeth—"thus far and no farther shalt thou come," that the wind began to turn easterly; so that with some nicety as well as Providence, (day coming on,) we weathered the Land's End. Now there being some hopes, I was willing to see what danger we had been in, therefore I got upon the deck, and I think, had I thrown a stone, I might have struck the rock;—this I accounted another great deliverance.

The wind still continuing high, we came up the South Channel before Plymouth, my native town, as far as Dartmouth in Devon, and we ran in there. The wind being very strong, before we could come to an anchor, our foreyard arm broke, and we went a-head of all the ships which were then in that road. At length we dropped our anchor, but it did not hold, so that we drove until we were astern of all those ships, and no boats were able to come and help us, so that some cried out we must go. At last the anchor held, and we weathered it that night, and the next morning the wind ceased, so that the boats came to us, and helped us in, where we lay safe, and seemed to be out of danger of the sea, and of the privateers which were on it. Thus I was likely to put my feet again on English ground, and but about thirty miles from my father's house. Before this, my father had heard of my being taken, but could not understand where I was, and had sent several letters to France, and supplies were ordered for me there, but he could not hear of me; so he concluded I was not in the land of the living. This was cause of sorrow to my parents to think, if they had not sent me away, I might have been living; but, however, it all worked together for my good, and I believe God had a hand in it.

Now, being come ashore, and having escaped from being imprest by reason of my being but a youth (for most of the men were imprest into the King's service, to help to man out the fleet, which lay then at Plymouth,) the master took me to one Lane, a merchant, at Dartmouth, to whom I gave a bill on my father for my passage. As soon as the merchant understood on whom I could draw the bill, he began to look at me, and compassion was opened in him towards me; and he offered me what money I would have, being sorry to see me in such a condition, for he said he knew my father well. So I took some money of him, and some of another man, who was going with me to Plymouth; at which place I now, indeed, longed to be, having called to mind my father's house, like a prodigal son now returning thither. Therefore, after I had bought a few things to shift me,

which I soon did to my great refreshment, I, in company with the seamen that were imprest, set out and went for Plymouth, and unexpectedly came to my father's door; where I found my dear mother first, to whom there was not a quick discovery; but after some discourse, I made myself known to her, who with open arms received me, being as one that had been dead and was now alive again, and hoping this trial would work for my future good. This I am sensible it did;—for it so humbled me, that I was often thinking on what I had met with, and how the Lord had preserved me, which made me very humble and low in my mind, taking heed to the commands of my parents; and I feared to rebel against them, and minded what company I kept, being now willing to be as good as I could.

I spent some time in reading alone, and frequented meetings both abroad and at home, sometimes going ten miles to a meeting and home again at night on foot, with much satisfaction.

My careful parents, who now began to take some comfort in me, being willing I should learn some trade, which I was myself free to do, gave me liberty to choose my trade, and in what city or town I pleased; and in order thereunto, my father put some money into my hand, and bid me try, by looking amongst tradesmen. So I rode to Exeter, and intended, if I could not please myself there, to go for London, it being about the time of the Yearly Meeting, and I between seventeen and eighteen years of age, as I suppose. When I came to Exeter, I thought a fuller or a tucker was a good trade; so with the assistance of a Friend, I agreed with one who was of that business, and was accounted a civil man, but not one called a Quaker. He traded mostly to Holland. I was to serve him six years, and he was to have thirty pounds paid him at the time of sealing my indentures, and eighty pounds if he sent me to Holland the last two years. My father seemed to be pleased with it, and I went forward with my apprenticeship. But, alas! I found myself exposed to many temptations; for my master proved to be an ill-company keeper, and a night-playing man; which caused me often to walk the streets in the night, to search the taverns and alehouses for him, or else I had no peace at home with my mistress. Sometimes he would come home with me pretty contentedly, and at other times would be in a passion, and sometimes keep me up with him all night, several times tempting me to play, offering to lay wagers on me, that I would worst the company at cards,—which I dared not meddle with, but always put him off with desires to go home, and urging that my mistress waited up for him. Sometimes I prevailed with him, and sometimes not; so that I have been forced to sleep in the chimney corner, and in the morning to take a nap and rise up to work. I am no way accused in myself, that I ever spent any idle time in his service: but I was as diligent as I could be, to serve both of them; and being conscientious, I believed I ought to serve them to the utmost I could, in what was lawful and not burthensome to my conscience.

My master, following this course of life, was, in about two years after I came to him, forced to put himself into the Mint, (a prison so called;) and what he had left was seized, and the very goods of his house were carried away; so that his wife and children were forced to retire to her father's, and myself to seek fresh business, or another master. This brought fresh care upon me, for I was willing to attain to a business if it could be; but being a Quaker, few would be concerned with me: so I worked as a journeyman, and lodged at a Friend's house, boarding myself. At length, finding my stay was not likely to avail me much, I concluded to return to my father who readily received me, and I set myself at work in my elder brother's trade, being a serge weaver; and to combing of wool I went, and earned six or seven shillings a week by my work, which brought me in money for a time. It was not long before my father bought an estate in the county of Cornwall. He was a tobacconist, and it being war time, he laid down all business, and retired into the country, and lived in a house with my elder sister, who was married to Francis Fox, a shopkeeper in Germains, where my father and mother remained until their death, and then my eldest brother went thither.

My father having left me a room at Plymouth, I continued there and lived retired, doing little for a livelihood in the world, spending most of my time in reading, and did some small matter in purse making, which I generally gave away. My desires often were to the Lord, that he would be pleased to open a way of some business for me, that I might be taken off from such inconvenience as did sometimes attend by reason of idleness, which often brought sorrow in calling over the actions of the day. For setting them in order before the Judge of my conscience, those things which were done amiss brought trouble, which caused sorrow and tears, as well as prayers that the Lord would pass them by, and open of his wisdom more and more in my heart, and that I might not act contrary to his mind. For those, which some call small things, and not worth minding, caused me sore exercise, so that I found a daily cross was to be kept to, in the management of words and conversation in this world; or else a good state might be soon lost, which I was under the fear of. I found, when I had considered of those things which I had done, spoken, or acted in the fear of God, it always brought peace; and I took

my rest with true content in the will of God, however he might be pleased to deal with me in the night season. The Lord preserve my dear children in this state, where they may often inquire within themselves, (for whose sake I am willing to leave these things,) and that they may learn obedience, and serve the God of their father, who wonderfully preserved him by sea and land, and brought him through many perils and straits of various kinds; for which I have reason to bless God, to whom be glory given for evermore!

Soon after this period, (viz. about the year 1695,) the Lord was pleased to deprive me of my dear and honourable mother, who was in her day a noble woman for Truth, and who retained her integrity to God, and love to Friends to the end. I doubt not but she resteth in peace with the Lord. This was a trying time to me, and it made an impression on my very countenance. I then retired into the country to my father, who was soon after brought to his bed by reason of a sore distemper in his feet. So I waited on him, and to keep myself from idleness and get a little money, I put forward some small business, which was spinning of tobacco, my father's former occupation.

My dear mother had always been a great help to me in my spiritual exercises, being sensible there was something at work in my heart which wanted to be perfected; and she would be very tender, and help me what she could. I had not courage to make my mind known to any after her decease, although my heart was many times loaded more heavily than I could bear, not knowing the reason of it; but in private places I sought relief by tears and prayers, which no mortal besides myself did know of, unless it was by the alteration in my countenance and deportment, which might visibly appear: although I always behaved as cheerfully when in company as I could; but I am persuaded my dear mother had some sense of it, and that her prayers were heard on my behalf.

I now began to think of a settled life, and I had cast my eye on a virtuous young woman, the daughter of John and Margery Peters, of Minver, in the county of Cornwall. I was not hasty in proceeding, but well considered it, and laid the thing before the Lord in my heart, desiring, that if it were not the Lord's pleasure it should be so, he would remove it out of my mind, or else that he would increase my love towards her, which I found still continued with me. But when I was retired before the Lord I could think of her with abundance of sweetness, although I had not seen her for sometime, nor ever (that I remember) had been in her company above twice, she living at about twenty-six miles distance from me, and I had not been more than once at their house, although often invited by her parents.

Being come to the twenty-second year of my age, having in my time passed through various states, especially straits and great disappointments, and being about to enter into the state of marriage, I proposed to myself some comfort, believing I was going to be joined to a true help-mate, as well in relation to spiritual as temporal things, and that the Lord would favour us with his goodness and blessing together in this world. So in seasonable time we accomplished our intentions of marriage, to the good liking and well wishes of our relations and friends, being satisfied the Lord sanctioned our affections, and that by his Spirit we were united.*

We resided with our father and mother Peters, and carried on some business, which was blest, and we increased in this world's goods; for which we were greatly thankful to God, and the thoughts thereof often humbled our

* Respecting John Peters, the young woman's father, the following particulars, by way of testimony, are given by Thomas Gwin, of Falmouth, in a small volume printed 1709, entitled, "A Brief Narrative of the Life of John Peters."

"Mine acquaintance with him was of above thirty years standing: in which time, having had frequently the benefit of his company, both at home and abroad, I never observed any carriage or deportment in him but what was savoury and becoming the Gospel. He had a well ordered family, which he governed with discretion, bringing up his young ones in the fear of the Lord; though but one, and that a good son, survived him. He bore admirably and sweetly the sad providences that attended him, when it pleased the Lord to take away his tender children, not only those that died young, but those also who were grown up, and were very sober and hopeful. He laboured faithfully in the Lord's vineyard, both in doctrine and discipline; yet took great care, if possible, to give offence to none, so as to drive them further from the truth. He was of the mind of the husbandman in the parable, who would not presently have the fruitless tree cut down, but would dig about it, and try it one year longer. Yet he was very zealous against all enormities, and undue liberties: labouring, if possible, to reclaim such as wandered thereinto, and, if not, to testify against them, that the profession of the Truth might be cleared. His ministry was sound and living, tending more to the reaching of the heart, than the tickling of the ear. And as his ministry was very intelligible, and attended with plainness, and demonstration, and power, to the piercing of many hearts, and the tendering the souls of those that heard him, and to the binding up the broken hearted, and comforting the mourners; so his conversation and behaviour answered and came up to it,—being full of gravity and solidity; never un-preaching in his behaviour and carriage, what he delivered as doctrine. I have given but short touches concerning the life and labours of this servant of God; but in fine, his life was a life of diligence, and of faithfulness, and of much exercise, which he cheerfully underwent for the Truth's sake. The love of God, the divine origin and well-spring of virtues, ruled in his heart; and in that love he lived, laboured, and passed the time of his sojourning here: and the sweet sense thereof did greatly adorn his languishing bed and last moments of time, and therein he had sweet peace under all his afflictions and sore distemper: in which love he finished his course, and concluded his days, and is fallen asleep in the Lord. His body was interred the thirteenth of the Seventh month, 1708, at the burying ground of our Friends at Minver."

uls, so that we were not unmindful of prais-
g God for it. Yet there remained something
ith me, which often led me into solitary walks
nd private retirements, sometimes into prayer,
nd sometimes I read, and sometimes I sat still,
s one waiting to hear; the reason hereof I
new not,—for I was careful not to offend God
anything which I knew he required of me:
et still it increased, insomuch that morning
nd evening, it became my constant practice to
tire; at which times I cried, and desired the
ord would be pleased to make known his
ind to me, that then I would obey him, if it
ere to the giving up of my natural life.

At last it was discovered to me;—but then I
anted signs and tokens, that I might be cer-
in it was the Lord's requiring,—fearing, be-
ause the enemy, working many times in a
ystery, had deceived many: and he was like-
y to have reasoned all good out of me, and
ade me prove disobedient to the call of God,
ough not without a desire of performing his
ill. However, I thought if this or the other
tranger would speak to my condition, or tell
e what God required of me, I would not then
onsult with flesh and blood any longer. So it
leased God to answer my desire; for several
pake to me and bid me be faithful. And up-
n a time, on a first-day morning, as I was
alking alone, and more out of thought than
sual, it opened in me like a voice, saying,
This day will I open thy mouth, if thou art
aithful to me.' It seemed to surprise me, and
eing willing to be more acquainted with this
oice, I turned myself about, and walked fur-
her into the orchard, desiring the Lord to be
isdom and strength to me; and it rested with
ne that that was the day of the trial of my
bedience. So I went home, and prepared for
he meeting, to which most of our family went.
sat retired, until at last the word of the Lord
as with me as a fire; my father and mother-
n-law Peters, both took a little time in the
neeting,—which I thought had relation to me,
nd my then present exercise; yet, I found it
ard to give up. But being sensible it was my
luty, at the latter part of the meeting I spake
few words; and, although it was a little out
f my season, yet I was thereby as one dis-
harged of a great and heavy load, and comfort
ame into my soul; so that I found it was good
o obey the Lord. Being faithful in the few
hings, he made me ruler over more; so that I
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nd began to be concerned for the discipline of
Truth, that it might be kept up, and its first
nd primitive simplicity maintained amongst
s; that we might not only profess the princi-
les, but also be found like the first proselytes
f Truth in this island, in plainness of dress
nd fewness of words, as well as fearfulness of
running after the gain of riches, or too much frequenting the conversation of the people of the world; because there are many snares and dangers in it, which many incline after, respecting which, at times, I was concerned both to speak and write.

Thus, for about three years I passed my time, in the enjoyment of a tender and affectionate wife, who truly feared the Lord, and with whom I had great comfort; and we were a strength and rejoicing to each other. But at length it pleased the Lord to take from me my dear wife in the year 1699. What shall I say;—it was a near parting and a sharp exercise: yet, I was made to say, surely the Lord is good, let him do as it pleaseth him, and who dares to speak hardly, or say why doest thou so? Job said, the Lord gives and he takes away, blessed be the name of the Lord. God knows what is best for us, better than we ourselves; therefore I will labour to be contented in his will, and to follow after that; hoping we may meet again where all disappointments are at an end: for all things here are uncertain, and man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upwards. There is no dependence on anything below the sun, therefore my dependence shall be in the right arm of His salvation; hoping he will carry me through this vale of tears,—and how soon, the Lord only knoweth; I desire not length of days, but that I may at last finish my course in peace.

I found I had in some way or other received hurt; for there seemed to come over me a cloud of thick darkness, so that my mouth was stopt for a time; and I was as in a wilderness, having no comfort in meetings nor in retirements, but great temptation followed me, and it was with me sleeping and waking, insomuch that I was not able to follow my business. At last I thought I would make my state and exercise known to my father and mother-in-law Peters, who were not only related to me by marriage, but were truly near in spirit. When they had the knowledge of it, I had their advice; and their prayers for me were not wanting, and I have reason to believe were answered; for in a little time the temptation began to grow weaker and weaker,—strength began to increase,—and light to shine out of darkness, which gave me to see the travail of my soul, and that it was good for me to be tried,—for I should thus be better able to speak to such as might be under the like affliction. Then I had a word to speak again for God amongst his people, and cheerfulness increased. I also became fit for conversation with others, and followed my business, in which God blessed me, and I took delight in my friends. Although I lived four or five miles from our meeting, which was moveable, yet

my rest with true content in the will of God, however he might be pleased to deal with me in the night season. The Lord preserve my dear children in this state, where they may often inquire within themselves, (for whose sake I am willing to leave these things,) and that they may learn obedience, and serve the God of their father, who wonderfully preserved him by sea and land, and brought him through many perils and straits of various kinds; for which I have reason to bless God, to whom be glory given for evermore!

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We resided with our father and mother Peters, and carried on some business, which was blest, and we increased in this world's goods; for which we were greatly thankful to God, and the thoughts thereof often humbled our

* Respecting John Peters, the young woman's father, the following particulars, by way of testimony, are given by Thomas Gwin, of Falmouth, in a small volume printed 1709, entitled, "A Brief Narrative of the Life of John Peters."

"Mine acquaintance with him was of above thirty years standing: in which time, having had frequently the benefit of his company, both at home and abroad, I never observed any carriage or deportment in him but what was savoury and becoming the Gospel. He had a well ordered family, which he governed with discretion, bringing up his young ones in the fear of the Lord; though but one, and that a good son, survived him. He bore admirably and sweetly the sad providences that attended him, when it pleased the Lord to take away his tender children, not only those that died young, but those also who were grown up, and were very sober and hopeful. He laboured faithfully in the Lord's vineyard, both in doctrine and discipline; yet took great care, if possible, to give offence to none, so as to drive them further from the truth. He was of the mind of the husbandman in the parable, who would not presently have the fruitless tree cut down, but would dig about it, and try it one year longer. Yet he was very zealous against all enormities, and undue liberties: labouring, if possible, to reclaim such as wandered thereinto, and, if not, to testify against them, that the profession of the Truth might be cleared. His ministry was sound and living, tending more to the reaching of the heart, than the tickling of the ear. And as his ministry was very intelligible, and attended with plainness, and demonstration, and power, to the piercing of many hearts, and the tendering the souls of those that heard him, and to the binding up the broken hearted, and comforting the mourners; so his conversation and behaviour answered and came up to it,—being full of gravity and solidity; never un-preaching in his behaviour and carriage, what he delivered as doctrine. I have given but short touches concerning the life and labours of this servant of God; but in fine, his life was a life of diligence, and of faithfulness, and of much exercise, which he cheerfully underwent for the Truth's sake. The love of God, the divine origin and well-spring of virtues, ruled in his heart; and in that love he lived, laboured, and passed the time of his sojourning here: and the sweet sense thereof did greatly adorn his languishing bed and last moments of time, and therein he had sweet peace under all his afflictions and sore distemper: in which love he finished his course, and concluded his days, and is fallen asleep in the Lord. His body was interred the thirteenth of the Seventh month, 1708, at the burying ground of our Friends at Minver."

ouls, so that we were not unmindful of prais-ng God for it. Yet there remained something vith me, which often led me into solitary walks ınd private retirements, sometimes into prayer, ınd sometimes I read, and sometimes I sat still, ıs one waiting to hear; the reason hereof I ınew not,—for I was careful not to offend God n anything which I knew he required of me: ret still it increased, insomuch that morning ınd evening, it became my constant practice to etire; at which times I cried, and desired the Lord would be pleased to make known his nind to me, that then I would obey him, if it were to the giving up of my natural life.

At last it was discovered to me;—but then I wanted signs and tokens, that I might be cer-ain it was the Lord's requiring,—fearing, be-cause the enemy, working many times in a nystery, had deceived many: and he was like-y to have reasoned all good out of me, and nade me prove disobedient to the call of God, hough not without a desire of performing his will. However, I thought if this or the other stranger would speak to my condition, or tell me what God required of me, I would not then consult with flesh and blood any longer. So it pleased God to answer my desire; for several spake to me and bid me be faithful. And up-on a time, on a first-day morning, as I was walking alone, and more out of thought than usual, it opened in me like a voice, saying, 'This day will I open thy mouth, if thou art faithful to me.' It seemed to surprise me, and being willing to be more acquainted with this voice, I turned myself about, and walked fur-ther into the orchard, desiring the Lord to be wisdom and strength to me; and it rested with me that that was the day of the trial of my obedience. So I went home, and prepared for the meeting, to which most of our family went. I sat retired, until at last the word of the Lord was with me as a fire; my father and mother-in-law Peters, both took a little time in the meeting,—which I thought had relation to me, and my then present exercise; yet, I found it hard to give up. But being sensible it was my duty, at the latter part of the meeting I spake a few words; and, although it was a little out of my season, yet I was thereby as one dis-charged of a great and heavy load, and comfort came into my soul; so that I found it was good to obey the Lord. Being faithful in the few things, he made me ruler over more; so that I found it often my place to speak a few words, and began to be concerned for the discipline of Truth, that it might be kept up, and its first and primitive simplicity maintained amongst us; that we might not only profess the princi-ples, but also be found like the first proselytes of Truth in this island, in plainness of dress and fewness of words, as well as fearfulness of running after the gain of riches, or too much frequenting the conversation of the people of the world; because there are many snares and dan-gers in it, which many incline after, respecting which, at times, I was concerned both to speak and write.

Thus, for about three years I passed my time, in the enjoyment of a tender and affec-tionate wife, who truly feared the Lord, and with whom I had great comfort; and we were a strength and rejoicing to each other. But at length it pleased the Lord to take from me my dear wife in the year 1699. What shall I say;—it was a near parting and a sharp exer-cise: yet, I was made to say, surely the Lord is good, let him do as it pleaseth him, and who dares to speak hardly, or say why doest thou so? Job said, the Lord gives and he takes away, blessed be the name of the Lord. God knows what is best for us, better than we our-selves; therefore I will labour to be contented in his will, and to follow after that; hoping we may meet again where all disappointments are at an end: for all things here are uncertain, and man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upwards. There is no dependence on any-thing below the sun, therefore my dependence shall be in the right arm of His salvation; hop-ing he will carry me through this vale of tears, —and how soon, the Lord only knoweth; I desire not length of days, but that I may at last finish my course in peace.

I found I had in some way or other re-ceived hurt; for there seemed to come over me a cloud of thick darkness, so that my mouth was stopt for a time; and I was as in a wilder-ness, having no comfort in meetings nor in re-tirements, but great temptation followed me, and it was with me sleeping and waking, inso-much that I was not able to follow my busi-ness. At last I thought I would make my state and exercise known to my father and mo-ther-in-law Peters, who were not only related to me by marriage, but were truly near in spirit. When they had the knowledge of it, I had their advice; and their prayers for me were not wanting, and I have reason to believe were answered; for in a little time the tempta-tion began to grow weaker and weaker,—strength began to increase,—and light to shine out of darkness, which gave me to see the tra-vail of my soul, and that it was good for me to be tried,—for I should thus be better able to speak to such as might be under the like afflic-tion. Then I had a word to speak again for God amongst his people, and cheerfulness in-creased. I also became fit for conversation with others, and followed my business, in which God blessed me, and I took delight in my friends. Although I lived four or five miles from our meeting, which was moveable, yet

whatever I neglected, I attended that, if at home, on fourth-days as well as first-days. God knew what inclined me so to do,—it was my love to him and his truth, which was more to me than anything in this world.

[It appears probable that it was during the prevalence of the afore-mentioned exercise of mind, that the following solemn language was committed to writing.]

'O Lord, in secret to thee do I appeal, knowing thou canst hear, and often dost reward openly. At this time I make my complaint, because dryness is over my soul, and thy comfortable presence is not known, as when thou with the shining of thy brightness art pleased to arise. Yet in thee will I trust, having faith to believe, that in thy appointed time and after thy wonted manner, thou wilt appear unto my waiting soul, which is breathing unto thee under a deep sense of the great want I at this time suffer,—daily seeking thee and waiting for thy arisings; that so this cloud may be removed, which hath long remained. I doubt my confidence will fail, although there is a resolution that, if thou appear not again, I will trust in thee;—having tasted of thy loving-kindness, when thou wast pleased to appear, as a broad river sending forth pleasant streams of joy and consolation, by which my soul hath been refreshed. O my God, in judgment or in loving-kindness, I pray thee appear, that my hungry soul may be filled. I long after thee, O Lord, and I cannot find refreshment as in days past; yet I will not cease in secret to wait upon thee, or in silence to seek thee, because, there it was thou didst appear to my soul, and then it was that I was made willing to make a covenant with thee,—that if thou wouldest be with me, I would serve thee, my God, with a broken heart and an upright spirit; which I desired thou wouldest be pleased to place within me, that I might never more go from thee in heart or mind. I can speak to thy praise, thou hast often made me a sharer thereof, as in stillness I have waited upon thee. O Lord I can crave from thee thy promise, that, for the cry of the poor (Lord, who so poor as I?) and for the sighing of the needy, thou wouldst arise. And who so needy as I? who at this time want thee, and by the want of thee want all things. Oh! how sad a thing it is to be overshadowed as by a thick cloud, wherein great difficulties, as the buffettings of satan, and the suggestions of the enemy, are ready to prevail. Therefore, for the sake of the needy, arise; and let thy sun be seen to shine, whereby comfort may be conveyed to the soul. Lord, thou knowest it is my desire to be serviceable for thee and for thy truth; therefore I have been willing in secret before thee to offer up all into thy disposing hand, to do with that and me as seemed good in thy sight—who art an all-wise God, and knowest best what is best for the workmanship of thy hands. So, O my God, in patience will I wait, until my change shall come, for thou only knowest how it is with me at this time. In straits I have sought thee, and in difficult seasons I have waited in stillness upon thee, and thou hast never failed me; but according to thy good pleasure, hast broken in as a man of war, strong in power and excellent in might; for thou didst overcome, and set the prisoner at liberty, who, by reason of thy withdrawing, was ready to say, thou hadst forsaken. What shall be said of thy loving-kindness and of thy tender mercies, but that thou art a never-failing God in the midst of difficulties; for although thou hidest thyself for a season, yet thou dost not wholly forsake, therefore what shall be said of thee? Open my mouth, and I will show forth of thy praise;—speak but the word: thy fame is great in my soul, for my longing hath been great after thee. Oh! Lord, draw near as a counsellor to instruct me; for I will wait at thy footstool, that I may be filled with wisdom; for when I have inquired for the place of wisdom and of good understanding, I have turned into the centre of my soul, where thou, that art wiser than Solomon, art found teaching by thy Spirit. Here is wisdom and understanding, and thou art giving it freely without money or price; for nothing here, which thou hast bestowed as an outward blessing on man, is able to purchase it. Therefore Lord, take all things here below that are thy blessings to me, rather than deprive me of the openings of wisdom to my soul; for it is that which I have desired, and through many difficulties have travailed to obtain. And now, Lord, seeing I have found thee, I desire a blessing from thy hand, that so I may never depart from thee more. Be pleased to let thy presence still be with me, that I may for ever be encompassed therewith,—that I may always be in sight of thee, whom I have chosen to be my leader. If thou wilt not let my soul be in the fulness of comfort, grant that my habitation may be always at the entrance of thy fulness, that whensoever thou openest, I may behold thy glory with delight, and that the sweetness that comes from thee may cause my heart to rejoice; which may be an evident token that as I hold out to the end, I shall receive an entrance into rest for evermore.'

I spent two years a widower, and made not any motion towards marriage, but was willing to see my way clear, and often desired the Lord would incline my heart to a suitable companion and help-meet in all states. I did not see that the happiness of man consisted in what

he might have as to portion, because the Lord is a portion to his, and those that put their trust in him shall want nothing that is for their good,—which I had faith to believe, as I kept here, I should certainly witness.

My honoured father Peters having a desire to visit some meetings in London, I accompanied him; and, as I found my heart engaged, I dropped a few words in meetings. So we went from Cornwall, through Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire, into Sussex; from whence we had the company of our friend Elizabeth Gates to London, whose company was very acceptable. We tarried the time of the Yearly Meeting, part of which was very comfortable. Friends seemed to have great affection for each other, and there appeared to be a regard to the worthy name of the Lord, which had been great in Zion for the strengthening of her, that she might not be divided, nor her mighty men confuted; but that her peace might be as a river, and her brightness as the morning sun without clouds,—which was and is the travail of my soul. As to myself, I had a good and comfortable time there; and after the Yearly Meeting was ended, I returned with my father and friend Elizabeth Gates to her father's at Horsham, and stayed thereabout a few days; then going to a marriage at Shipley, we passed, without having any other meeting, to Ringwood in Hampshire, being about seventy miles, and then to Poole, thence through Dorsetshire and Devonshire, and so home.

I was satisfied with my journey; my father showed a tender and fatherly care over me, as to the small gift I had, and my spiritual exercise, that I might grow therein.

[After his return home, his mind became engaged with a prospect of making proposals of marriage to his friend Elizabeth Gates, which was encouraged by his father and mother Peters, who loved his said friend.]

I acquainted her parents with my intentions, had their consent, and then making my mind fully known to my friend, prevailed with her to agree to my proposals; and sometime after I made it known to our monthly meeting.

The Yearly meeting in 1702 approaching, I was desirous that we might be married soon after, hoping several friends from Cornwall might be at our marriage; and accordingly there were, and also divers from London and other places; so that we had a large meeting, and greatly to the satisfaction of us and others. The goodness of the Lord attended our solemnity to our great comfort, and was as a seal of his divine favour, in bringing us together, and uniting our hearts in love. Whatever troubles or disappointments have since happened, they have no ways lessened our affections; and this has hitherto preserved us as true help meets in the Lord, both in spirituals and temporals: for under any exercise either inward or outward, we have been as a succour and strength to each other; for, had it not been so, the many things we met with, might have broken our union.

We came down into Cornwall, took a house, and settled at Liskeard; and I found we had a service amongst Friends, and we were thankful to God for it, who never faileth them that put their trust in him. After we had laboured under some difficulties, finding the things of this world did not answer, considering the increase of our family, and our willingness to be serviceable on Truth's account, not only to labour in word and doctrine for the promotion of the gospel, but also to entertain strangers and those of the household of faith,—my wife inclined for her own country, hoping things might be better, and we more serviceable there. But I not seeing the way for our removal very clearly, and my father and mother Peters, with other Friends, being unwilling to part with us hastily, were not very willing at first to consent to our removing, but laboured some time to prevent the same. At length finding things rather grew worse,—and the more so, because some unreasonable men had deprived me of that which was my chief income, I began to hearken to the request and desires of my wife. Friends also now seemed a little to give way, fearing, I believe, lest they should be our hindrance, and so come under blame: and my father Gates dying about the same time, there seemed to be a want of some person in his room. So, after nine years, having had four children, whereof three were living, we gave notice of a sale of our shop and household goods, and soon disposed of the same. Then, taking leave of our sorrowful relations and friends, in a tender and broken frame of spirit, to the melting of many into tears, upon bended knees, we recommended each other to God, and to the protection of his Divine Providence; desiring the Lord might go with us and preserve us in the way we were to go, and give us food and raiment, wherewith we hoped to be content. He who knows all, knew it was not great things which we longed after, but that we might be his servants, and be serviceable in our short space of time, for the good of souls; and we desired that he would be pleased to keep us in the remembrance of our friends, when far separated outwardly, that so we might be as epistles written in one another's hearts,—for the seasons which we had had together, were tendering and often melting. More I could say of this, for it was a day of days, and not easily to be forgotten;—the Lord bring it often to our remembrance, is what my soul desireth. Having thus spent a little time together with Friends and other sober neigh-

bours, with many embraces and hearty good wishes, we, with our little ones and necessary conveniences, set forward, being accompanied by Friends and others to a place where we ate and drank together. Then taking our farewell of them, we left the county, [in the third month, 1711;] being only myself, wife, and three children, a friend J. S., (who in kindness came to assist us,) and our servant-maid. Being favoured with good horses, good roads, and fine weather, we met with very few disappointments; for all which we were thankful to God, our great preserver.

Having made my observations during the passage of some part of my pilgrimage, I see that there is much trouble attends this life, and he that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer much, and bear all things with patience, and press forward to the mark for the prize of the high calling in God. I hope the Lord will preserve many in this labour, who will study peace with all men, and pursue it; which that I may be found in, during the remaining part of my pilgrimage, is what I desire.

END OF THE MEMOIR.

[About a year after his removal into Sussex, he wrote a letter to his sister, Tabitha Fox, (formerly Croker,) widow of Francis Fox, of Germains, in Cornwall; from which the following is an extract;]

Horsham, the 20th of Ninth month, 1712.

DEAR SISTER,

MY desire is, that thou mayest be preserved through all thou mayest meet with in this thy pilgrimage, with a heart truly serving God;—for it is the heart he looks at. By nature we are subject to many failings; yet keeping to that of God in us, it always brings an awe and fear upon us, lest we should offend,—making our words few, and our behaviour solid, so that we may administer grace to such whose eye may be on us. May the Lord preserve us all, that we may keep ourselves from giving offence to any,—that we may be as way-marks to direct Sion's travellers;—and, while God affords us a being here, that we may work the work of our day with faithfulness. There is need of such, as much as ever; for many are fallen asleep in religion, and are careless about the principal part; not seeking God with all their heart, and with all their soul,—to make him their sure rock and firm foundation, that they may stand the day of trial. But when provings have come, they have started aside like a broken bow, and as a tooth out of place, they have been rebellious. Oh! that such may not happen in our day, among them that make profession of the blessed appearance of the Spirit of God in them to be their guide and sole director: for if such fall away, what shall the poor and the afflicted say? Surely, there is no dependence, but on the Lord,—nor reliance, but on the arm of His almighty power, which alone is the support of the faithful. Oh! my soul hath been led to consider of such things sometimes, which hath made me in secret say, "Lord, seeing it is thus, what am I! if thou stand not by me, surely I shall fall; for, if such and such have come short, what have I to depend on, who am little and as one of the least among many?" Yet it hath risen in such a time in my mind,—Fear not, neither look at such things; for the Lord never leaves such as daily put their trust in Him; but he will be a God nigh at hand for their preservation; that when trials and provings come, if they can but patiently wait, as Israel, such shall see the salvation of God, and his wonderful dealings with them; and testify thereof with cheerfulness, for the help of others who may come under the like trial and exercise.

Thus I have written, dear sister, in the freedom of my spirit at this time. God knows my heart, that my desire is, that every one who makes profession of the Truth, may walk as becomes the same, in all manner of lowliness and humility, as becomes a people serving God. This, I hope, will be thy case and mine;—that we may do all we can for the Truth, but nothing against it: that so, according to our small abilities, we may work the work of our day with faithfulness. Then assuredly the answer of "Well done," will be our portion,—and then we need not fear; for, although we may be tried as to the things of this life, yet God will take care for us at last:—To him be given glory and honour for evermore!

I conclude with our true love to thee and thy children, hoping that, as they grow in years, they may grow in the fear of the Lord. We shall be glad to hear of their welfare, not only in the things of this life, but in that which is durable, and will be lasting to them; which is the sincere desire of thy affectionate brother,

JOHN CROKER.

[As a parent, he appeared to be closely concerned for the welfare of his children:—he left in writing the following advice, addressed more especially to his son Charles, probably the eldest of the family:]

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth. The more thou continuest thus to do, the more the Lord will love thee. What opportunities thou hast, spend in serving God, by privately walking and meditating on the things of God, and what relates to thy eternal good. Keep to meetings, and when there, bend thy mind to God, desiring him to be a stay thereunto; for in vain thoughts the Lord hath no pleasure. Delight thyself in the company of good honest Friends, discoursing of good

things, as thou hast opportunity for it. Be diligent to hear the ancient Friends or elders, whose experience hath been great in the Lord; and let thy words be few, seasoned with grace, that those who converse with thee may have cause to say, that thou art one who is careful to be a good example, both in words and actions. Flee from all bad company as from a serpent; for if thou hast not a care, they will betray thy soul, and bring thee into thraldom; for the end of such is to propagate and advance their master's kingdom, which is the devil, the pleasure-monger of this world. Mind to fear always lest thou shouldest offend; and often inquire in thy heart of God the way towards his kingdom, that thou mayest not miss the crown of glory, and thou hast no need to question but he will lead thee on, and arm thee with strength to withstand the devil and his agents. Remember that I, thy father, have left it for thee to take notice of, that thou art brought into a world where the devil reigns in the hearts of very many, and such will seek to betray thee. Therefore have a care and watch in the light of the Lord who shineth in the secret of thy soul. Take heed unto it, for it never consenteth to any evil action; mind the leadings of it, for it always leads unto that which is good. Often commune with it in stillness, that thou mayest be more and more acquainted with it, which as it is obeyed, will open wisdom unto thee, whereby thou wilt come to be wise in the things of God.

Look not abroad after outward things and outward wisdom, or to any of the lo-heres or lo-theres;—the Lord is nigh to all them that love him, therefore, attend upon him daily, and he will make thee wise unto salvation; his wisdom is beyond rubies, or the golden wedge of Ophir;—there is nothing to be compared with it. Remember that I have told thee, he that is the giver is near unto thee. A measure or manifestation of his Spirit is in the closet of thy heart; therefore, sink deep there, for there the pearl is to be found. I know, and am well satisfied, if thou keep near to the Lord, it will be well with thee; and the Lord whom I desire to serve, will do great things for thee, and thou wilt be honourable in thy day.

Read not in foolish books, with which the nation abounds; but read in the Holy Scriptures, in which there is a great deal of comfort: for by this wisdom which I would have thee seek diligently after, they, the Scriptures, are able to make wise unto salvation: likewise read Friends' books, and others which tend to edification.

If the Lord should think fit to give thee years in this world, that thou dost grow to the full stature of a man, and incline to marry, mind these sayings of thy father. Let this be thy principal concern; seek first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added. This is the first and principal thing; then as thou findest freedom, thou mayest act farther, as God shall direct; but ever mind to take the advice of the ancient and honest Friends, and weigh the affair well in thy own mind, lest by fond affections and foolish inclinations, thou be deceived. I have already informed thee where thy counsellor is, therefore mind to seek him; he will never fail thee. Let not thy mind out too soon, whilst thou art young, but rather tarry until the years (of twenty-five or thirty,) when thou wilt have consideration; and God, if sought unto, will so direct thee, that thou mayest have a wife, who may be suitable for thee, and helpful to thee in all conditions, both spiritual and temporal; for therein consisteth the great joy of a married life. Therefore be sure choose one who cometh of an honest stock, and whose conversation is mostly with the well inclined; for if any delight to be full of idle discourse, the inclinations of such lead to vanity, and the end thereof will be sorrow; from such turn away. Choose one that is solid, whose words are few and savoury, and whose delight is to be with the faithful, such as keep themselves from the spots of the world. Choose not by the eye as to beauty, nor for the abundance she may have of this world, for by these many have been deceived, and have found sorrow in the end; but let the eye be to the better part. And when joined together, remember you twain be as one flesh. Love her and cherish her, as becomes a faithful husband. Be not froward, but mild and gentle, full of love and condescension, bearing and forbearing, doing all things with a meek and quiet spirit, by which God will be honoured, and love increase, so that nothing will seem too much, that can be done for each other. In this way thou wilt reap a great deal of peace, and enjoy abundance of good from the hand of God; for thus thou wilt be happy in this life, and it will be a means to prepare thee for the life that is to come; in which you will be often instructing each other to your great edification. And when troubles of this world happen, in which thou must expect to meet with a share, you will be a help and great rejoicing one to another: and happy will thy life be in such an one, for she will be contented with thee in all states. The abundance of the things in this life never made any happy, but it is godliness with content, that hath ever been the great gain of the righteous, which they labour for more than for outward riches. Therefore, as I have said, seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added; and if the Lord should be pleased to bless thee in the things of this life, set not thy heart thereon; but remember it is a blessing bestowed on thee, the more to humble

thy soul; for the more God gives, the more humble he expects us to be. If losses and crosses come, be not dismayed or discouraged; the Lord sees what is best for thee; and remember what a good man said in his day:—"I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." And if things do abound, remember they are not for thyself alone; for "the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." Therefore be free, and desire God to open thy heart to those that stand in need, and be serviceable in thy day in doing good, and communicate to those who stand in need of outward things, with which God may have blest thee. Desire him to make thee serviceable in all things that will tend to the honour of his name, by opening thy mouth in wisdom, that thou mayest likewise charitably hand forth good advice to them that stand in need of it, for it is a charitable part to help the soul as well as the body. And if the Lord should see fit to give thee children, desire of him a blessing for them, that they may grow up in his favour, and that he may give thee wisdom to bring them up to his honour, towards which a good pattern of meekness and humility will be a great help. When thou chastiseth them, do it not in anger, but in love and gentleness, and with mild words; seeking to reach the witness of God in them. Let it not be thy chiefest care to provide for them abundance in this world, but rather labour with the Lord, that He may be a portion to them; for it is He only that can make thee and them happy.

[The Editor regrets that the biographical materials which have been preserved to this day, respecting John Croker, whose early life presented so much to interest the youthful reader more especially, should be found so limited. From the period of his removal to Horsham to his death, (which took place about sixteen years after,) but little has been left on record respecting him. Some few particulars of his expressions during his last illness, by his wife, now only remain to be brought forward.]

He was at our first-day's meeting at Horsham, and the same night, was taken with a violent pain. Sometime after, he signified his satisfaction that he had been at meeting that day: he had spoken in the meeting to his comfort, was much engaged in his testimony at that time, in advice to the young amongst us, (as very frequently he was at other times opened in the love of God to the youth,)—desiring that they might grow up in a sober, religious, righteous life, and conduct themselves agreeably to our holy profession; putting them in mind of our good elders, that trod the way for us through much suffering, and great hardships. At this last meeting, he signified to us his desire to be clear; saying, the Lord knows whether ever I may be here again, which seemed as if he did somewhat question it.

In his illness, he many times prayed that the Lord would cut short his work in righteousness, his pain being great. At another time, that the Lord would send his angels, and carry him into Abraham's bosom. He also said, he had nothing to do but to die, and that he was easy and quiet in his mind; adding, that he did not fear death, hell, or the grave; and at another time, that the accuser of the brethren was cast out. Several times he was free in advice and exhortations to Friends, as they came to visit him, that they might keep in the way of Truth, and mentioned the danger they would fall into, if they wandered out of it. He gave several cautions, which were very affecting and tendering to all present. He further said, he had much more on his mind to mention, if he could obtain ease; and he often advised to keep up our meetings, particularly our week-day meetings, and to live in love one with another, and not to let the world see to the contrary,—adding, he felt love and good will to all.

We had two sons at home, and he was frequent in advice to them, the substance of which was, that they might live in the true fear of the Lord, and be dutiful to their mother, and love the company of good Friends: he would often call for them, when out of his sight, with much love in his heart, for both them and me, and he manifested his love to me in many affectionate expressions.

Something more than a day before his end, either a Friend or myself saying his hands and legs were cold; his answer to us was, that we should rejoice and be exceeding glad; meaning that death was so near at hand to him; and sometimes when I said, "my dear, thou art cold," he would say, "not cold enough yet." He was sensible during most of his illness, and perceived the approach of death.

Although he had very little ease day or night, but was mostly in great pain, yet he gave us who attended on him, not one hasty or unsavoury word; and he was very tenderly concerned for me, lest I should be over-much troubled for the loss of him; and said, "we came together in love, and had lived in love, and so should part;"—with much more of this kind.

He was indeed a very tender, loving husband, and an affectionate father; yet not so blind in his affections, but that he could see the faults of his children; and he was not sparing in his reproofs. A considerable time before his distemper seized him, he often spoke of dying; and when night came, often said,—"one more day added to the rest," or to that effect.

He was one who numbered his days, and I may say, applied his heart to wisdom. Of late years he slept but little, and at such times, when he failed of sleep, was very thoughtful of a future state, as I have found by discourse when I awoke. He dearly loved peace and unity, (and with his Friends a free conversation,) the contrary was a great trouble to him. He was also very ready and willing to do any service for such as did desire it, either Friends or others, as his neighbours can testify; and he was considerate and compassionate to the poor, both to strangers, and to those that were not, and relieved them sometimes with what we should otherwise have made use of.

As I lately lay on my bed, thinking on my dear husband, it came into my mind, with some comfort and satisfaction, that his memorial is blessed, and that his name shall be had in everlasting remembrance in the book of life: for he was an honest, innocent man, and prized the good in himself and in others, as some now in being are sensible of; encouraging them both by personal visits and advices, and also by writing to them.

As to my own part, my loss is very great in divers respects, I often think; for he took a part with me in all the troubles and exercises in which he could be helpful to me, and I may say he was to me a very faithful help-meet.

Since it has pleased the Lord to remove my dear husband from me by death, it is my satisfaction that we lived in love and good agreement; and I think I may safely say, we performed the covenants we entered into before many witnesses; and I am satisfied he has entered into the glorious rest prepared for the people of God.

He was born in the year 1672, (by the Register,) the eighth of the twelfth month, in the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon; and departed this life, the twenty-ninth of the eleventh month 1727, at Horsham, in the county of Sussex, aged very nearly fifty-five years; and was buried in Friends' burying ground at Horsham, the first day of the twelfth month.

THE LIFE

OF

OLIVER SANSOM,

SHEWING

HIS CONVINCEMENT OF THE TRUTH, THE EXERCISES, TRIALS AND SUFFERINGS WHICH CAME UPON HIM FOR HIS OBEDIENCE THEREUNTO:

ALSO RELATING SOME OF HIS TRAVELS AND LABOURS IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY FOR TURNING PEOPLE FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT.

"Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and the base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: That no flesh should glory in his presence."—1 Cor. i. 26—29.

PREFACE.

The only former edition of the Life of Oliver Sansom was published in the year 1710, under the care of Thomas Ellwood; from the supplement to whose Journal the following paragraph is extracted.

"This year (1710) our friend Oliver Sansom, formerly of Farringdon since of Abingdon in Berkshire, who had long war with the Priests about tithes, dying in the 2nd month, and leaving behind him 'An Account of some remarkable passages of his Life,' which he communicated in his life-time to our friend Thomas Ellwood to peruse; who being always ready to be helpful and serviceable to all, especially his friends, transcribed the same and

fitted it for the press." This work has now been for many years very scarce.

The present edition is a reprint of the former with the addition of some original letters; any remarks by the present editor are either enclosed in brackets or in a foot note. It has been divided into chapters, and some slight alterations have been occasionally made in the text; but the sense of the author has in all instances been scrupulously maintained.

The Editor desires to express his obligation to J. W. Roake of Newbury, (who traces relationship to O. Sansom,) for the liberty granted to insert copies of some original letters in his possession which have never before been published; and which he believes add much to the interest of the present edition.

It is obviously needful, before the reprint of a work of this kind is undertaken, to consider whether it is so far calculated to afford interest and instruction in the present day, as to justify the attempt to circulate a new edition. The occurrences related in the following pages being originally and unaffectedly expressed; the doctrine they uphold being sound, plainly and pointedly declared; it appears to the editor that a considerable proportion of the work is far too valuable to be lost in oblivion; and as, in preparing it for the press, no part seemed sufficiently wanting in interest to warrant its omission, it has been reprinted entire.

In placing this volume in the hands of his friends, the Editor cannot but express the desire which induced him to commence the work and which still continues with him, viz. that it may tend to encourage them to maintain in patience and meekness, but with firmness and in all their integrity those principles which we are called on to uphold, and for which our early Friends had so much to suffer; that like them, we may be made willing, if the will of God be so, to suffer the loss of all things, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus.

The Memoirs of our early Friends abound with that which is calculated to instruct and confirm; their virtuous and devoted lives, their happy and triumphant deaths, furnish unquestionable evidence that they did not follow cunningly devised fables, but the Truth as it is in Jesus; and invite us to follow them as they followed Christ. They were remarkable for their devotion to and steadfastness in the Truth; to them it was indeed precious: they counted all things but as loss and dross that they might win Christ. They were 'troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears;' they were treated as the offscouring of all things, and had to sacrifice their property, their liberty, and in many cases their lives, on account of their faithfulness to Christ, whom they loved with their whole heart. They were content to forego their business, their pleasures, and even what was dearer than either, the enjoyment of their homes and families, so that they might be faithful to their Lord and Master. Through faith in Him they obtained victory and found an abundant reward. In their prison houses and low dungeons they could speak of the goodness of the Lord, they could pray unto Him and praise Him aloud; they could proclaim under their trials, what many are unable to acknowledge in the midst of all their outward prosperity; 'The Lord is our portion,' 'the lines are fallen unto us in pleasant places, yea, we have a goodly heritage.' How were they blessed in basket and in store, how were they blessed in what is far more valuable, the assurance of that eternal life which Christ had purchased for them, and which he had shown them through his Holy Spirit.

'Hold such in reputation, who for the work of Christ were nigh unto death, not regarding their life.'

'Whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ, the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever.'

JAMES BOORNE, Jr.

Reading, Fourth month, 1848.

THE LIFE OF OLIVER SANSOM.

CHAPTER I.

His birth and parentage—Early religious impressions—Convincement and profession of the Truth—Marriage—Settles at Boxford—Reasons for not attending Church (so called)—Exercise about the oath—Conference between a Friend and the Priest—Testimony against tithes—Is made constable—The primary rule of faith and life—Continued persecutions of the priest—Goods three times distrained for neglecting to hear divine service (so called.)

BEFORE I come to speak particularly of the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises he led me through, after he had brought me to a knowledge of his saving truth; I think it necessary to give the reader a brief account what my condition was in the world, and how it was with me before I was called into the service of the Lord.

I was born at Beedon in Berkshire, on the 8th day of the seventh month, (called September) in the year 1636; and was baptized (as it is called) on the 14th day of the same month, as the parish register there relates.

My father's name was John Sansom, and my mother's Elizabeth. They were honest; but of small substance in the world at the first: but in process of time the Lord was pleased to bless them with an increase pretty considerable; whereby they were enabled to live handsomely and comfortably, and to bring up their children in some degree of learning answerable to their condition. When I was about six years of age, I was put to school to a woman, to learn to read, who finding me not unapt to learn, forwarded me so well, that in about four month's time, I could read a chapter in the Bible pretty readily. After I was seven years of age, my father sent me to board at a sisters of his at Charney, to learn latin and writing; where I remained until I was ten years of age: and in that time learned more than I retained.

From thence I was removed to another school; but stayed not long there, my father having occasion to take me home to keep his book, and look after what I was capable of in his business; which was dealing in timber and wood.

My parents were of the Church of England; and being themselves religiously inclined, they would often give good counsel to us their children (for I had one brother and two sisters:) and they did teach us, in their way, to pray to God, and to avoid evil company, and the like.

Now being thus bred up in a sober way, and in a religious awe to God, it pleased Him to visit me in my tender years; and He raised desires often in me after heavenly things: so that even in my childhood, and more in my youth, there was a fear in my heart of offending the Lord; and I was restrained from running into the follies and vanities, which I observed many others delighted in; but I did not then know that power which restrained and preserved me, and which inclined my mind after the Lord.

I took great delight also, even in my tender years, in reading the Holy Scriptures and other godly books which I met with, and to hear sermons from such as were accounted the best preachers in that day; and with much diligence did I attend on their doctrine, with earnest cries in my heart to the Lord that he would satisfy my soul; for there was such a hunger begotten in me after the Lord as could not be satisfied by any of the wisdom or invention of man, although at sometimes my heart was somewhat broken and tendered, and I was affected when I heard the sound of words from some preachers; for the Lord was pleased to visit my soul as I was waiting on him and yearning after him even in those assemblies at that day; but I did not know Him, neither did I think he was to be known within my own heart. So I greatly mistook, and thought it had been the preacher's words that reached me and affected me, and from thence I had the greater esteem for such men. But alas! when I came to lay down my head at night my sorrow returned, and my want of true satisfaction continued; though much of that which I had heard when I was so affected, my memory still retained. But he that tendered me was withdrawn, and I knew not where to find him nor where to seek after him.

In this so great distress have I cried many times to the Lord, that he would vouchsafe to show me the way in which I should go, and make known his way certainly to me, that I might but be satisfied that it was the right way, and the real truth indeed, and I would gladly walk and live in it, whatsoever I might suffer for it. But the enemy beset me so sorely with his temptations, to overthrow (if he could) my faith and hope in the Lord, and was suffered sometimes to prevail so far upon me, that I was sometimes even almost ready to faint in my mind, and to reckon myself to be but a castaway; doubting that there was no ground of hope for me, but that I was even as one cut off and decreed for reprobation, and could have no part or lot in the land of the living. Thus for many a day did my poor soul travail under a sad and distressed state, which none but the Lord is witness of, till I was come to about the twenty-first year of my age.

And then in the year 1657 I was invited to a meeting of the people called Quakers, whither I went and there heard one of them declare the Truth. And he testified of and directed to that very thing which I so greatly wanted—the inward principle—the light within shining in the heart and discovering the darkness there; which when I had heard, I came to be fully convinced and satisfied in myself that that was the Truth and the way of God, which was matter of great joy and comfort to me, for now I hoped to go forward and to walk in it without any obstruction.

But alas! the enemy now bestirred himself to throw blocks in my way, to hinder me from being obedient to the conviction I had received; and through his working there appeared to me so many impediments on every hand, more especially from my parents and those altogether unexpected, that they prevailed over me, and stopt me from going on; so that for fear of offending or too much displeasing my father, I submitted to go to the public worship again to hear the priests as before, and so instead of go-

ing forward I went backward, yet had this reserve still in my mind, therewith to quiet it, that if ever I came to be at liberty from under the government of my parents, I would then walk in the way of Truth; and indeed I used endeavours to get abroad into service, that I might have been more at liberty and at my own disposal as to religion, but I could not.

Thus through the subtilty of the enemy I was prevailed upon to give way to reasoning and fleshly ease, and to fly the present cross which I should have taken up; so that what by persuasions and what by commands from them whom I thought I was bound to obey, (as I was indeed in all things of a civil nature, though not in matters of religion and conscience) I yielded to go again to that worship which I was dissatisfied with.

But for disobedience herein trouble from the Lord came upon me, and his righteous judgments pursued me close, which brought sorrow and sadness upon me. My parents observing this, and fearing lest I should become melancholy, gave not only liberty but encouragement to me to follow the pleasures of the world, and put me on to associate myself with wild young men at their vain sports and pastimes, as ringing, dancing, and the like; and I having through my disobedience lost my strength before, was easily drawn to make trial of madness and folly, so that in a short time I became much worse and more loose than ever I was before, even as it were insensible and almost unconcerned for my poor soul.

Thus I continued and went on in a vain conversation, making merry over the Witness within and seeking peace in worldly pleasures until the year 1661, at which time it pleased the Lord to visit me with sore sickness and lameness together, which brought me near unto death. And this was the great lovingkindness and mercy of the Lord to me; for in that time of weakness and distress, under which I lay for many months, the Lord was very good unto me, both in his judgments and also in his infinite love and tender mercy. And in this great distress, which for a purpose of good unto me, he suffered to come upon me, I cried unto him, beseeching him to raise me up again, that I might praise his name and become as a monument of his mercy in my day and generation. And the Lord was pleased to hear my cry, and did grant my request, and restored me again to health, for which I gave hearty thanks unto him, and praised his blessed name, and did often seek him in secret; but through the workings of the enemy upon the weak part in me I could not as yet confess him openly. Yet I abstained from my former vain courses and was much reformed in my conversation.

While I thus walked, somewhat like Nicodemus, having a secret love and regard to the Lord in my heart, but not daring through weakness and fear to follow him in an open profession of his Truth, I altered my condition in the world by marriage, taking to wife Jane Bunce, daughter of Thomas Bunce, of Charney, in the county of Berks, who was of a good yeomanry family, and had been brought up in a sober and suitable way of education. Yet did not my marriage make any alteration in my outward behaviour, but I walked as before in great seriousness of mind and spent much time in reading good books, the Holy Scriptures more especially; with which my wife and her relations, as well as my own, were greatly affected. But still I did conceal my judgment, not in any part openly denying the worship which was wrong, nor standing up in a testimony for that which I was satisfied was the right.

Not long after I was married it so fell out or was so ordered, that upon occasion of outward business which I was then in, I was much alone, my wife for the sake of convenience, and at her father's request, continuing to live with him; yet all in much love and with mutual satisfaction.

That solitary season the Lord made precious to me and of great advantage; for I had a book which was written by Isaac Pennington, the title whereof was "The way of Life and Death made manifest, and set before men," &c. That book was of great service to me, the Lord at that time visiting me afresh and opening my heart and clearing my understanding, so that I plainly saw how I had been ensnared and prevailed upon by the enemy of my soul to fly the cross, which was to be taken up by all that would walk in the way of Life. And hereupon fervent desires were raised again in me and earnest cries were poured forth to the Lord, that he would be graciously pleased to pardon what had been amiss, and to forgive and pass by my great transgression in having so long disobeyed him; and in great humility and fear I promised that if he would be pleased to afford me the assistance of his Holy Spirit, I would henceforward give up and forsake all to follow Him.

O the riches of the goodness and mercy and long-suffering of my tender God! Surely I have great cause to admire his wonderful patience and long forbearance in waiting to be gracious to me and in seeking to recover me. O let this be recorded, that it may remain to future generations as a thankful remembrance and memorial of his admirable mercy, and as an humble acknowledgment of his unspeakable loving kindness and goodness and truth, which he hath manifested and extended unto me who had been so extremely foolish and disobedient.

Now I had lingered so long that the times

were grown more stormy and tempestuous than before, which made it seem more difficult and hazardous than it would have been, had I been faithful and answered the requirings of the Lord when first he reached unto me. And had I now looked out again to consult with flesh and blood I might have found discouragements enough; for my way seemed as it were quite hedged up even as with sharp thorns: but through the tender love of the Lord, who made the Valley of Achor as a door of hope to me, I was strengthened and enabled to give up in His power who had now at length made me willing to endure the cross; and with earnest cries I besought him to be with me and lead me in the way he would have me walk in, and strengthen me to follow Him fully therein unto the end.

And now persecution coming fast on, many Friends being in prisons, and sufferings growing sharp and great in most places, I could no longer keep back or conceal myself; but a necessity came upon me to show myself, and take my part and lot with the sufferers that suffered for righteousness sake. Thus were the bonds and sufferings of faithful Friends made a means to confirm and embolden me to profess the Truth and right way of the Lord.

Towards the latter end of the year 1663, I went with my wife to dwell at a place called Boxford, near Newbury, in Berkshire, where I had some estate in copyhold lands given me by my father. And I went diligently to Friends' meetings, but my wife continued for a time to go to the priest's worship. And I had earnest desires and breathings for my wife, that she might be gained and brought to the knowledge of the truth: in order whereunto I did not only myself walk in much love and tenderness towards her, but did often prevail with ministering Friends to lodge at my house, that she might have opportunity to observe their grave and weighty deportment and godly conversation, and to confer with them about the things of God. And the Lord was pleased to hear my prayers on her behalf, and to bless the endeavours which were used for her; so that after some time she came to be convinced also and publicly to own the truth, and deny the priest and his worship.

But before that, the priest of the place, whose name was James Anderton, being my near neighbour, did bestir himself to prevail over me; first using flattery to have drawn me; and when he saw that would not do, then fell to rough and forcible ways to have driven me from the truth, and have gained me to himself. The first attempt he made upon me was as we happened to ride in company together towards Newbury. He falling into discourse with me desired to know of me the reason why I came not to "church?" I told him my reason was, because his church and ministry was not according to the church of Christ in the primitive times; and seeing I could not for that reason come to it in sincerity, I would not come to it in hypocrisy. He replied, that he did not desire any to come to hear him but those who came in sincerity. Then he desired to know in what particulars I differed from him, whether in preaching or in baptism or about any of the ceremonies then used in the church? I told him I could not own him in any thing of his ministry, neither in his call to it, nor in any of his practices in it.

This put him upon vindicating his call; in doing which he used many words, comparing it with the call of the ministers of Christ in the primitive times. For, said he, there was then fasting and praying and laying on of hands; and the like, added he, are used now in the church of England. But yet he could not say that any of them, with all their fasting, praying and laying on of hands, had received the Holy Ghost, as the ministers of Christ in the primitive times had. Then he ran into many words and questions concerning the ten commandments, the sabbath and other things, to provoke me to speak of many things, and seeking by subtilty to betray my innocency so long as we rode together. And at parting he used many smooth expressions, entreating me to come to his house that we might have some further talk together; and he protested that he would be as willing to be convinced by me if he were in an error, as he desired I should be convinced by him if he found me in an error. I told him I should consider of it, and so we parted. But when I came afterwards deliberately to consider and seriously to weigh the matter, knowing him to be a man that abounded in words and was versed in circumventing arguments, I was not free to go to him to discourse with him by myself alone in private; but thought it best, and likely to be of more advantage to the truth and more conducive to the good of others, to get some Friend to come, and dispute with him openly; in order whereunto I sent him a few lines, a copy whereof followeth:—

"James Anderton,

Seeing thy words and carriage have appeared mild and temperate towards me, as it ought to do, in manifesting an earnest desire in a neighbourly way and friendly manner to have a meeting, for the clearing of truth and for thy own and others' satisfaction, who are (as thou saidst) offended with me for absenting myself from thy public worship; and thou saidst further, that thou wouldst as willingly be convinced by me if thou wast in an error, as thou desiredst to convince me if thou didst find me in an error; and that thou wouldst have none come to hear thee but those that could come in sincerity, or words to that effect; now if thou wilt stand to

thy words in fair and open dispute, and admit of trial of thee and thy ways, worship and ministry, by and according to the Scriptures of the old and new Testament; some of us that hold forth the truth that we profess, will admit of the like trial in any or every part of our religion; provided that we may proceed with humility, in order for the clearing of the truth and the satisfaction of the people, especially those that have taken offence; so that the kingdom of the Lamb may be enlarged and the God of Truth glorified; which is the prayer, scope and desire of me, who am

A friend to all that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, called

OLIVER SANSOM.

The 21st of the Twelfth month, 1663."

When the priest had received and read this letter, he sent me word by the messenger that carried it to him, that he would not have any public meeting because it was contrary to law; but if I would meet him in private with one or two friends, he should be willing to it; and either we might come to his house, or he would come to mine, when I would appoint.

But notwithstanding all his smooth pretences, he soon after went to a justice of the Peace, who was called Sir Thomas Dolman, and complained of me to him; who thereupon immediately sent his warrant for me to appear at a Petty Sessions to be holden at Speenhamland, there to take the oath of allegiance.

That very morning that I was to go, my own father and my wife's father came to visit me, and laboured much with me to take the oath; and indeed, their endeavours and persuasions were more grievous to me than if I had gone at once to prison. Wherefore with weeping eyes, I entreated them to forbear and leave me to the Lord. Then taking up a Bible which lay near, I opened it providentially on 1st Peter iv. 12, which I read to them to the end of the chapter; whereupon they became pretty mild.

So I left them and hasted to appear at the sessions; and when I came thither the said justice Dolman arose from his seat and came to me, and said I was a perverse fellow, with other such-like expressions. Then he told me I had affronted the minister in questioning his call; which, said he, is according to the law of God and the government of this realm. He also charged me with breach of the sabbath, for travelling on those days; and in conclusion said, if I would not be ruled by the minister and submit myself to him and go to church, but continue in the way in which I was going, he would make me an example to all others. So after pretty much chiding and some threatening he dismissed me, not suffering me to speak in my own defence; but he did not tender me the oath of allegiance as was mentioned in the warrant. For he was a man not inclined of himself to persecute; but what he did was at the instigation of the priest and to satisfy his importunity.

Yet this priest Anderton still when he met me would speak smoothly to me, endeavouring thereby to divert me from walking in the way of truth, telling me how much he prayed for me, and telling others what great pains he had taken with me but could do no good with me at all. He also gave out speeches how equally and fairly he had proffered to dispute with me privately, as is before mentioned; and complained how unreasonable I was in offering a public dispute, which if he should grant he should come within the lash of the law.

After this, about the beginning of the third month, 1664, a Friend whose name was George Robinson* coming to my house, I acquainted him with what had passed between the priest and me, and desired him to stay, if he found freedom, and give the priest a meeting; to which he, after he had weighed the matter, consented. I thereupon gave the priest an invitation to come on that occasion to my house, if he pleased, the next day. He came accordingly, and brought with him near half a score of the chiefest of the neighbours. Then after a few words had passed, the priest taking the Bible in his hand propounded the following question to the Friend.

Whether that, meaning the Bible, was the Word of God and the Rule of Faith, and that by which we must be judged and by which we must be saved? adding, answer yea, or nay.

The Friend thereupon asked the priest, What is thy end in asking this question? Is it upon a religious account, or hast thou any other end in it?

It is no matter, said the priest, what end I have in it; but do you answer the question yea, or nay.

* It is difficult to identify this Friend; but circumstances seem to encourage a belief, that it is the same as is mentioned by Sewel, page 173, folio edition, also in Besse's Sufferings, vol. II. page 392, and in Gough's History, vol. I. page 418. These authors speak of a George Robinson, a young man of London, who travelled to Jerusalem, &c. from a conviction of duty, to testify against superstition, &c., (see accounts above referred to.) The cautious manner in which replies were then given to the questions proposed by the Friar, is strikingly similar to these answers to priest Anderton, and such as might be expected from one and the same individual. The dates also seem to favor this conclusion, as it is stated, he went abroad on religious service, a young man in 1657, which was about seven years before the conference spoken of by Oliver Sansom.

Let me hear the question again, said the Friend; and I will answer as I see good.

The priest thereupon repeated the question, though not without some material additions, viz. Whether this (holding the Bible in his hand) is the Word of God and the Rule of Faith to all that ever were, and that by which we must be saved; and bid the Friend answer plainly yea, or nay.

The Friend seeing the snare the crafty priest had laid to entangle him, and misreport him if he had given a single and positive answer by a bare nay, to a question that required distinction, warily answered; first, I believe that Christ is the Word of God; and I believe also that the Scriptures are not Christ.

This answer disappointing the priest's design, he interrupted the Friend and thrusting in more questions upon him, and pressing for his direct answer, would not suffer the Friend to open the case and clear the matter to the people; but did what in him lay to darken it by interposing fresh questions, and several times he called the Friend a jesuit, and by other expressions showed his malice.

Amongst other things that passed in the discourse, the Friend told the priest that he was in the steps of the false prophets, that preached for hire and ran before they were sent, and did not profit the people at all. This being spoken before so many of the priest's prime hearers, touched him to the quick; wherefore, to help himself, he affirmed that several had been converted by him; and he pointed out one man there present for an instance: Whereupon the Friend asking that man, if he was converted, the man answered, that he knew not his own heart. The priest thereupon to help the man and himself out said, the heart of man was deceitful and desperately wicked, who can know it: And from thence he asserted that the hearts of all men that ever were, were deceitful and desperately wicked, and they did not know them. But when the Friend began to answer to this, the priest being sensible that he had overshot himself, and that it was like to be returned upon him with a blow, diverted him from answering by chopping in other questions upon him, that he might cover himself, and his own folly and weakness might not be laid open in the sight of his hearers there present. Wherefore cunningly sliding off from the subject he was upon, he took upon him to prove that Tithes were due by divine right; and to that end cited several places of scripture which he endeavoured to wrest for his purpose; but all proved too narrow to cover him and hide his nakedness; which when he perceived and saw that he still lost ground, he broke forth into a railing fit at the Friend, calling him jesuit again, and so went away.

From this time forward this priest Anderton appeared more open and bare-faced, in acting maliciously against me; and in the harvest following a fresh occasion he took to show it: for I was by this time more fully convinced and satisfied that both his ministry and maintenance were wrong, and I could no longer feed him with tithes or wages. But it was laid upon me to stand clear in a testimony against him, and not to have any hand in upholding him in his false worship and ministry. This made him rage, and when he came into the field where I and my servants were at work upon my corn, and saw that I did not set out his tithes (as he called them) he thus brake forth upon me. I see now, said he, that I have dallied too long and that it is high time to take a course with thee; for now I plainly see that thou and I cannot stand together, but one of us must fall; and if thou art suffered to stand then I must fall; but if I stand thou shalt be sure to fall. I only said to him, Do thy spiritual weapons fail, that now thou must needs make use of carnal? He replied, I will make use of carnal; and so rode away.

Now although I had denied to pay this priest any tithes, and had told both him and his man that I could not do it for conscience sake whatever I suffered for it, and had charged them not to meddle with any of the increase God had given me, for if they did I should look upon it to be no other than robbing or stealing; yet nevertheless they in their own wills took away from me what they saw good, without giving any account to me of what they thus forcibly took from me.

Not long after this, to wit, in the eighth month 1664, I was summoned to a Court Leet holden by one Richard Jones, who was then lord of the manor, at his house in Welford; where I being then a customary tenant to that manor, appeared with the rest, and the steward asked me to be one of the jury, to which I readily offered my service. But by reason that I refused to swear he put me by, although some of the jury said, they would take my word without swearing; but the steward would not suffer it.

The lord of the manor being then sick and keeping his chamber, the priest Anderton was with him most part of the day; yet would sometimes leave him and come into the great hall where the Court was kept. And understanding that I had refused to swear, he thinking to have gotten an advantage over me, opposed me openly about it, and asserted that Christ meant no such thing, as to forbid all swearing. I asked him, if Christ did not put an end to oaths and swearing, in Matt. v. and in James v.; and he said no, not at all. Then said I, if thou sayest true, the Scripture which says, Swear not at all, must needs be false; but I believe the Scriptures are true, and thy words are false. Thereupon

he made a loud clamour with a seeming confidence, endeavouring to daunt me before the people, who were the greater part of the men of four parishes. But the Lord by his power upheld me; blessed be his Name for ever.

But this envious priest not yet getting the advantage he hoped for over me, that he might in some measure satisfy his revenge upon me, stirred up my landlord (the lord of the manor) to command the jury to present me to be constable; for it was said he had power to appoint who should be constable. This the priest did to ensnare me, that he might make me either swear or suffer for not swearing.

When I understood this, I sent word to my landlord that it was not my turn to serve that office, and that the jury did all well know it to be so; whereupon he returned answer, that he would leave it to the jury to do therein as they should judge meet.

When I understood this, not doubting but the jury would do that which was right, I left the Court with the steward's leave, and went home. But the next morning I was informed that the jury had presented me constable; whereupon I asked some of them why they did it, and they said, they could not help it; for the priest (they said) had so incensed the landlord against me, that he commanded them to present me for constable or else they should not be discharged all that night. This unkind and unfair dealing of my landlord with me brought a concern upon me to write to him as followeth :—

"Landlord,

It hath been in my heart to lay before thee some considerations concerning the office of constableship that is now laid upon me; which the most part of the parish can testify is unjustly and unequally imposed on me, contrary to right and good reason. For they say there are six livings in the possession of able sufficient men, which have not served that office since the tenant served it for the messuage I now hold. And as I am informed, there was not one man of the jury but desired I might be excused; and so the cause, as they say, is only in thyself in forcing and compelling them to leave out him they had agreed upon, or else they should not be discharged all that night. Now I desire to know the cause or reason why I should do that work which of right belongs to another man to do. What is my transgression or my sin, wherefore thou shouldest favour another to oppress me, and compel the jury so to do, who were upon their oaths not to go for favour or affection or malice or hatred to any man, but according to truth in every presentment? These things I lay before thee to consider of, and do leave it to the witness of God in thy own and every man's conscience to plead my cause and to be judge between us. For yet a little while and we must both give an account to God, and receive for the deeds done in the body whether they be good or bad; and there is no respect of persons with Him. Therefore whilst the day of thy visitation lasts, prize it; before the decree be gone forth, that "he that is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still." This in love to thee is written, by him that wishes good to all and evil to none,

Oliver Sansom.

The 30th day of the eighth month, 1664."

This letter was delivered to my landlord on the 1st of the ninth month, and when he had perused it, he sent word by one of his servants, that he knew not but the jury were willing to present me constable; but that seeing it was done he could not now help it. He continued sick about two months, and then died.

Now as touching the said office it may be expected that I should give some account what I did in it. Truly I must acknowledge that I did very weakly and like a child. For indeed I was but young in the truth, and exercises fell fresh still one after another upon me; and the priest sought by all means to bow me to him and to his way. But my neighbours were generally kind and loving to me, and they knew that this office was wrongfully imposed upon me. And one of them, who had served that office the year before, offered me that for ten shillings he would continue it and serve it for me and in my stead and acquit me of it. Which offer I hearing and not duly weighing the matter, but considering that the trouble would be more than the value of the money asked, foolishly made an agreement with him, not then minding my testimony which I should have borne for the truth in the execution of that office.

Not long after this, I met with one Francis Green, who was a journeyman, or curate, under the aforesaid priest Anderton. This man it seems had long desired to try his skill upon me, not doubting to prevail over me who appeared so plain and mean. When we met he set forth at large what abundance of love he had for me, and made great protestations what he would do for me to do me good. I told him I did not desire anything of him. Yet he pressed me very much to come to him at his lodging, and intreated me with much importunity. I told him I had no business with him that I knew of, yet nevertheless to answer his desire, it was likely I might call upon him when I passed that way.

After I had more thoroughly weighed the matter, I saw his words were but feigned and deceitful. Wherefore it came into my heart to

write a few queries and send them to him before I went to him myself.

Those queries were concerning the general Rule of faith and life, which the priest had asserted to be the Scriptures only. And the tendency of them was to show, that the saints of old, before the Holy Scriptures were written, had, and all men since, even where the Scriptures have not yet come, have, a sufficient rule to guide them in their respective duties, both to God and man: and that that Rule was the divine Light shining in their own hearts and consciences.

I inclosed them in a few lines to him thus:—

"FRANCIS GREEN,

Seeing thou hast pretended so much good will towards me and hast been very importunate with me to come unto thee, using many verbal protestations of love, telling me thou wouldst sacrifice thy blood to do me good and the like, (the vanity of which words I shall not meddle with, but leave it to Him who knoweth thy thoughts;) I thereupon tell thee, that if the Lord hath given any gift freely unto thee to do others good, surely then thou oughtest as freely to communicate it and not sell it as thou and thy master do. But because of thy fair pretences I thought it convenient to propound to thee these few queries, that by thy answer thereunto I may be somewhat satisfied concerning thy knowledge in spiritual things. For I have some ground to question whether thy knowledge is from the same principle which the apostle Paul and the saints of old witnessed; which was from the Light which shined in their hearts, and gave them 'the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ,' 2nd Cor. iv. 6. Now seeing Christians ought always to be ready to give an answer unto every man that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them, and that with meekness and fear; I think I have ground, especially considering what thou pretendest, to expect from thee an answer to these queries.

O. S.

The 10th of the tenth month, 1664."

This was delivered to the said Francis Green by one that was present when he made so much ado at me to come to his lodging. And I having occasion to go that way afterwards did then call upon him and asked him if he had not received a paper with queries from me. He said he had, and showed it me, and invited me to go in with him then; but I told him I could not stay at that time, but did expect a plain answer in writing; so I left him, but did never receive one word in writing from him.

Soon after this I happened to meet the master priest, James Anderton himself, near my house; and he presently fell to railing on me, though it was in the open street, calling me heretic over and over, because I could not own the letter of the Scriptures to be the only Rule of faith and life, neither could own his sacraments, as he called them. And so hot he was that he said, if the law of the nation did command it, he would be one of the first that should set a fagot to a heretic's tail. Whereby he plainly manifested an antichristian persecuting spirit. And although for want of power, he could not go to fire and fagot, yet as often as he had power, he ceased not continually to pursue me and do me all the mischief he could, notwithstanding all his deceitful and flattering pretences of love and kindness before. Some account of his malicious prosecutions and persecutions of me having been formerly given in a little book printed in 1667, entitled "The Tree known by its Fruits;" I may here recount some particulars thereof in substance as followeth.

About the beginning of the fourth month, 1665, one William James, of Denford, called a justice of the Peace, dining with this priest Anderton at his house in Boxford, the priest took that opportunity to complain to him against me for not coming to hear him. Whereupon the justice sent for the churchwarden, (so called) whose name was Simon Goddard, and examined him if he saw Oliver Sansom at church the three last Sundays; who answering that he did not see me there, the justice made him swear it. And then the said justice James presently made a warrant and sent it to the constable, requiring him to bring me before him. In the warrant it was expressed, that information and complaint had been made upon oath before him, that Oliver Sansom did neglect to come to the parish church to hear divine service, &c. For which cause he did require me to come before him, to show some reason for this neglect, or else to pay three shillings to the use of the poor, &c.

When I was brought before him I declared the cause and reason wherefore I could not come to that worship; and then added, that though I did not come there, yet I did in sincerity worship the true God, according as he had persuaded my heart and conscience; and surely, said I, no man ought to be punished for so doing. I told him also, that I did believe he did desire liberty of conscience himself to worship God as he was persuaded, and not to be compelled to act contrary to his own conscience, and therefore he ought to allow it to me.

But notwithstanding all I could say unto him he issued forth his warrant to distrain and make sale of my goods. Whereupon, on the 13th day of the fourth month, 1665, those officers unto whom the warrant was directed, went to the priest's house to consult with him about the ex-

ecution thereof, who soon set them in a way. And then they, viz. James Basford, constable, William Knight, tithingman, John Ironmonger and Simon Goddard, churchwardens, (so called) and John Winch, overseer of the poor, having some of the priest's children with them, came to my house; and bringing with them the priest's scales, weighed out twelve tods of my hay, which the priest bought of them for threepence the tod, and sent his man and fetched it away.

But this is fit to be noted in this case, that this unjust priest, who thus bought my hay (which was wrongfully taken from me) at threepence the tod, had the evil conscience to rate the tithes of the same hay at sixpence the tod, (double price!) and sued me for it at that rate, and recovered the treble value upon me, and made a prey of my goods for it, as shall be showed in its place.

Shortly after, the priest meeting me fell on me about his tithes as he called them, and could not forbear threatening what he would do to me if I did not pay him. He said he would toss me from one place to another and would throw me into prison. I asked him if he were the man that had complained against me to justice James. He said he had complained against me and would do so again. And further, said he, for every Sunday henceforth that thou dost neglect to come to church, thou shalt be as sure to pay twelve pence as thy hat is on thy head: and accordingly he drove on.

For on the 25th day of that month I was excommunicated, as I was informed, for not paying the steeple-house tax. And on the 25th of the fifth month, 1665, he procured another warrant from the said justice James, requiring my appearance before him, to show reason for my not going to the parish church, so called. But I being from home at that time, visiting my suffering friends who were then prisoners in Reading gaol, the time prefixed for my appearance was past before I returned home, so that I did not appear upon that warrant. But as evil will commonly think the worst, I suppose they thought I had absented myself on purpose that the warrant might not be served on me. For shortly after the said William James, being spurred on by the priest, issued forth another warrant against me, in such strict terms as if I had committed some heinous crime; whereas the only matter they had to charge me with was my not going to hear the priest. Which warrant, because it was in an unusual form, I here give a copy of.

"BERKS.—*To the Constable and Tithingman of Boxford, or to either of them.*

Whereas information and complaint hath been made and given in unto me upon oath, that Oliver Sansom, resident in your parish, did upon the second, the ninth, the sixteenth, and three-and-twentieth days of this present July, being Sundays, neglect to come to your parish church, to hear divine service, contrary to the laws in that case made and provided: These are therefore in his Majesty's name, to charge and command you, and every of you to require the said Oliver Sansom to appear, and in case of his refusal, to bring him before me, and others His Majesty's justices of the peace of this county, at our Petty Sessions to be holden at Newbury this next thursday. And in case he shall hide out of the way, so that you cannot give him notice personally of this warrant before our said Petty Sessions, that then as soon as you shall meet him, you attack him, and forthwith bring him before me, that if he can, he may show some reasonable excuse for this his neglect, and to be provided to make due proof thereof; or else to pay four shillings to the use of the poor of your parish, and to be further dealt withal as to law and justice doth appertain. Hereof fail not at your peril. Dated at Denford in the said county, the 25th of July, 1665.

WILLIAM JAMES."

When the constable had received this warrant, he told me the day of appearance was on Tuesday following; but therein he did mistake, and by that means the Petty Sessions were past before I had seen the warrant. And although it was the constable's fault that I did not appear at the time and place mentioned in the warrant; yet he, fearing the displeasure of the justice, compelled me to go with him afterwards to his house at Denford. Where when I came, much discourse passed between the justice and me concerning worship and compelling thereto. But all that was said to him was in vain; for he was resolutely bent to prosecute the work the priest had put him upon. And after two or three days he sent another warrant to distrain my goods. Whereupon those officers which were called the churchwardens, with the tithingman, came to my house on the 16th of the sixth month, (then) called August, 1665, when nobody was at home; and going into my barn, they took away my winnowing fan, which was worth eight shillings, and carried it to the priest's house, while I with my family, was in the field at harvest work.

Within a few weeks after this the said justice James sent another warrant to require my appearance before him again, to show some reasonable excuse for my not coming to their worship. Which when I heard of, I considered that my appearing before him was for no other end than to make his further proceedings against me seem the more legal; for notwithstanding

hatsoever I said to him, when I was before m, he resolved to go on to answer the priest's sign. Wherefore I went to the tithingman ho had the warrant, and told him I did not tend to appear personally, but would send my swer in writing, and desired him to carry it; hich he did, and this is a copy of it.

" William James,

Whereas I have been accused or complained to thee for neglecting to come to the parish urch, &c., and thereupon thou hast sent a arrant to require me to come before thee, to ow some reasonable excuse for the same, &c. hese are therefore to certify thee or any other at shall question me on that account, that I ve not only reason to plead for me in this atter, but I have the law of God, the Gospel Christ, and the testimony of the saints and ople of God recorded in the Holy Scriptures, d also the witness of God in my own conience, to plead on my behalf in this matter. hereby I have assurance, that a persecuting urch is a false church, which I ought to ny and turn from. And the Lord hath given e patience to endure what he is pleased to per- it unreasonable men to do unto me. 'For all en have not faith.' 2 Thes. iii. 2. And again, The devil shall cast some into prison.' Rev. 10. Yes, 'And all that will live godly in rist Jesus shall suffer persecution.' 2 Tim. iii. 2. And seeing there is no matter of fact that am accused of, so far as I understand, and I ve been summoned to appear at the Bishops' urt upon the same account, and there I am ble to answer; though I do not contemn any thority, yet if no matter of fact be proved, r so much as charged against me; I suppose am not liable to a trial at two courts, for the me thing. But if any matter of fact can be arged against me commanding my accusers be present, I will appear to answer at any me, if the Lord permit.

Oliver Sansom."

When the Justice had received this letter, he thout more ado issued out another warrant r distraining my goods, unless I would pay ur shillings, for not coming to their worship; hich I not having freedom to do, Simon Godrd, one of those they call Churchwardens, me to my house on the 30th of the eighth nth, 1665, and distrained and carried away good new harrow, worth seven shillings.

Again, towards the latter end of the tenth nth, 1665, the said justice James issued out other warrant of like import with the former. on which the said Simon Goddard came ain, on the 29th of that month and took away o pewter dishes, for my not going to their rship. Thus they took away my goods three several times, for my not going to their place of worship, after I was, by excommunication, shut out and debarred from going thither. And the said William James (called the justice) did blame the officers for not selling my goods and threatened to punish them if they did not sell them. And when they alleged that they could not sell them to the worth, he told them if the goods were worth twenty shillings, and they sold them for five shillings, he would bear them out in it. Which showed he had but little justice in him.

CHAPTER II.

Presentiment of an Imprisonment—Meeting broken up by the Priest—Is imprisoned for having a Meeting at his house—Letter to his Wife—His second imprisonment—Letter to his Wife—His Goods distrained to the value of £30—Extraordinary persecutions by the Priest—His Epistle to the Neighbours and one to the Priest—His third imprisonment—Letter to his Wife.

On the 25th of this tenth month, 1665, as I lay in bed in the morning early, I heard as it were an audible voice which said unto me, take no care for thy business; for thou must go to prison for three months. Thereupon I presently arose, and related to my family what I had so plainly heard; and we all thought that if I went to prison it would be for not paying the priest, he having so often threatened me. So I let it pass for the present being given up in my mind to suffer, if the will of the Lord were so.

Three days after a ministering Friend came to my house to visit me; and I desired him, if it stood with his freedom to have a meeting there that evening; because several of my neighbours had told me that if ever there should be a meeting at my house, and they had notice of it they would come to it. The Friend consenting I sent my servants, both man and maid, to acquaint all my neighbours therewith, both in that town and also in a village which was near, and I bid them deliver their message thus; that if they had any desire to hear the Truth declared, they might come to my house at such an hour that evening. There was not one family, besides the priest's, but was invited. For I thought the priest would prove a troublesome guest; and therefore neither he nor any of his family were invited. But most of my neighbours came, especially the men; and the room was full, and the Friend declared the Truth for near the space of an hour to the great satisfaction of the people.

While thus we were solemnly assembled together, and were exercised in that which was

indeed Divine service; the priest, being at home in his own family, and others with them, playing at cards, had tidings brought him of our meeting. Whereupon leaving their card-playing, the priest sent immediately for the tythingman, who dwelt near, to come away forthwith and break up the meeting. But neither he nor the constable were at home; for they were both of them at my house peaceably assembled with many others in the meeting; not in the least suspecting, that the priest would be so wicked as to make a disturbance. But when the priest saw he could not get any officer to do his work for him, he came himself to my house, having the card-players with him, and he began to threaten the people that they should all go before the Justice on the morrow. Some of the people being so threatened were afraid, and would have gone away. But one Francis Doily, (who was then the priest's journeyman or curate) kept the door, and told them he must know who they were before they went forth.

The Friend was declaring the Truth when the priest with his company of card-players came in; and the priest interrupted the Friend in speaking, demanding of him his name and place of abode, and charged the constable to see him and the friend that accompanied him forthcoming the next morning. Then the priest going away called forth the constable after him and commanded him privately, to set a guard of men upon the two strangers to keep them until the morning. But some of the people over-hearing what the priest had said to the constable, and disliking these doings of the priest, came to the two Friends, and intending kindness to them, thrust them out at another door into the orchard that the constable might not see them, it being pretty late in the evening. By which means, when the constable, who dared not disobey the priest, came in again though much against his will to apprehend the Friends, he could not find them; at which he was glad and so passed away.

Early next morning the priest sent one Lodowick Yeomans, the parish clerk, who had enviously opposed the Truth, to give information of this meeting to William James, the Justice, (so called) who thereupon sent his warrant to the constable of the hundred, to bring the constable and tythingman of Boxford and as many more as the said Lodowick could name that were at the meeting, to appear before him and other justices of the peace, at the "Three Swans" in Hungerford, on the 30th of the tenth month, 1665.

I being particularly named in the warrant went with the rest; and they intended to have taken my servant-man also, but they having mistaken his name in the warrant he went not with us.

When we came thither we were brought before three justices; to wit, John Elmes, William Dormer, and the said William James; but not altogether, for I was not suffered to be present when the others were called but was kept by myself in a room at a distance.

First they called the constable and the tythingman of Boxford and the others that were brought with them, but they wanted a witness to convict them; for they had but one witness (the parish clerk) and they ought to have two. Wherefore seeing a poor man amongst the company they tampered with him, promising to set him free if he would turn informer, and upon his oath give them the names of the rest of his neighbours whom he had seen at the meeting; which the poor man for fear of suffering himself presently did.

Having by this means convicted them, they then called for me last of all. And when I came before them they pressed me much to discover the names of the two strangers that were at that meeting: urging that thereby I might free myself from the suspicion of entertaining Jesuits or other dangerous persons. I told them they were friends of mine and well known to be honest men, and were never suspected to be Jesuits or dangerous to the peace of the government, or of doing injury or harm to any. They replied, my words would not satisfy them nor clear myself; for, said they, if they were honest men, why did I fear to tell their names? Because, said I, I would not occasion their suffering; but, added I, if you will promise me, that they shall not be troubled or molested for it, I will presently tell you their names. Then William Dormer promised for himself and the rest, that if they were honest men they should not be meddled with: whereupon I told them both their names and where they lived. And he was as good as his word, for they were not meddled with.

After examination they proceeded to impose fines. And first they fined James Basford the constable, because he was constable, ten shillings; and caused him to pay it down presently. The rest they fined twelve-pence a-piece. But when they came to me, because I could not promise, as the others did, that I would go no more to meetings, and to confess myself guilty as an offender in that which, in the sight of God and of all just men was no offence, they fined me five pounds; or to endure three months' imprisonment, as for the first offence (as they called it) upon the Act for banishment. And I not consenting to pay the fine, was committed prisoner to the county goal at Reading, for three months.

Now did I call to mind, and thankfully acknowledge the goodness of the Lord unto me, in fore-showing me of this three months' impri-

sonment by that voice which I had heard as I lay in bed, three days before.

Within four days after my imprisonment, the said Justice James sent his warrant for my man-servant whose name was William Cowless, and committed him to the house of correction at Abingdon, for four months, calling this his second offence upon the Act for banishment; for he, having been taken at another meeting, had been committed not long before to the house of correction at Reading, and was but lately discharged from thence. And herein their injustice to him, unkindness to me, and severity to us both, appeared. To him, in committing him to prison, for being in his master's house, where his place, as a servant, required him to be. To me, in sending my man to prison, when they had sent me to prison, just before; thereby leaving me destitute of a man to look after my business. To us both, in imprisoning us at such a distance one from the other, that we could not be any ways helpful one to the other. And indeed I soon wanted help; for I had not been long in the prison before I fell sick and continued ill and weak for about two weeks' time.

And now, not being so mindful and regardful as I should have been of that warning and charge which the Lord had so wonderfully given me, not to be thoughtful in my imprisonment of my outward concerns at home, as I began a little to recover I let the cares thereof enter my heart, taking thought what my poor wife would do with my business, my man being in prison as well as myself, and she left destitute of fit help. Wherefore having obtained leave of the keeper I went privately home, that I might be helpful to my wife in advice and counsel at the least.

But the journey being too hard for me eighteen miles on foot, in the winter season, and I but weakly, I took cold again and my sickness returned and was very sore unto me; so that I was nigh unto death. Then cried I unto the Lord for help, beseeching him to give me a little strength, that I might be but enabled to get to my prison again, and then I should be satisfied to die, if he had so appointed. Oh! it was a sore trouble and exercise to me to be thus out of my place; and to be so seized with sickness as not to be able to return back again; whereby instead of being assistant to my wife I was but a hindrance to her, and brought great grief and trouble on her, seeing me in that weak condition, like to die, and she could not have the help of her neighbours because she was afraid to let them know that I was at home lest it might bring blame upon the gaoler. But after two or three weeks' time it pleased the Lord in his tender mercy to abate my illness and give me some strength, and then I got privately back to my prison again. And glad I was when I got thither; intending for the future never to do the like again, but to rest satisfied in my sufferings, and to resign up all unto the Lord, who saves all those that put their whole trust in him.

It was weightily upon me to record this passage as a thankful remembrance of the Lord's mercy and goodness to me therein; and I desire it may be a caution to all tender Friends who may have the knowledge of it, to cast all their care upon the Lord, and lean solely upon him, whatever their exercise and suffering may be.

[During his confinement he wrote the following letter, addressed "For the hands of his dear and loving wife, Jane Sansom, dwelling at Boxford, these, with care."]

"MY DEAR AND TENDER WIFE,

In the living sense of the free and unlimited love of the Father of mercies and God of consolation who hath freely loved us and given of his Spirit into our hearts, I say in the sense of that pure love, do I dearly salute thee, beseeching the Lord God of my life to preserve thee in continual watchfulness against the secret enemy and to keep thee in true humility and contentedness in all conditions. Dear heart, in the meek and quiet spirit be cheerful and fear not the fury of the adversary nor any of his instruments, but learn to know Him that is in us and with us to be greater than he that is against us; and therefore, my dear lamb, be strong in the strength of the Lord, and in the power of His might wait to be established, and be not careful concerning me for I want for nothing, and I have pretty well recovered my health, and I have pretty much liberty out into the town to go and come as I see good. Friends are all well and the sickness* is not anywhere in this town that I can hear of. Let me hear from thee, if thou hast opportunity, how it is with thee and how thou dost make a shift with thy business; but dear heart, let not thy mind be cumbered with it; so with dear love to thee and to Ruth, and to Friends at Oare, and at Woodlands, and to dear Richard Greenway, I rest thy dear husband,

OLIVER SANSOM."

Reading Gaol, 2nd of Twelfth month, 1665.

When my three months' imprisonment at Reading was at an end I was discharged and went home. But I was not long suffered to enjoy my liberty there. For on the first-day of the fifth month, 1666, I being with other of my friends peaceably assembled at the house of Bartholomew Malam in Lambourne Woodlands, to wait upon and worship the Lord, we were violently haled out of our meeting by armed

* This no doubt refers to the fearful plague which was then raging in London.

soldiers of the trained band under the conduct of Charles Garrard their captain, and many of us carried to Lambourne before Humphrey Hide, Thomas Garrard, and Charles Fettiplace, called Justices, who committed eleven of us to prison, viz. seven to the house of correction at Abingdon, and four, whereof I was one, to the common gaol at Reading for three months, upon the Act for Banishment; where I continued a prisoner very near fourteen weeks.

[He wrote the following letter to his wife during this imprisonment.]

"My dear wife,

These are to let thee understand that through the goodness of the Lord I am very well in health and at present feel not the want of anything; for I know the living God to be my Shepherd who doth guide and lead me in the green pastures of comfort, joy, and peace; so that satisfaction is by me daily enjoyed and witnessed. Dear heart, feel me in that living spring from whence our refreshment and daily satisfaction comes, and be steadfast and immovable, always having the eye of thy mind inwardly opened in pure fear, watching over thy thoughts, words, and actions. Oh dear heart, my true breathings often to the Lord have been, that we both may be preserved faithful and single to the Lord; that in all trials and sufferings that at present do or ever hereafter may attend us; I say my earnest desire is, that we may not look out, nor murmur at the Lord's dealings with us, but that we may always be given up to do or to suffer what the Lord shall be pleased to exercise us withal; knowing that we are the Lord's, and he may do with us what pleaseth him, and assuredly he will not suffer us to be tempted or tried any further than he will give us strength to bear and endure as we stand faithful to what he makes known to us.

* * * * * * With dear love to all faithful Friends at Oare or elsewhere,

I remain thy dear husband,

O. Sansom."

Reading Gaol, 14th of Fifth month, 1666.

And when I was set free from that imprisonment and came home again, it was not long before my old adversary gave me another toss, as he had before threatened to do. For though I never went to hear the priest, nor ever had one pennyworth of service from him, yet was he always restless till he had, by one evil way or other, gotten away my goods from me for his pretended wages; ruling by force and cruelty over the consciences of men, like those whom the Prophet was sent to cry woe against, Ezekiel xxxiv. Wherefore I think fit to set forth some more of his proceedings against me after I was come home from my second imprisonment in Reading.

First I was summoned by a subpœna to appear in the Court of Exchequer at Westminster, at his suit, in the ninth month, 1666. Where when I appeared, according to the express words of the writ, I found none to prosecute me or lay any thing to my charge; for he had changed his mind and would not proceed any further in that Court.

But in a few months after, he procured a warrant called a Justicias from the Sheriff, out of the County Court; and with that warrant he sent two bailiffs, who took away my horses, which they kept in the bailiff's hands at Newbury, and put my cows in the pound at Boxford and locked them in; and so hard-hearted were both priest and bailiffs, that they took no care nor gave any order that the cows should have meat given them; so that if I had not carried fodder to them, they might have suffered much, and have perished. This coming to the hearing of one of my relations, he (unknown to me) went to the under-Sheriff and passed his word, that the cattle should be forthcoming when he should demand them; and thereupon after they had been so detained for the space of eight days, they were returned to me again.

On the 8th day of the second month, 1667, the Sheriff kept his Court at Abingdon, whither this priest repaired; and his lawyer drew forth a declaration against me, which contained many untruths. Then some of my relations caused an attorney to give an appearance; and the attorney's opinion was, that the priest could not have a trial for tithes in that court. After which I heard no more of this proceeding for four or five months; so that I was ready to think the priest had let fall his suit there also. But on the 26th of the sixth month 1667, he stole (as I may say) a trial in the same Court. For it was so subtilly and privately carried on, that I had no certain knowledge of it, before the bailiff came upon me with an execution; and that too was early the next morning after the trial. The bailiff's name was Richard Smith, who rushing suddenly in, searched my house, and took away three pounds in money, and drove away all my cows and sheep, amounting in all to the value of thirty pounds or thereabouts, though the single value which the priest sued for was six pounds and eight shillings.

The wickedness of this priest was so great that I am willing to hope there were but few worse in the nation; for he was not only greedy, but exceeding envious. Insomuch that when a certain man of my acquaintance, out of natural affection to me, without either my consent or knowledge, sent to him by some of his neighbours to let him know that if he would take two indifferent men, and let them value what the tithes of my living was worth, he

would engage to pay it; the priest would not accept of it, but said he would root me out of the town, or words to that effect. And so high was his malice that it made him not only break forth into those bad expressions, as that, if the king would but grant a law for it, he would be the first man that would have me burnt, and that would set a fagot to my tail, which he uttered more than once; but also, after he had caused me to be excommunicated he told the people, that now none must have anything to do with me, either to buy or sell or the like; and even the miller was forbidden to grind my corn.

Yea this envious priest threatened one man that did use to work for me, that if he did not leave off working for me he would present him into Oxford Court, and the severity of the law should be prosecuted against him and bid him work for me again if he dared. The poor man for fear of the priest left off, and did not dare to work for me any longer at that time. But about a year after having forgot it seems the priest's threatenings, he ventured to work for me again. But the priest had not forgot to deal wickedly by him, as the poor man soon found to his cost, for he was presented, and the apparitor came and summoned him to appear at their Court; which so affrighted the poor man, that being in doubt what the issue of it might be, he gave the apparitor money to make it up and settle the matter, that he might have no further trouble about it.

Another occasion of no small difference happened between us, which was this: the tower of his worship-house, called by him the Church, had formerly fallen down; and my house adjoining to that which they call the Churchyard, the rubbish thereof lay so high against the side of my house, that it did me much hurt. Wherefore I took my mattock, and went to dig a trench or gutter under the eaves of my house on that side next the grave-yard. But the priest seeing me at work there, came at me with open mouth as if he would have devoured me, and violently took my mattock from me; and not only so, but threw down my garden bounds on that side which was next the said graveyard flat on the ground, and caused the trench I had digged to be filled up. And so great a clamour and noise he made, that it drew several of the neighbours in to know what the matter was. When he saw them flock in, he in his rage and thinking to startle me, asked me before them, whether I would own that letter which I had lately sent him? I bid him produce it and read it to them and I would assuredly own it. But he seeing me not daunted at it would not produce it. Now true it was, that I had sent him a letter not long before; the occasion whereof was this.

After he had taken away my goods for tithes, as is before related, some of my relations, seeing that my goods were like to be sold under-hand, made an agreement with the priest to pay him twenty pounds, and they to take the goods to sell for as much as they could; intending, as they said, to keep the overplus money for him till another time if he should fall upon me again. This agreement between the priest and them, I was so far from having any hand in or giving any consent or countenance to, that I endeavoured to the utmost of my power to hinder and withstand it; as the Lord, who knows my heart, bears me witness. And when this blind bargain was thus patched up and the money paid, there was a general release under the priest's hand and seal sent to me; which I returned back to him, inclosed in the letter he mentioned, which was of this tenor:

"James Anderton,

I have lately received a general release under thy hand and seal. I much wonder thou wast so impudent as first to steal my goods and rob my house for wages though I never set thee at work; and then deceitfully thou makest it out as if I had paid thy demands, and thereupon hast acquitted me. Be it known unto thee thou hypocrite, that I never consented to pay thee anything, because I owed thee nothing; thy release I return back to thee again as a testimony against thy deceit. But as for the goods and money that were by thee violently taken from me, I can look upon it to be no other than theft and robbery, which will assuredly be upon thy account before the righteous God unto whom I have committed my cause, whose truth and servants thou hast reproached, and whose worship thou hast disdainfully opposed. For at Chewly, on the 10th of the seventh month, thou didst prefer card-playing before the true worship of God. Oh full of all subtilty, how dost thou pervert the right way of God! Thou shalt as assuredly feel the vengeance of God and his fiery indignation for these things as thou hast done them; and with the murderer, swearer and liar thou shalt be shut out except thou speedily repent. O repent, repent; if thou canst find a place. O. S.

The 24th of the Eighth month, 1667.

P. S.—And now, James Anderton, consider with thyself what thou hast brought to pass by thy striving in cruelty against me these four years; thou hast but made thy folly manifest. Alas! what am I, that thou shouldst thus strive against me? But it is the living God that is on my side and hath preserved me hitherto; living praises be to His name for ever.

In the Truth of God, unto which all must bow,
At first I was not so strong as I am now.
Holy Praises be to my Rock and Strength for ever;
For from his Love no earthly thing can sever.
O. S.

After this I had little more to do with him for some time, till the Court Leet came which was in the second month, 1668, to which being summoned I did appear there; and the priest being there also he soon fell upon me, charging me with having printed lies against him in a book, which he said was almost filled with lies. I desired him to instance in any one particular, and prove it false if he could, before all the people; there being the chief men of three or four parishes. He would not give an instance; but went on exclaiming against me with a loud voice; saying I held erroneous principles, and that I denied the Trinity and the Sacraments. I answered that I denied no principle of religion that can be warranted by the Scriptures. But he not willing that I should be heard went on still, and made a long clamorous speech against me, using many bitter reviling words. And not satisfied with that, he in his fury with his own hands violently plucked my hat from off my head two several times, in the presence of all the people, and the last time kept my hat from me for a while. And thus he spent much of the time until he went to dinner, endeavouring as much as in him lay to render me odious and contemptible, and to make me a gazing-stock to the whole assembly. But when the priest was gone to dinner it came in my mind to write a few words, for the better information and satisfaction of the people; which I did in these words:—

"Whereas I, Oliver Sansom, have this day been charged by James Anderton with printing lies in a book against him, and also with holding erroneous opinions, both which charges are absolutely false and untrue, as will plainly be made appear if he will but commit them to writing; and therefore I desire it may be so done. But if he refuse, may it not then be justly suspected that he cannot prove what he hath charged me with: let the wise in heart judge.

This is written, that things may be fairly tried, and false reports stopped, by

Oliver Sansom.

The 6th of the Second month, 1668."

This little paper I fastened to a post in the middle of the great hall where the Court was kept, that it might be seen and read of all there present. And after it had stuck there some time and was pretty well viewed, one of the company took it down and carried it up to the priest. And whether it was that he was sensible he had overshot himself and was not willing to have his false charges at that time further opened, or that having had his dinner he was in a better humour, I know not; but all that afternoon he carried himself more quietly towards me and with a show of kindness.

Mention was made how the priest having taken away my goods for tithes, some of my relations had made an agreement with him and paid him twenty pounds, that they might have the disposal of the goods, and keep the overplus-money for him until another time. One of those relations was Thomas Bunce, my wife's father, who some time after, observing that what he had done had made me very uneasy, and did but make the priest more greedy after his prey, was troubled in his mind that he had meddled in that matter; and being desirous to be rid of that money which was left in his hands on that occasion and to clear himself from being further concerned therein, he sent the money to the priest, and with it the following letter.

"Mr. Anderton,

Whereas there did arise a difference between you and my son-in-law Oliver Sansom, which did grow to such a height and on your part was managed with such rigour, that about a year ago you did cause his house to be searched and took away what money was to be had, and and also seized and drove away all his sheep and cows. Whereupon I sent my other son-in-law Richard Vokins to assist my friend John Sansom to make an agreement with you; fearing lest you should make such a spoil of the goods of the said Oliver, as might be to his undoing. And so an agreement was concluded, and you being paid your demands in money, then the goods (that by your procurement were taken away as aforesaid) were by you delivered into their hands; that is to say, to John Sansom and Richard Vokins, and the said goods being sold did arise to more money than was paid to you for them. The overplus whereof being now in my hands and I considering seriously with myself that the man from whom the goods were taken detains his tithes only upon a conscientious account, therefore I think he should not be so hardly dealt with; for sure I am it is contrary to the doctrine and commands of Christ, which was to love enemies, and to forgive trespasses as we desire to be forgiven. And it is also contrary to the Apostles' practice who did not make the Gospel chargeable, for they testified to them among whom they preached, that they sought not theirs but them. And seeing you do profess the Scriptures to be your rule, I desire you would compare your practice with them. As for my part I am sorry that ever I meddled with those goods taken away

by you on that account and in that manner; and I do hereby let you know, that I do intend never to be concerned in such a business again. In witness whereof I do herewith return the overplus money back again to you, desiring I may be as clear before the Lord as I am in doing wrong to you in this matter.

THOMAS BUNCE.

Charney, October 30th, 1668."

There was also another letter written to the priest upon the same occasion, by Richard Vokins; who had been an agent or instrument in the before-mentioned agreement; and thus it was:—

"MR. ANDERTON,

These are to let you know that I intend never to be instrumental any way in making any more agreements or compositions between you and Oliver Sansom. For I see it doth on the one hand but add grief to his sufferings and on the other hand it encourages you in your oppression and violent doings. Therefore I advise you to take heed and look to it; for he that doth wrong shall receive of the Lord for the wrong he hath done, and there is no respect of persons with him. And besides I may tell you that your dealing with us in that composition was not like a civil honest man; for you did beforehand promise to bring a particular account with you to Cheveley (where we met you) what your demands were that you did sue for. But when you should have produced it, you shuffled and shifted it off; pretending a mistake. However to satisfy us you did then and there punctually promise again and again that Oliver should have it of you whensoever he would desire it; and thereupon we did agree and compose the matter with you and paid you money, so that you had your desire. But when Oliver did ask you to perform your promise, you did deny him with these words, 'I have done with that now.' Meaning, that having got the money you had your desire, and did not intend to perform your promise. But I must tell you that if you had not promised, and covenanted in that manner I suppose we should have made no agreement with you, however not at that time; for it would have been unreasonable for us to have paid you so much money and not expect to know for what, and why, in the particulars. And seeing you have dealt so by us, I have just ground if it be but for that cause to deny any further dealing with you; for plainly I have not often found the like deceit among the worst of men.

RICHARD VOKINS.

West Charlow, October 31st, 1668."

These letters were first delivered to my own father, in hopes that he also would clear himself from being concerned any more for the future in the controversy between the priest and me. For my relations meddling in it had been and was a great exercise and trouble to me; and I laboured with my utmost diligence to prevail with them to engage themselves from meddling any more in this matter for the future. And having prevailed with my father-in-law and brother-in-law, as aforesaid (who both of them were afterwards convinced of the blessed Truth and became honest Friends and lovers of it;) I besought my own father also to do the like. But he for a while refused, intending to make a further agreement with the priest; and for that end sent several times to him to invite him to meet him at some convenient place that they might treat together about it. But when he saw that the priest kept off and would not come to speak with him, he sent to him, desiring a particular account of his demands.

At length the priest sent him a few words in writing after a slight manner, altogether insignificant as to particulars, and therefore unsatisfactory to my father.

Whereupon seeing himself so slighted and his expectation frustrated, my father was offended with the priest, and became willing also to acquit himself of that business; and thereupon after he had laboured in it near three months, he sent both the money and the letters, which he had some time before received from my father-in-law Thomas Bunce, and my brother-in-law Richard Vokins, (which he had kept till now, that they might not anger the priest and render him less tractable in his intended treaty with him;) and together with them, he sent the priest a few lines from himself also, in these words:

"MR. ANDERTON,

Whereas I have received a paper containing a certain value of tithe of Oliver Sansom's, but nothing in particular nor any name subscribed to it, I having received of my friend Thomas Bunce the money that is left of the goods which you took away, I do herewith send it to you with a letter that came from the said Thomas Bunce, and also one from Richard Vokins; intending never any more to have anything to do therein. So with my love to you, I rest,

JOHN SANSOM.

January 1st, 1668."

My relations having thus (through my importunity) discharged themselves of this matter it was greatly to my satisfaction. But when these letters were delivered to the priest, he was very angry and refused to take the money. Whereupon the neighbour that carried it to him came to my house and throwing it down on the table said, the priest would not have it,

and he thought I had most right to it; and so left it and went his way.

After this, at the time called Easter following, the people of Boxford (where I lived) being gathered together in the house they called their Church, to choose officers for the parish; the priest took occasion at that time and in that place, to accuse me in a malicious manner before all the people there assembled; and spake also contemptuously against the Truth and way of God, which I and my Friends made profession of. Which when I heard of I was much grieved, and felt a concern lie upon my spirit to write something in answer thereunto, for the information and good of the people and for the vindication of the precious Truth from his slanderous suggestions; whereby he sought to render both it and them that professed it odious to his auditory. And that which I wrote was as followeth.

"Friends and Neighbours,

Forasmuch as James Anderton hath opened his mouth wide against the innocent people of God called Quakers in general, and me in particular; but chiefly against the Truth which we profess; now it is well known to most of you that his enmity hath been openly manifested towards me both by words and deeds. Yet he could never justly charge me with evil doing, though he hath sought for it; to the praise of the God of my life be it spoken, who by his grace hath preserved me, and by his own good Spirit hath led and strengthened me hitherto; blessed be His holy name for ever.

Now as to what he hath charged me with from the printed book, wherein some of his envious doings are laid open and discovered; for the truth of what is therein contained you know I need not go far for witnesses; because that many of you can testify from your own knowledge that the greatest part thereof is true; and as to that passage in the latter end of the said book, to wit, that he preferred card-playing before the true worship of God, you know that in your hearing he said, that he did prefer card-playing a hundred times before our meetings for worshipping of God.

Now if it can be proved, that the true worship of God is in that very way which we meet together to worship him in, and in that very way wherein we meet together and worship God in is the true worship of God performed; then it is evident, that he that speaks against our meetings speaks against the true worship of God: now it can be so proved, therefore he that speaks against our meetings speaks against the true worship of God.

For proof hereof, First, we can and do in truth testify that we have the seal and witness of the Spirit of Christ in ourselves, that in our meetings we do worship the only true God in Spirit and in Truth, according to the words of Christ, (John iv.) And therein we do find acceptance with him, and are also led and guided by the same Spirit to do those things which please him. And as many as become faithfully obedient thereunto come to know the effectual working of his mighty power, to redeem them from the bondage and captivity of sin and death inwardly, and from a vain conversation outwardly; so as to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world.

Secondly. We do abide in the doctrine of Christ and do keep his commandments; as might be largely evinced according to the Scriptures of Truth.

Thirdly. Our meetings are according to the examples of the Apostles and saints in the primitive times, who worshipped God in the Spirit and rejoiced in Christ Jesus and had no confidence in the flesh; and if anything was revealed to him that sat by, the first was to hold his peace; that all might be comforted and edified in the Truth. 1st Cor. xiv. 30.

Fourthly. We are also come to witness the fulfilling of the Scriptures which were spoken before by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to wit, that against his followers, persecutors would arise who would say all manner of evil against them for his sake; and that they would cast them out of the synagogues; yea, said he, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you will think he doth God service.

Now see and mark well, whether James Anderton be not exactly here pointed at; as First, for saying all manner of evil falsely. Secondly, for excommunicating or casting out of his synagogue. And Thirdly, for putting to death, if he had power to his will. For he hath told me in plain terms, that if the king would but grant a law, he would be the first man that would set a fagot to my tail. A sure sign that he is not a true Christian, not a follower of Christ Jesus. For we have the express testimony of the Apostle Paul, that all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution; not persecute, but be persecuted. And as the Christians of old had these things done unto them, so we have now the same done unto us; and that for no other cause but for godly living, innocent walking, and bearing our faithful testimony for the truth and worship of our God against all false worships. And like as they of old did, so we now for the same cause do take joyfully the spoiling of our goods; knowing in ourselves that we have in Heaven a better and more enduring substance. So that we are not terrified by our adversaries; "Which is to them an evident token of perdition; but to us of salvation, and that of God." Phil. i. 28.

So it is clear, first, by the witness of the

pirit of Christ in ourselves, (see 1 John v. 10,) nd by our lives and conversations whereof the uits thereof appear. Secondly, by our keep- ig the commands of Christ. Thirdly, by our xercise and practice in our meetings. And ourthly, by our sufferings for righteousness ake, that our meetings are of God and that the orship performed therein is the true worship f God. And therefore whosoever speaks gainst our meetings and worship speaks against ie true worship of God.

And whereas he says we are worse than the apists; I know no ground he has so to say or ink, unless it be for this; that the pope and apists first set up the antichristian yoke of thes in this nation for the maintaining a com- any of priests in ease, idleness, pride and ful- ess, to the great oppression of the people. nd now the Lord hath raised a testimony in ie hearts of his people against all such false inisters and deceitful workers, so that we can- ot put into their mouths; for which cause they ave prepared war against us. But it is not to e wondered at if these men (whose god is their elly, and who mind earthly things) do so indly remember their father the pope, for aving left them this sweet legacy of tithes, and refer him far before us, who would have them ve as did the ministers of Christ in the primi- ve times, who preached the gospel freely, and id receive no more than what was necessary or food and raiment, and were therewith con- ent; which also was freely given them by those hat received and owned their doctrine; as may e seen at large in the Scriptures of Truth.

And as for all his other accusations which he n a clamorous manner vented against us; urely he had no more ground for them than is forefathers, the priests and persecutors of ld, had against Christ and his followers.

And now I may say, as the apostle Paul once id to his persecutors, that after the way which his priest calls heresy, do I (with many more) vorship the living and true God; believing all hings that are written in the Holy Scriptures vhich do bear testimony of Christ Jesus, the rue Light, in whom I have believed; being reely given up to follow him through the many ribulations, hoping to keep the word of his pa- ience, even unto the end. And then I have n assurance, that he will keep me in the hour f temptation and in the day of trial, which vill come upon all that dwell on the earth.

And unto all you, my loving neighbours, is rue love in my heart, with earnest desires that ou would consider your own states and stand- ngs, every one of you, whether you are not in he broad way. For plainly I testify to you in he fear of the Lord God, that James Anderton our priest is not in the way that leads to life; nd if any of you do think to receive any good or benefit to your souls from his ministry, you may as reasonably expect to gather good fruit from an evil tree; which Christ said, could not be.

Wherefore in Christian love to your souls I write this, to warn you not to trifle away your precious time; but turn to the Life of Christ and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, which is the gift of God, shining in your own hearts and consciences, which will reprove for and condemn sin in your mortal flesh, and through believing will lead you out of sin into a state of acceptance with God; in which continuing, through obedience, you may come to be re- deemed from the bondage of corruption, and be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God, who are all led by his Spirit.

I am a real friend to all tender-hearted people, but a living witness against deceit,

O. Sansom.

The 28th of the First month, 1669.

P. S. If James Anderton or any other hath anything to charge us with, who are in scorn called Quakers, let it be produced in writing openly to the view of all sober people; and they may expect a sober answer in plainness. And so let them and us be tried by the Scrip- tures of Truth; and whoever is found guilty of error, let him be censured accordingly.

'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.'"

I appointed my man to read this foregoing letter in the audience of the people, when they came forth from their worship, the next first- day after the priest had so despitefully cla- moured against me, as is before expressed. The priest it seems was gone that day to his other quarter; for he had two places or quar- ters from whence he sought his gain. And as my man was standing in my garden, which adjoined to that which they call the church- yard, and began to read my letter to the people as they came forth, who thronged near to hear; it so fell out, that at that very instant the priest himself came home from his other shop or place of trading-worship; and seeing the peo- ple soberly giving attention to what my man was reading, he hasted thither himself also, and pressed near to the place where my man stood. And at first, in a deriding manner he put off his hat, endeavouring with mocks and scoffs to raise up lightness in the people; and often interposed questions to interrupt the man in his reading. But when he saw all that would not do, and that he could not baffle or hinder the one from reading nor the others from hear- ing; he then, in a sort of furious madness leaped at my man, and having torn the paper out of his hand rent it in the midst. Then told my man, he had behaved himself honestly hi-

therto; but if he would do such knacks as this, he should go to prison.

Though the reading this paper (so far as it was read) unto his hearers angered the priest for the present; yet he grew quieter upon it for awhile, so that for some months he said little to me; but afterwards, his belly still craving, he would take occasion often when he met me, to threaten me with a prison if I would not pay him tithes; and in the eleventh month, 1669, seeing me in the street, he told me, he had favoured me the longer because of the cold weather, but now, if I would not pay him, I should be sure to go to prison. Whereupon I asked him, how his heart could be so tender as not to hurt me with cold, and yet could burn me with fire, as he had formerly said. Then he seemed to warn me and withal threatened me before a witness, that if I did not pay him, I must expect to go to prison; and desired me not to take it ill. I told him I could not take it as from a minister of Christ; for I never read that any of them did ever go to law for their wages. So in the conclusion, he seemed to carry himself more smoothly than formerly, with feigned words pretending to pity me and the like. But I having a sense of his dissimulation and deceit, felt a concern upon my spirit to write some lines as a warning to him; which were as followeth.

"James Anderton,

I have considered of thy warning or rather threatening of me yesterday. And in the consideration thereof, there did arise a word in my heart, as a warning from the Lord to thee; that thou take heed what thou doest unto me; for the Lord Jesus, the righteous judge, in the dreadful day of account, will reckon it as done unto himself. Because he, by his pure light hath let me see, that the work and ministry which thou, for filthy lucre's sake, art crept into, is not of God, neither wast thou led into it by the good Spirit of the Lord, but by the contrary spirit, which doth always resist the Spirit of God, and despiseth his light in the conscience. And the Lord hath not only let me see this; but hath raised me up to bear a testimony for his Truth, against thy deceit and hypocrisy. And this is to certify thee, in God's fear, from my very heart, that I cannot, neither dare I, pay thee wages, which unjustly thou doest claim, for fear of offending the Lord God, who hath given me life. I tell thee plainly, I had rather die the sharpest death that can be invented, than wilfully to grieve the good Spirit of the Lord and rebel against his light in my conscience.

And this is further to let thee know, that Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, even He is my strength and my stay; yea, He alone is my hope of glory; and by His power it is, that I do stand this day a witness on his behalf for his blessed Truth, in opposition to thy ways and practices. And seeing what I do herein is not of myself but by him alone; therefore whatsoever thou doest against me in this matter, he may justly impute it as done unto himself, (read Matt. xxv.) for he alone is both the Author and Finisher of my faith, and also the defender and preserver of me in it.

Therefore in tender love to thy soul, I advise thee to be warned and to take heed what thou doest; and repent and turn to the Lord and obey his light in thy conscience, whilst his Holy Spirit striveth with thee; lest thy day pass over and thou be cut off, and there be no remedy for thee.

Written by one, unto whom, through the mercy of the Lord, it is given on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe but willingly to suffer for his sake.

O. Sansom.

The 14th of the Eleventh month, 1669."

This letter I sent to his house by my man; and the priest being then in his chamber was called down, and the letter delivered to him, who with a fierce and wrathful look took it in his hand, threw it back into the man's face; and turning about, ran up stairs again without speaking one word. At which strange deportment of his, they of his own family that beheld it, seemed to be astonished. But my man came away and left the letter there; which, as the priest's children reported, was afterwards burnt.

About a month after this, I met both the priest and his wife on horseback, on the highway, near unto a gate, which I opened for him; and the weather being cold, he said to me, honest Oliver, thou mayest pray for the continuance of this cold weather to keep thee out of gaol. I asked him, why he threatened me with a gaol, seeing he confessed to my honesty? Surely, said I, the gaol was not made to confine honest men.

But my honesty could not secure me against this priest's dishonesty and cruelty. For shortly after this, having procured a writ against me, he sent it to the bailiff of Lambourn, who was then to go to the assizes, desiring him to come early in the morning, to arrest a man who he did believe would bear him company to Reading.

The bailiff came accordingly and brought his man with him; and they taking the priest's son with them to direct them, waited for me, and as I passed along the street laid hold of me; and the priest having counselled them before not to trust me, the bailiff would hardly suffer me to go into my house to put on other clothes; yet at length he did let me go in, himself and his

man going in with me. So while I was making myself ready, I caused the bailiff and his man to eat and drink; and then being ready to go with him, my dear wife and I kneeled down and prayed together, committing each other to the Lord, and so took leave of each other, knowing it was for the Lord's sake alone that we were thus parted asunder.

Meanwhile the priest's own horse was made ready to carry me to prison; and he himself with his wife and children came into the street, to behold me carried away; and he scoffingly said he would have me remember to carry a pen and ink with me; for he thought I might have leisure now to write more books. Truly I was grieved in my spirit to see him harden himself so in his wickedness and in his rebellion against the Lord and his Truth, and even against the light in his own conscience; which I was sensible had at some times reached unto him, and in some measure opened his understanding. Wherefore just before I got upon the horse I made a little stand; and fixing my eyes earnestly on him, in the dread of the Lord I thus spake unto him:—

"James Anderton, if thou hadst done this ignorantly as not knowing what thou didst, then I could have besought the Lord to forgive thee; but seeing thou doest it wilfully, against the light of thy own knowledge, I have now only this to say, the Lord look upon it and require it."

Having said this I got on horseback and was conveyed to Reading gaol, on the last day of the twelfth month, 1669, where I was kept a close prisoner two full years and upwards. In all which time I never saw my own habitation, nor indeed as much as desired it; but rested satisfied in the will of my heavenly Father; being willing to drink that cup which he had appointed for me.

[The following letters are here inserted according to their dates, having been written from Reading gaol during this imprisonment.]

"My dear Wife,—These are to let thee understand that I am well; praised be the Lord over all for ever. Hath made hard things easy and bitter things sweet unto us; so that we feel his yoke, who is meek and lowly in heart, to be easy and pleasant unto us, so that we have even our heart's desire. The Lord hath wonderfully preserved us when men rose up against us, and did spread and furnish our table in the sight of our enemies. Oh let us not forget His manifold mercies, nor let his benefits slip out of our minds, for He hath done that for us that none other could do; therefore let us with all diligence look to the Lord with a single eye at all times, and wait upon Him to receive of his counsel to guide and direct us at all times in all we take in hand; that whatsoever we do, it may be to His praise and glory, who alone is worthy over all, blessed for ever, Amen. My dear love is to thee and also to T. V. (Thomas Vokins) and I desire that your conversation may be without covetousness and such as becometh Truth, that you may be a good savour unto God and all people, both in your buying and selling and in your ordinary communications, that you may be serious, sober, meek, and quiet towards all and one towards another in the fear of the Lord; and never heed the frowns of the enemy nor the threats of the adversary, for none can harm us if we follow that which is good. So with my entire love to you all, and desiring your preservation and perseverance in the precious truth, which is more to be prized than all things else besides, therefore hold it fast and sell it not. I desire to have my dear love to Katharine Evans,* and do accompany her as much as thou mayest; my love is also to A. H. and S. L. and to friends as thou art free. I desire to have my

* Katharine Evans was the wife of a Friend named John Evans, who lived near Bath, "a man of considerable estate," who bore a good testimony to the Truth, and was on that account several times imprisoned. In 1664, he laid down his life in prison, for obeying our Saviour's command, "Swear not at all."

Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers were amongst the earliest Friends who visited Scotland, being there in the year 1654. In 1657, "for exhorting the people to repentance," at Salisbury, she "was stripped and tied to a whipping-post in the market and there whipped." She "travelled in many countries, and suffered much for her testimony." In 1658, she with Sarah Cheevers went towards Alexandria, but the ship putting in at Malta, the Friends going ashore were soon taken up, and suffered a dreadful confinement, for about four years in the inquisition; of which an account is published.

After their return to England, they travelled in the service of Truth, and went through England, and Ireland. In the year 1664 (in which her husband died,) she and Sarah Cheevers, her companion, were imprisoned at Wirdscombe; and in 1666, she was imprisoned in Welshpool, Montgomeryshire. She was almost constantly engaged in her Master's service, and private records alone tell of most of her devoted labours. It appears from the above letter, that at its date, 1670, she was travelling in the ministry in and about Berkshire.

In 1682, we find her amongst the Friends suffering a cruel imprisonment in Newgate, in London, where indeed she appears frequently to have been; "she was also among the 116 Friends who suffered imprisonment at Bristol," when meetings were kept up in that city by children only, under 16 years. "After many adversities and great sufferings, having lived to a great age, she died, and so entered into everlasting rest." Her decease was about the fourth month, 1691.

love remembered to Martha Weston, and to friends at Oare and Newbury. I intended to send a copy of the observations upon the Act, but I could not have leisure, for I have been very much employed of late, and I would have Robert Wilson to borrow Ann Head's copy, and let him and John Normanton write as many as they can, for they may be very serviceable, and let William Austell of Oare do the like. Mind my dear love to them. I desire that John Wightwick may take care that this enclosed letter be safely delivered as it is directed, and let him keep the paper that I gave him a week longer before he make it public. So with dear love to every honest heart, farewell,

O. Sansom.

Reading Gaol, 4th of Third month, 1670."

"My dear Wife,—In the pure living Truth, which changeth not, doth my love truly reach forth unto thee, earnestly desiring thy growth and perseverance therein in the true fear of God, which keeps the heart clean and single to the Lord at all times. Dear heart, by this thou mayest know that I am pretty well, and S. B. his dear love is to thee, and to J. W. and A. H. and T. V. But some of us are not well, for Joseph Phipps was taken ill yesterday and Thomas Curtis and Christopher Cheeseman and Anthony ——— are not well. So having not much at present but my dear and entire love unto you all, desiring that you may all with one heart and mind keep single and watchful in the pure light of the Lord, that no one of you may lose ground nor lose any part of that good state and condition unto which you have attained; for a good state and condition may be soon lost if the watch be not truly kept. Therefore take heed and hold that which you have gained, and press forward in the heavenly race with patience and meekness in the true fear of the Lord. And keep in the diligence, and out of that which seeks itself or its own ease; but in the cross of Jesus continue, even in that cross which is the power and wisdom of God, wait to be preserved and kept unto the end; which is the desire of my life for you all, as for my own self, and remain, thy dear husband.

O. S.

Reading Gaol, 26th of Fifth month, 1670."

"My dear Wife,—My dear and tender love doth truly reach forth unto thee, and in the singleness of my heart doth truly salute thee, earnestly desiring and daily praying in the sincere breathings of my life that thou mayest be preserved single and sincere, daily growing more and more in the pure, tender, meek and lowly spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that the precious fruits thereof may more and more appear in thy life and conversation to the glory of the Father. Herein is my Father glorified, (said Christ) that ye bring forth much fruit. Oh that thou didst feel the blessed operation of the pure Spirit and Power of the Lord Jesus, that thy heart and mind might be thoroughly cleansed and purified thereby from all sin and iniquity, and from all vain and wandering thoughts; that thou mightest sensibly witness that to be removed and separated from thee, which would separate thee from the Lord; that in true stayedness of mind thou mayest wait upon the Lord, and watch against every appearance of evil, striving with all thy might in the strength of the Lord against every thought that inwardly arises to hinder thee from enjoying the sweet refreshment of the presence of the Lord of Life. For truly the watch must be duly kept at all times, with prayer in the Holy Spirit, or else the thieves will get in and the enemy of thy soul will prevail with his temptations. But if thou dost abide watchful, with thy heart poured forth in prayer to the Lord, he will surely arise and deliver, and make way for thee to escape all his subtle snares and baits, and if thou dost abide in patience and well-doing waiting on the Lord, thou wilt witness his power to arise that will tread down Satan under thy feet. My dear love is to Richard Daniels, and Alice Glover, and Thomas Vokins, earnestly desiring and breathing unto the Lord for you all, even as for my own soul, that you may be preserved in cleanliness of heart and clearness of mind, being wholly given up to serve the Lord in sincerity and uprightness of heart; that ye may patiently pass the time of your sojourning here in humility and godly fear. And so the God of peace and love be with you, and fill you all with joy and peace in believing. My dear love is to Friends at Oare, Newbury, and at Woodlands, and in the Vale. I would have thee remember me dearly to thy sister, and let her know that I received her letter and was sweetly refreshed in the sense of the love of God which is manifested in and through her; and although I have been hindered from coming that way, my love and union with her and all the upright in heart in the living Truth is not at all straitened, but doth remain in a living remembrance. I believe the Lord will make way for me when my coming will be most serviceable, for unto Him who is strength in weakness and a very present help in time of need, yea, I say, unto Him who is become unto us as a fountain open, and as a place of broad rivers, (though unto the wise of the world as a spring shut up and as a fountain sealed;) to Him, I say again, be the glory and the honour, with all true and hearty obedience, for he is worthy for ever and

for ever more. So desiring that we may remember one another in our breathings and requests unto the Lord, in tender love I bid you all farewell.

O. S."

AND THIS TO FRIENDS.

"Let every one of you be diligent to follow your own business in the fear of God, and meddle not with that wherein you are not concerned; and although your hands are employed in your labour, let your hearts be after the Lord, meditating continually on his goodness and his large loving kindness and his tender mercies, wherewith he visits us morning after morning, and evening after evening, and also at noon day; he hath never been wanting to us to do us good. Oh! that the sense of the rich love of our God might always remain upon our spirits, that as his tender mercies are daily renewed unto us, so our thanksgiving and sincere obedience might be returned unto him from the bottom of our hearts, which is his due for evermore. Oh let us never forget the Lord our God, who hath been so good to us, but let him be always the first in our thoughts at our uprising, and the last at our lying down, and let our meditation be of Him all the day; for from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same the Lord's name is to be praised. He alone is worthy of all, who is over all, King of kings and Lord of lords, who is able to do for us far more abundantly than we can ask or think; to Him be the praise and honour ascribed, for His is the kingdom, the power and the glory for evermore. Amen.

Reading Gaol, 7th of Ninth, 1670."

"MY DEAR WIFE,—My dear, tender, and entire love doth truly flow forth unto thee in the living sense of the tender mercy and infinite love of our God; whereby the day-spring from on high doth daily visit and refresh the souls of all those that faithfully wait for it, so that they do grow and flourish as trees of righteousness, even of the Lord's own planting, that he may be glorified. Dear heart, my love doth truly reach forth unto you all, and you are often in my remembrance, and the sincere desires of my heart are daily for you all, even as for my own soul, that we may all be preserved single and sincere to serve the Lord, and to follow him fully in this our day and generation, and to be at all times given up in our hearts unto him, to do those things that are acceptable and well-pleasing in his sight. I desire and exhort you all to be watchful and careful, so as to adorn the profession of the blessed Truth with a right honest and unblameable conversation, even without covetousness and eagerness after the things of this world; but let us with one heart and one consent, do that which may advance the Truth, and be a good savour therein, unto the witness of God in the hearts of all with whom we have to do; that our light with which we are enlightened, may so shine before men, that they may see our good works and glorify our Father which is in Heaven. My love is dearly to thy sister in the living truth, and in the living sense of the same she is often in my remembrance, making request with joy in a living hope, that the Lord will raise her up as to the outward, and make her further serviceable unto his truth and people, unto the which I desire we may be given up in the uprightness of our hearts, and may daily wait for the renewing of the right spirit in every one of us more and more, and feel a being gathered into it, so as to be led and guided by it. So in that which is meek and lowly, my love is to and with you all, and also unto every upright heart and faithful friend, as if I named them particularly.

I rest thy dear husband,

O. S."

Reading Gaol, 12th of Second month, 1671.

"MY DEAR WIFE,

In true, tender, and entire love to thee, and to Richard Daniel do I write these following lines, as a word of advice; that you may stand faithful and single in your hearts to the Lord, in that testimony for the Truth concerning tithes, for which at this day, I suffer bonds.

I desire thee to observe when any corn is marked or set out for the priest thou be sure to go, before they do fetch it away, and set it, * * * * * [not clear] and unmark it, and this will stand as a faithful testimony for the Truth, although they steal it away afterwards, and see that thou do unmark it, and in the authority of Truth tread the pope's marks under foot openly. But take heed and keep low in your minds; that in the spirit of Jesus, you may stand as witnesses for his pure Truth in this your day, in meekness and humility, and in the pure fear of the Lord will your testimony be acceptable unto him; and watch against that spirit that would desire revenge, or use force or violence to keep it through covetousness; and let all that you do be done in the obedience of Truth, and for no other end than to glorify the Lord our God, and that our testimony may be acceptable in his sight. And take no thought as to hurry or hurt, or hasten overmuch, but let your eye be to the Lord in all things, and he will preserve you clear and clean in your testimony, and make it easy to you; for all that come to Christ who is meek and lowly in heart, can witness that his yoke is easy and his burden is light;

and all those, and those only, do find rest and peace to their souls.

So desiring that every one of you may watch over your thoughts, words, and actions, that in the pure fear of the Lord you may always abide, and therein be preserved to order your conversation aright to his praise and glory, who alone is worthy by us all to be praised and glorified above all, who is God over all in heaven and earth, blessed for evermore. Amen.

Remain thy dear husband,

O. S."

Reading Gaol. 19th of Seventh month, 1671.

CHAPTER III.

His losses whilst imprisoned—Address and queries to his neighbours—Letter to the Priest—Death of the Priest—His religious experience and firmness in his testimonies—Thoughts of removal from Boxford—Letter to the new Priest—Two letters to his wife—Sufferings by the priest's widow—Letter to her—Continued troubles—Two letters to the Mayor of Newbury—Objects to employ an attorney to defend his conscientious scruples.

Now in this time of my confinement, the greedy priest took away my goods by force; what and how, as he pleased. Of which I received the following account from my man that then lived with me, whose name was John Wightwick.

"An account of the proceedings of Priest Anderton, and his man, Lodowick Yeomans, for the tithe of my master Oliver Sansom's living, while he was kept a close prisoner, in the year 1670.

About the middle of the fourth month, we having made our hay, Lodowick Yeomans with James Basford and his man came into the mead very early in the morning, before we were got thither, and carried away a load of hay; and towards the latter end of the same month they came again for another load; and as they were loading it, I being then there, I asked them, By what authority they did it? Lodowick said, What's that to you. I told them it was to me as I was intrusted with my master's business; and that I did look upon it to be no better than theft. But for all that they carried away the hay.

And on the 28th day of the fifth month, we having reaped two acres of wheat, and set it up in shocks, Lodowick came and threw it all down; and with the priest's other man began to set up a shock across the land, in the manner as they usually set their tithe-shocks. Whereupon I came to them and asked them, If they would set up the corn again which they had thrown down? Lodowick said, No: you may set it up yourself if you will. And further he said, Now I have set out the tithe, if thou, Wightwick, dost touch it, thou shalt be whipt or burnt in the hand.

On the morrow we went to fetch home the corn, and when we came to the cross-shock we began to take it up; but Lodowick being not far off came and bid me throw it down again, or he would make me; I told him I should not do so; whereupon he threw it down himself and guarded it all that day.

On the next day we came to another land, and when we loaded and bound our load, Lodowick came and bid me throw down his sheaves. I told him he had none there. He said he would not dispute that. But he pulled out his knife and went to cut the cart-rope; threatening if any one did move the horses, he would knock him down; so he did cut off the rope in two places and threw down the load; and said he would make us let it stand in the field, until they did make their rick; yet they carried it away the same day.

On the 6th day of the sixth month we went to carry some oats; and after we had taken them up and were gone away to another land, Lodowick came full of envy and fury and began to cut our traces; and said he did intend to do so before harvest. So he cut off all our harness on one side; and threatened that next time he would cut the cart.

On the 10th of the sixth month this same Lodowick went with James Basford's cart before us and took up our barley, what he pleased. And on the next day we went to carry some fitches upon the same land where our harness had been cut; where were also some oats left, which Lodowick had thrown off the cart at that time. So we took up the oats and the fitches, and Lodowick said, he would make us carry it to the parson's. And as we were to pass by the priest's gate, Lodowick stopped the horses, and beat them about the heads, and punched him that led the fore-horse. And with the noise that was made, the priest came forth; and my dame told him, he made a great ado for his belly. So they forcibly took away the horses, cart, and corn, and drew it into the priest's barn; and when they had taken off what corn they pleased, they turned out the horses and cart into the street again.

This is attested to be a true account, by me,

JOHN WIGHTWICK."

As thus the priest dealt with me this year, so he continued to do in the next year, 1671. For at shearing-time he took from me by violence ten fleeces of wool; and in hay-time he

took away my hay, as before. And in harvest, when my wheat was all reaped, and set up in shocks, his man Lodowick came, and scattered the sheaves all about the land; and having brought a cart, he carried away what he pleased; leaving the rest in that condition as he, in his envy and madness, had scattered it about.

While thus the priest kept me in prison and made havock of my goods; it arose in my mind to write to my neighbours, to put them upon considering what spirit their teacher (whom they heard and followed) was of, who brought forth such evil fruits as these. This letter I sent to my wife, and she took an opportunity to deliver it to the people as they came out of their worship-house on a first-day. This enraged the priest, that meeting my wife soon after in the street, he reviled her much, and told her, if he had been there he would have laid her by the heels. Of that letter the copy here followeth, thus directed.

" To my loving neighbours, dwelling at and near Boxford, These.

ALL you my neighbours who are inhabitants in Boxford and Westbrook and the parts adjacent; even all such of you more especially who sit under James Anderton's ministry, and uphold him therein by paying him wages; I desire you to judge by his fruits whether he is a minister of Christ or of antichrist. For Christ Jesus said, " By their fruits ye shall know them."

It is not unknown to most of you, how he hath dealt with me for these six or seven years' space, which is too long here to be expressed; how furiously, enviously, and wickedly he hath proceeded against me, and all for filthy lucre sake, because for conscience sake I could not pay him wages; but in obedience to the Lord was constrained often to testify, that his work and ministry was not of God, but by the traditions and inventions of men, contrary to God. And for denying his work and ministry, and refusing to put into his mouth, he hath prepared all this war against me. And if, with a single eye, ye do but view his actions, I know ye cannot but confess and say with me, that he is one that serves not our Lord Jesus Christ, but his own belly; and surely his reward will be according to his works. And I would have you all to know, that my refusing to pay tithes is purely a matter of conscience to me; and I do it in obedience to the will of the Lord, which I dare not gainsay; and not out of wilfulness or obstinacy or for any covetous end. And that you may be satisfied in this thing, I have propounded some queries for you to consider of, and your priest to answer. They are as follow:—

Query 1. Whether to pay tithes or to receive tithes be not a denial of Christ's being come in the flesh; seeing he came to put an end to the first covenant and priesthood who only were to take tithes?

Q. 2. Whether when Christ did come and change the priesthood, he did not also disannul the commandment whereby tithes were to be paid? see Heb. vii. 12—18.

Q. 3. Whether Christ gave power to any pope or prince to set up tithes again, after he had disannulled them?

Q. 4. Whether there be any Scripture, in all the New Testament, that gives the least intimation, that tithes were or should be the maintenance of the gospel ministry, after Christ's disannulling them?

Q. 5. Whether they that are true gospel ministers, do not receive a gift freely from Christ, whereby they are made able ministers; as the Apostle says, " As every one hath received the gift, so let him minister the same, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God?" 1st Peter iv. 10. But they that minister by human learning or natural parts, without a gift from Christ; having got a form of knowledge and of godliness without the true power, are such as the Apostle Paul said should come in the last days, whom he warned the true Christians to turn away from, 2nd Tim. iii. 5; and are not such to be turned away from now?

Q. 6. Whether they that receive a gift from Christ and minister therefrom, ought not to do it freely? " Freely ye have received, freely give," said Christ to his ministers and messengers whom he sent forth to preach. Surely, as the gift of God is free, so the exercise of it ought to be free; and not to be sold for money. God is a free giver and sends his gospel freely; he did not intend that people should be compelled to pay for it.

Q. 7. Where the gospel is preached freely, and people's hearts are reached and opened by the power thereof; can they do otherwise than love that minister who ministers spiritual things to them? And is it possible but that in this love they should minister outward things to such? Thus they that preach the gospel may live of the gospel; the gospel which is the power of God opening people's hearts, and inclining them readily to communicate to such what is needful and convenient. But should the ministers of the gospel live of the gospel? or of a law forcing maintenance from men against their wills?

Q. 8. Did Christ ever intend that his ministers should be maintained by men of this world who despise him and his message and walk in looseness; yea some of them in all manner of wickedness and profaneness? Or did he intend that they who fear him and love him, and

refuse to pay tithes or other maintenance in true conscientiousness unto him should be forced to it by laws and penalties? Is this of Christ? or came this from the pope who with his ministry hath departed from the way of Christ, and set up inventions of his own?

Q. 9. Is not the gospel a gospel of peace, love and gentleness? Should not the ministers of it be such? Should they strive? Should they provoke men? Should they contend about their maintenance, and make the gospel burthensome to any? Where men's hearts are opened and they give freely, there it is not burthensome; but where men are forced (some against their wills, others against their knowledge, belief and conscience) to maintain and uphold that which they know is not of God; is not that burthensome? doth this at all become the gospel or ministry of Christ?

Q. 10. Had not we better give our testimony against this false ministry and against this false way of maintaining it by tithes, which Christ put an end to; and so confess Him in His priestly office, which stands for ever, and in his ministry and ministers, which minister by a gift received from him and minister freely not for filthy lucre; than be condemned by Christ, for owning them and denying Him.

Truly, I had rather suffer the loss of all my goods and endure imprisonment all my days, than deny Christ here before men in paying tithes, and owning a ministry which I know is not of him; and so to be denied by him before his Father. For I am satisfied in my heart, as in the Lord's sight, that if I should pay tithes, I should be denied by Christ, my Lord and Master, in whom alone I expect and am assured of salvation, through faith in his name and in obedience to what he requires. But they that obey not his Gospel which disannulled tithes, on them will he reveal and execute wrath, 2 Thess. i. 8.

Consider of these things seriously, in the fear of the Lord; and require your priest in plainness to answer according to the Scriptures of Truth, and send his answer in writing to me. For I do hereby declare, that if he can make appear by the Scriptures of Truth, and by the examples of Christ and his followers therein recorded, that Christians ought to pay tithes; I say, if he can make this appear, by sound words which cannot be condemned, then I shall be content not only to pay tithes for the time to come; but whatsoever I have kept back in the time past, to restore sevenfold. But if he refuse to answer these queries plainly, according to the Scriptures, and show the rule of his maintenance therefrom; then let him not for time to come, call the Scriptures his rule any more: but let him go to the pope and claim his tithes by his rule; for the pope and his popish princes were the first that made laws to compel Christians to pay tithes.

It is in love to you and for your souls' sake that I have written these things, otherwise at this time I had been silent; for I am satisfied in my testimony, that it is for the Lord; to whom I have committed my cause and who hath hitherto preserved me, all holy praises be to Him for evermore; and I know that in his due time he will deliver me. So in his love I rest and remain

A true friend to all your souls,
OLIVER SANSOM.

Written in Reading Gaol, the 25th of Fifth month, 1671.

Where I endure imprisonment, for bearing witness for the Lord against the false shepherds, who feed themselves but not the flock; and by violence tear their wool from off them.'

This is that paper which so enraged the priest, that he let loose his unruly tongue, in reviling language and threats upon my wife for delivering it; though not to him but to the people. But he would not be persuaded to answer it.

I was still kept a close prisoner upon the priest's suit for tithes, and he had often said I should never have my liberty but should lie in prison till I rotted. And to make the more sure of me, this wicked priest had procured a writ (de excommunicato capiendo) to be taken out and served on me while I was in prison; that having two strings to his bow, if one of them should slip or break, the other might hold me fast still.

In this both the enmity and subtilty of this priest appeared; for hereby he both strengthened my bonds, and cunningly but falsely excused himself to his people. For when any of my neighbours did at any time speak to him on my behalf (which every now and then one or other of them did) desiring him to set me at liberty; he would wipe his mouth and tell them, that I was not his prisoner now but the king's upon a writ of excommunication; for said he, though I did indeed send him to prison yet it is not I that continue him there now. But this shift of his by which he thought to hide and cover his deceit, did serve to lay him and it more open and naked afterwards.

For after I had been confined more than two full years, a close prisoner (not having seen my outward habitation in all that time) a declaration came forth from the king* to suspend the

* The King's patent or pardon is referred to in "The Christian Progress, &c. of George Whitehead," and a copy of it given at page 351 of vol. 8th of Friends' Library. The original contains the names of 491 Friends, most of whom had long laid

enal laws; and thereupon it was expected that ll prisoners upon the account of religion should e set at liberty, except those that lay for ithes.

Now had I freedom to ask the gaoler, which n all that time I had not done before, to grant ne a few days liberty to go home; which he eadily granted, provided I would go privately; ut that I could not accept of. Wherefore I old him, if he would not allow me to go home s openly as I came from home, I must be conent to stay in prison until way should be made or my enlargement. When the gaoler heard ne say so, he gave me leave to go home as I lesired.

It was about the middle of the day when I ame to Boxford, the place of my habitation, nd I going openly through the town, many of ny neighbours seeing me, came running to welome me home; and said, they were glad to ee me at liberty. I told them I was not yet eleased from my imprisonment; but that it vas likely I might be in a short time, if their riest did not withstand it. Some of them said, hey were confident he would not keep me in rison on his account; and then related to me he words which they had heard him say to hat purpose, viz.: that though he had sent me o prison, yet he did not continue me there. When I heard that and had well considered of t, something came upon my mind to write to he priest after this manner.

"James Anderton,

Thou mayest remember that above two years ince thou didst cause me to be arrested and ast into prison, where I have remained more han two full years in close confinement; which s not a light nor a small matter. For I tell thee ruly, that not any thing nor all things that this vorld can afford, if they were proffered me, ould have induced me to have endured it. But submitting to it in true tenderness and concientiousness towards the Lord God of my ife, and he beholding the integrity of my heart, nd seeing that towards him innocency was ound in me, and that towards thee I had neiher done, nor intended to do any harm; therefore hath the Lord in the exceeding riches of is love and tender mercy, which fails not towards them that fear him, been very nigh unto ne and hath sustained and preserved me all long; blessed and praised be his Holy Name or ever. For it is He and only He, who is he God of the spirits of all flesh, that can nake difficult and hard things easy, and a prison pleasant. Glory over all be to him for evermore. Amen.

Now the cause of my writing to thee at this time is, by reason that some do report thou didst say, that although thou didst cast me into prison, yet I was not kept there upon thy account now, but upon the king's writ of excommunication; now I desire, in meekness, to ask thee one question. Suppose the king should make void the aforesaid writ; then my question is, whether thou wouldest be willing to release me from that warrant by which I was first cast into prison, or whether thou wouldest continue my confinement by that old warrant if the said writ of excommunication be made void? And if thou art willing I should be at liberty and not lie in prison upon thy account; then I desire thee to manifest it by a few lines under thy hand which may free me from thy aforesaid warrant; and thereby I shall know that I have not been kept prisoner all this time upon thy account. But if thou refusest to free me from thy first warrant, then all people may justly conclude, that not only for the time that is to come, but even for all the time past, thou wouldest have kept me in prison, if the writ of excommunication had never been; and so in the sight of the Lord, and of all people, the cause of my sufferings will be imputed to thee only; and I know that the Lord, in whose hand is thy breath and the breath of all living, will require it of thee, when he shall come near to judgment. So leaving it to thy consideration and expecting an answer, I remain

A friend to all that love Truth in uprightness of heart. Oliver Sansom."

The 4th of the Second month, 1672.

This letter was delivered to him by a neighbour, unto whom he had endeavoured to excuse himself from being the cause of continuing me in prison, as is before expressed. And when the priest had read it over, he did acknowledge that he had spoken such words as the letter did recite; but yet, said he, he must pardon me for that, for if the king do release him, I will not. This more plainly manifested his deceit; and when his answer was brought to me, it was in my heart to say; I do believe it will turn to his confusion: and I bid his hearers consider how false their priest was, and how little credit could be given to what he said.

Soon after this I returned to prison again. But when I came thither, I found that the Friends whom I had left prisoners there, being about four score in number, were all set at liberty; and I alone was continued in prison upon the priest's account for tithes. But mark what followed.

Upon that very self-same day that I was de-

n prison and were now to be liberated; amongst hem are Thomas Curtis, Christopher Cheeseman, lamuel Burgis, Oliver Sansom and others, whose ames appear in these pages.

tained alone in prison, the priest was smitten by the Lord. For, as I was informed, he rode forth that day and came home very ill; and so strange and unusual was his distemper that the physicians could not find out the cause of it. In a suffering condition he continued about seven weeks; so that it was supposed he himself did rot while he lived; who had so often threatened, that I should rot in gaol. And most of the time of his illness, he lay in extremity of pain and torment, so that it was judged he died rather of pain than sickness; and so exceedingly restless was he unto the very last, that one of his nurses told me that in the last hour before he died, she did believe he lay down on his bed and rose again at least six times.

Thus he miserably ended his life, on the 24th of the third month, 1672. The Lord having made him an eminent example to all hard-hearted persecutors; who I heartily wish may consider his end and take warning thereby in time.

Upon the priest's death I was set at liberty. But ah! how can I proceed without mentioning a little of the Lord's goodness and mercy, which he was pleased to show unto me in that time of my solitude and lonely confinement by myself! The Lord was pleased graciously to visit me and wonderfully to break in upon me in that needful time, to the overcoming of me with the sense of his heart-tendering love, which made me in secret say, surely the Lord brought me hither, on purpose to show kindness to me. And through the breakings in of the power of an endless life into my heart at that season, my God did both mightily tender and enlarge my heart, and also opened my mouth and gave me utterance, to show forth his praise and to declare of his goodness openly in the assemblies of his people. O blessed and praised and magnified be his worthy and honourable name for evermore! who raiseth the poor from the dust and the needy from the dunghill, to tell of his goodness and to proclaim the exceeding riches of his love to the children of men. And now it is clearly seen that the Lord is pleased to reveal the divine mysteries of his kingdom to babes and little ones; and to hide them from the wisdom of this world, that no flesh may boast or glory in his presence.

And now having a little eased my spirit in a thankful acknowledgment of the loving-kindness of the Lord to me and his gracious dealings with me, I proceed to recount some of the many exercises which befell me after I was set at liberty.

This priest, under whom I had suffered, had many children; whereof his eldest son was educated to be a lawyer, and the next to be a priest. This young priest, by making friends, got in to succeed his father in the parsonage of Boxford; yet came not at first to dwell there, but let the tithes to two or three men of the parish; for his mother and the whole of the family, upon the death of the old priest, removed from that town and went to dwell elsewhere.

Now when I understood who were the men that were about to farm or rent the tithes of this young priest, I went to them and forewarned them, that they should not meddle with anything which the priest might claim from me; for I told them, I could no more pay them for him, than I could pay the priest himself. They gave me fair words and said they would not meddle with it; but yet afterwards they agreed together and took the tithes of my living with the rest. And when afterwards I spake to them about it and blamed them for it, they did but mock at me, pretending they did it in kindness to me to prevent my future sufferings.

They were for the most part of them, a sort of sordid, sottish people; inclined much to drink, smoking, vanity and folly; and as it were wholly senseless of, and unconcerned for their souls. And though while I was in suffering they seemed sometimes to be something tender and loving; yet now that they saw me at liberty again they grew hard; so as to slight the truth and make a scoff at the testimony of it.

And indeed the sense I had of their unworthiness and the small ground I had to hope for any good to be brought forth among them, made me sometimes think I might have been of more service to the truth had I lived in some other place. But the testimony I was engaged in there against the idle shepherd of that parish, would not suffer me to entertain a thought of removing from thence, until that war which he had raised against me was over, lest I should thereby seem to fly, and let fall my testimony, and thereby strengthen him in his wickedness and give him occasion to boast over, not me only, but the blessed truth which I contended for.

But now that the priest was cut off in so extraordinary a manner, and the war which he had begun and so long and vigorously carried on, was in all outward appearance put to an end, and that to the advantage of truth; the thoughts of removing from thence, and going to dwell at Farringdon, came afresh and more strongly upon me. And because the exercise it brought with it was very weighty upon me I laid the matter before Friends at the men's monthly meeting. And as I related my condition and the exercise that was upon me therein, the Friends were much tendered and had great unity therewith, and found clearness to encourage me to go on in my purpose; for they were sensible that I might be of more service to truth at Farringdon, than where I then was. So

having clearness in myself and the consent of Friends I gave up to remove, though not without some cross to my own will and against my outward interest, and made preparation to depart from thence by disposing of my living and what I had at Boxford.

But the enemy of truth and righteousness stirred up the priest's widow and her sons to oppose and persecute me again, upon the old account which I had suffered for so long before. This occasioned some words to pass between me and the young priest, wherein I reproved him for his vanity and folly; and he, to be even with me, threatened me, as his father used to do, with a prison for what he pretended was due to his father. This brought a weighty concern upon me to write to him, who bore his father's name, which I did thus:—

"James Anderton,

Thy late carriage and deportment hath brought a weighty and serious consideration upon my spirit concerning thee; and in the light of the living God, I see thy state and standing to be sad and dangerous; and in tender love to thy immortal soul I am even constrained to write these lines in the fear of the Lord as a warning to thee, that thou turn in thy mind to the light which Christ hath enlightened thee withal, that thou mayest see and discern thy own state and condition, how it stands betwixt the Lord and thy immortal soul. For I testify to thee, thou art in the way of death and destruction; and if thou dost not repent and turn to the Lord, even to his light and Spirit which is given thee to profit withal, but dost go on in rebellion against him, eternal ruin, destruction and misery will be thy portion for ever. Therefore, as one that desires thy well-being both in this world and in that which is to come, I exhort and warn thee that thou speedily repent and turn to the Lord, while his Spirit strives with thee and his mercy and long-suffering is extended towards thee; lest his spirit cease striving, and he give thee over to a reprobate mind, and his wrath come upon thee, and there be no remedy for thee. Therefore prize thy precious time and thy day before it be too late.

And if thou wilt turn in thy mind to the light of Christ, as aforesaid, thou mayest see thy ways and practices to be contrary to the mind and will of God, and also contrary to the example of the ministers of Christ; and thou mayest also see and know in thy own conscience, that the Lord never sent thee nor ever called thee to that ministry. And therefore how canst thou expect to profit the people at all or to turn any of them from their evil ways; seeing thou standest not in the counsel of God, but dost cause the people to err, and the hands of evil doers are strengthened by thee to go on in wickedness? For thou makest thyself vain and spendest thy precious time in card-playing and the like; and then bringest Scripture to justify thy practices therein. Oh! blush for shame and cease wresting and perverting the Holy Scriptures, which were not given forth to justify or tolerate profaneness; for the drunkard, swearer, or liar, or any other profane person may hereby be encouraged in their abominable practices by thy example. They may plead in this manner, 'Our minister says, all things are lawful, and thereupon he can take liberty himself to sporting, carding, and the like. And if all things be lawful, then drunkenness, &c., they may say, is lawful.' O consider and take heed, and harden not thy heart; but while thy day is, turn to the light which discovers and condemns all the deeds of darkness. And thereby thou mayest come to know in thy conscience, that they that preach for hire and take tithes by force and violence from people, are not ministers of Christ, but deceivers and of Antichrist; and the servants of the Lord must bear witness against them now as well as formerly. So to the light of Christ Jesus in thy own conscience I once more direct thee; therein to wait for a clear understanding; for that will make manifest to thee thy evil deeds and reprove thee for them. And if thou turn at its reproof, happy wilt thou be; but if thou dost go on in rebellion as thou art now going, it is and will be thy condemnation for ever and thou canst not escape. And whether thou wilt hear or forbear; yet this light which I have testified of, will stand a faithful witness for the Lord that cannot lie; and from it thy most secret thoughts cannot be hid. O that thou wouldst prize thy precious time, and consider in this thy day the things that belong to thy soul's peace before they be hid from thy eyes! which is the desire of him, who is

A well-wisher to thy soul, but a witness against thy deceit. Oliver Sansom.

P. S.—And whereas thou has threatened me with a prison if I did not pay what thou pretendest was due to thy father; this I have to say and testify in the presence of the living God, that for conscience sake towards the Lord I could not give thy father anything nor pay him any wages, because he was a deceitful worker and a false minister; and the Lord God of my life required me to bear witness against him in his day. And if thou dost seriously weigh and consider what cruelty thy father acted against me, and the wrong and injury he hath done me, and all for my obeying the Lord; surely thou mightest easily see that in equity it is thy concern rather to make restitution for the goods he wrongfully took from me

and the long imprisonment, which through his means was unjustly inflicted upon me; than to be so impudent as to demand anything now of me. Yet in all my sufferings the Lord my God did uphold me, and stood by me in my testimony against thy father; and preserved me so that I knew no want; blessed be his holy name for ever. And when thy father after many faithful warnings refused to hear, and hardening his heart went frowardly on in his evil way, in provoking the Lord until his measure of iniquity was filled up; then did the Lord arise to plead the cause of him that had no helper in the earth; and did remove the oppressor out of the way by cutting him off from the earth. Therefore I desire thee to look back upon thy father's ways and practices and consider his miserable end. And let that be as a warning to thee, not to follow his steps, lest thou come to the like end. But the Lord knows my heart, that I did not desire thy father's ruin; but often in tender pity warned him to return from his evil ways. And in my sufferings I committed the keeping of my soul with all that I had unto the Lord; who was unto me as a tender father and hath kept and preserved me all along; and hath also delivered and set me at liberty: Glory over all be to Him for evermore.

And now, James Anderton, take heed to thyself what thou doest concerning me. Think not that because thou hast a law on thy side, an unjust law will excuse thee in the sight of God; for in all ages the servants of the Lord suffered under the pretence of the breach of a law, by their persecutors. And know this, that it is by the Spirit of the Lord that I am raised up, to stand a witness for him against thy ways and practices; and unto Him I commit my cause, who alone is able to preserve me and keep me in well-doing, unto the end of my days.

So in the coolness of thy spirit I desire thee to consider of what I have here written; and to the just witness of God I appeal to testify to the truth of it: and whether thou wilt hear or not, yet that will one day bring to thy remembrance that thou hast been warned.

O. S.

Written and delivered in the Twelfth month, 1672."

My purpose of removing from this place to go and dwell at Farringdon continued still with a weighty exercise upon me. Yet I hastened not in it, but waited to see how the Lord would make my way clear; desiring of the Lord that he would keep me always single to himself; that whatsoever I did, or whatsoever state I was in, I might enjoy contentment, peace, and satisfaction from him.

And as I had before laid my intention of removing before my friends and brethren in the spiritual relation, with respect to my service for truth in going or staying, who approved my purpose of removing; so now, that I might act with a decent regard to my outward relations also, I went first to my own father who had given me that small estate and acquainted him, that I had some thoughts to part with it provided he would give his consent; else not. He very readily gave his consent, and did his endeavour to help me to a chapman to buy it. Then went I to my wife's father also, and desired his consent for my parting with it, which he also freely gave; and thus for awhile things went on very easy and well, in order to my removal, beyond my expectation.

[Oliver Sansom appears to have visited Bristol and London during the early part of this year, 1673; the following letters, dated the third month, were written from those places to his wife,]

My dear Wife,—My dear and tender love is entirely unto thee in the living unchangeable Truth; earnestly desiring, and the breathing of my soul is, that we may be preserved in the same, without wavering, unto the end, that we may faithfully fulfil our generation, according to the will of the Lord our God who is blessed for ever. Dear heart, this may let thee know that I am well, and my dear companion, whose love is dearly to thee and to Friends; we have had many precious meetings; we met with W. Dewsbury at one meeting, and Katharine Evans at another, her love is to thee. John Moon intends to come that way towards London next week, and be at the Mill on the fourth-day if he can; and if I come not with him then I intend to be at Farringdon the first-day after. But if things fall out contrary to my present expectation, thou mayest hear from me on the fifth-day at Newbury; but if there is haste of my return home, send by the next post. So with dear love to Richard Daniels and Betty, and T. V., and to Friends, thinking to return shortly, I rest

Thy dear husband,

O. S.

Bristol, the 3rd of the Third month, 1673.

My dear Wife,—These may let thee know that I am come well to London, and here are abundance of precious Friends, that in times past were kept asunder, but are now, through the tender love of the Lord, met together, to the great joy and refreshment of one another. Oh! the tenderness, the love, and the life that is felt abundantly to flow in the blessed unity of the Holy Spirit, to the honour and glory of

e Father, who is blessed for evermore. Dear art, I clearly see the tender love of the Lord oundantly manifested in giving me this pre-ous opportunity to be here at this time, to be-old the faces of so many dear brethren, bear-ig the Father's mark in their foreheads, and eling his life flow through their vessels as a iver, and his love as a mighty stream. Glory o the Lord over all, and to the Lamb for ever-nore.

I desire thee not to look for me so soon as I poke of, for I think I shall hardly get out of he city this week, or however, not before the eventh-day, to be at Reading on the first-day; ut Theophila Townsend is here, and she has o company, and if a horse can be conveni-ntly had I think to come back with her through Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, which will ake up some time, therefore look not for me ill thou see me. So with my dear and tender ove to thee, desiring that in a waiting and watchful state thou may be kept and preserved with thine eye turned inward to that power which is able to do it; and in the same love to R. D., E. W., and T. V., and to all my dear Friends both at Newbury and elsewhere.

I remain thy dear husband,

O. S.

London, the 19th of the Third month, 1673.

Now although I then was, and yet am fully satisfied, that my purpose of removing was of the Lord; yet with respect to the time for doing it, I afterwards found (which I did not then presently foresee) that the Lord had a further service and testimony for me to bear for his name and truth in those parts, before I left that place; which was brought about after this manner.

The widow of the old priest that was lately dead, and her eldest son, John Anderton, who was bred to the law, consulted together; and thinking they might get some advantage upon me by straitening me about my removal, which they understood was in hand, and hoping that some one or other of my relations would compound with them and give them some money to set me free, proceeded against me for that end, in the Corporation Court of Newbury, thus.

Upon the 18th day of the seventh month, 1673, as my man led my horse, loaded with corn, into the market at Newbury, the said John Anderton met him and said, "How now Quaker! I'll have this horse and corn, too, before thou shalt go out of town." When my man had set down the corn and was going to fetch more, John Anderton met him again and stayed the horse until the serjeant came with a warrant from the mayor to attach him. Of which the copy here follows.

"Burgus de Newbury in Com' Berks. } Attach Oliver Sansom by his goods and chattels, so that he be and appear at the next Court, to be holden for the said borough to answer Charity Anderton in a Plea of Trespass.

Geo. Cowslade, Mayor."

My horse being thus arrested I had no freedom to give bail; but did choose rather to rest satisfied with the loss of my horse than to contend in law. But there being many people present, some of them would not suffer my horse to be led away: but in love to me went (though quite contrary to my mind and freedom) and gave bail for my appearance; which afterwards became a trouble and a snare both to me and them.

When I understood this action was entered against me in the name of the priest's widow, it was weightily upon me to write to her as followeth:—

"Charity Anderton,

Whereas there is an action entered against me in thy name in the Corporation-Court of Newbury, where I am to appear the last day of this month to answer thee in a plea of trespass; I do not know that I did ever trespass against thee in all my life. But if thou thinkest I did, then I do wish that thou from thy heart couldest forgive all men their trespasses, that the Lord might forgive thee thine.

But if this suit be upon that old demand for which thy husband did cast me into prison, and cruelly kept me there until his death; then I desire thee to consider in thy heart, and let God's witness in thy conscience answer, whether I have not suffered double for that already. But if thou art resolved to go on to prosecute this matter, then this I have to say to thee, that the same God that did strengthen and preserve and uphold me under that persecution, and pleaded my cause with thy husband then; I say, the same God is with me still, to keep and preserve me, and to plead my cause with thee; and into his keeping and protection [myself] with all that I have, is committed. And I know and believe that he will suffer no more to come upon me than he will give me ability and patience to bear; and my sufferings shall all redound to his glory, and to my soul's everlasting good.

Therefore I do in tender love to thee, advise thee to take heed what thou doest against me, for he in whom my confidence is, is greater than all; and his tender love and care have been and still are over me; and what thou doest against me in this matter he will take as done unto himself: and if thou dost proceed in this course of cruelty, the wrath and indignation of

the Lord will break forth against thee, which thy soul shall feel to thy sorrow, if thou repent not in time. And besides, though it should prove to thy outward profit as thou mayest expect, yet it will occasion a stinking savour to arise again from the actions of him who first began this unchristian controversy against me; the remembrance whereof will by this means be afresh revived; and so that Scripture will be fulfilled which says, "The memorial of the wicked shall rot."

It is likely thy son and thou may think you have entangled and caught me in your snare, now in this juncture of time, when you heard I was to surrender at the Court-Leet; for thy son said he would send me to prison and prevent my being there. Now this I say, if you do seek this way to prevent my being at the court, it is possible you may have your end; for if I do not surrender when at liberty I intend never to surrender while a prisoner. But this doth not at all straiten me, for I am not so far engaged but I may safely hold it, and to the praise and glory of God I can boldly speak it, that it was not for any outward need or necessity that I went about to part with it. For notwithstanding the cruelty, spoil, and violence, which by thy husband was acted against me, yet the blessing of the Lord my God hath been so largely upon me, that he hath not suffered my outward estate to be impaired, but hath rather increased it. And this I further say, that as the Lord through his tender mercy hath hitherto preserved me and given me victory over all that hath opposed me, so my hope and confidence is, that the same God will continue his kindness and mercy to me, so that, if ever I remove from Boxford, I shall go away as one who through faith and patience hath obtained the victory. So it is in vain for thee to strive against the Lord, who hath manifested his blessed Truth; which as it is abode in giveth the victory, and through the power of it shall surely overcome all that do oppose or rise up against me for it. Wherefore I wish thou wouldest be warned by him who desires thy soul's present and eternal good.

OLIVER SANSOM.

The 28th of the Seventh month, 1673"

Two days after, the Newbury Court was held, and the new mayor, Richard Pocock, first sat as judge there; where I appeared in person and proffered to render my body a prisoner to discharge my bail; but it would not be accepted. My appearance also in my own person was refused; and because I did not employ an attorney to appear for me, the mayor presently gave judgment against me for non-appearance, although I did appear according to the express words of the warrant, and answered to my name when I was called three times in court. So judgment being entered against me I expected to be taken up with an execution; and therefore I desired the serjeant, that as soon as an execution should come to his hand he would let me have notice of it, that I might render my body to him a prisoner to discharge my bail; and he promised me I should know as soon as an execution was come forth against me; which I relying on and hearing nothing of it in the interim I did not go to the next court.

But, as I was informed, John Anderton, being at the mayor's house before he went to the court, desired one of the serjeants there present to set his hand to a paper. The serjeant asked whether he might safely do it without danger; and the mayor telling him he might safely do it, for there was no danger in it; the serjeant, thus encouraged by the mayor, did set his hand to he knew not what; which when he had done, J. Anderton gave him sixpence and bid him take the paper and throw it into the court.

This paper it seems was the execution, which was returned "Non est inventus" by John Anderton; who got the serjeant to set his hand to it as his return, not knowing that it was an execution, but thought it had been a "Scire facias;" as he affirmed the next court-day in open court and proffered to take his oath of it.

Upon this false return on the second court-day of this mayor's sitting, a "Scire facias" was granted against my bail. Whereupon being advised to render my body to be actually a prisoner before the "Scire facias" was returned, I went to the mayor's house on the court-day before he went to the court, and proffered to render my body to be his prisoner, desiring him to commit me to one of his serjeants then present that there might be no further proceeding against my bail. The mayor said he could do nothing until he came to the court, and he bid me be there and then I might be committed. But when I came to the court, which was but the third day of this mayor's sitting, though I had at that time an attorney there who moved and pleaded on my behalf, and showed an error in the return of the execution, the mayor permitted my adversary to amend it there in the open court; and when I there also proffered to render my body into custody often desiring that I might be committed to discharge my bail, he refused to accept the tender of my body, and ordered the "Scire facias" to be returned and filed; and that being then pleaded to, the trial was ordered to be on the next court-day; whereupon my adversary did boast that he would have a judgment against my bail.

When I had well considered of these proceedings, perceiving plainly that the mayor was bent to gratify my adversary, that if it were

ssible he might have his design, though altogether unjustly carried on against me; my spirit as stirred within me and in the sense of his just dealing by me, I wrote to him as follows:—

"Richard Pocock,

Forasmuch as the Lord hath given thee authority as chief magistrate in this borough of Newbury; I say the Lord God of heaven and earth hath put the sword of justice into thy hand, and he requires thee to do true judgment and justice in thy place; to relieve the oppressed and to be a refuge for the innocent and a terror to evil-doers. But thou hast disobeyed the Lord and abused the power which he hath given thee. For the very first day of thy sitting as judge in the court, thou gavest unjust judgment against me, who am an innocent man, without a hearing or trial; only because I did appear in my own person, according to the plain words of the warrant, and did not hire another to appear for me, whom I knew not; nor whether he would speak for me or against me. And for this only cause and no other that I know of, thou tookest occasion to give judgment against me, whereas the charge and accusation against me is false and a very lie. And so thou hast encouraged the liar in his lying, and strengthened the hands of the wicked and hast grieved and oppressed the just, and suffered the law to be perverted by wicked instruments, to be made a snare to the innocent which should be a refuge for such.

And for thy proceedings since, at the second and third times of thy sitting in the court; to the witness of God in thy conscience I appeal to plead my cause with thee and to show thee the deceit of thy own wicked heart, how thou hast acted towards me, and also to manifest my innocency unto thee. And therefore my desire is, that thou mayest fear the Lord, and consider that thou must give an account to him, both of thy trust and authority, and of all thy deeds done in thy body, whether they be good or bad. For verily, for that which thou hast done and suffered to be done since thou camest into authority, is the Spirit of the Lord grieved; and his anger and indignation is kindled against thee. And if thou goest on in provoking the Lord, he will arise in his own due time, and will plead the cause of the oppressed; and his wrath will break forth against thee, and his judgments will overtake thee and bring thee down from thy seat, except thou repent.

Therefore in true and tender love to thy soul I warn thee in the fear of the Lord, that thou take heed of what thou doest: for the Lord is on my side who will take account of what thou doest against me, whether in public or in private; and to him have I committed my cause who will plead it with thee, and with all that oppose me for his sake. So I desire thee to turn to the just principle of truth and justice, the light of Christ in thy conscience; that thereby thou mayest be ordered and directed to rule for God; and then thou wilt prosper in thy government and be happy both in this world and that which is to come. But this I testify to thee, that thou art now in the broad way that leadeth to destruction; and take heed lest thou arrive there before thou art aware. O that thou wouldest be warned and repent before it is too late, is the desire of my soul, who am

A well-wisher to thee and all men,

Oliver Sansom.

The 15th of Eighth month, 1673."

When the next court-day came, which was the 21st of the eighth month, 1673, my adversary was confounded or disappointed in his proceedings; for his declaration was found so faulty, that he was ashamed of it, and the judgment was set aside; and then my attorney pleaded for costs, but the mayor would allow only two shillings, which my adversary paid down in court. Then the mayor ordered that we should go to trial upon the merit of the cause, but I laboured to withstand it; for I well knew what the event would be if I did go to trial before them; wherefore I urged to have my bail first discharged. But whether I would or not, my attorney agreed with the mayor to go to trial upon the merit of the cause, by which I saw more plainly the disadvantage of having an attorney.

Wherefore when the next court-day came, which was on the 28th of the eighth month, 1673, not having freedom to gratify the corrupt covetous mind in the lawyers, I forbade my attorney acting any further in my defence without fresh order from me; and when the cause was called, I spake to the mayor desiring my bail might be discharged; for I told him I was informed by those that understood the law, that if the principal did render his body in discharge of his bail, it ought to be received and the bail discharged.

The mayor said there was no need for me to be a prisoner yet, and asked me why I would be a prisoner before there was a necessity; with more words to that purpose. I replied, my reason is because in all your proceedings against me hitherto, I perceive there is a snare laid, to cause the poor man to suffer who is engaged for me; and therefore, to prevent the like snare for the future, I desire he may be discharged and set free from his engagement, whatsoever I suffer myself. And then again I proffered to render my body desiring my bail might be discharged; which, I said, was but justice and according to law.

The mayor then angrily answered, whoever

said if the principal rendered his body in discharge of his bail, that it ought to be received and the bail discharged, he would say he was a fool and would lay him by the heels.

I replied, there are some who know the law as well as thyself, will say, what I desire in discharge of my bail, is according to law and justice, and ought not to be denied me; I desire but justice.

You ought, said the mayor, to give me thanks for the justice I did you last court-day.

All the justice, replied I, that was done me then, was but an undoing of some injustice that was done me before.

At that the mayor was in a rage and said, I affronted him and charged him with injustice; and thereupon he commanded the serjeant to put me in the cage and keep me there all that day, it being the fair-day, for, said he, I'll make him an example to all others.

I desired liberty to speak in my own defence, but the mayor would not hear me; but exclaiming against me, commanded the serjeant to take me away. The serjeant said, he had not the keys of the cage; whereupon the mayor commanded to send for the constable; but he came not. Then he commanded the serjeant to put me in the stocks; and the serjeant seeing the mayor in such a fury durst delay no longer, but taking me by the arm, led me gently out of the hall and then let me go. I seeing the stocks were near, went and sat me down on them for awhile; but the serjeant slunk away like a man ashamed. Now the mayor thought I had been put in the stocks; and after some time when his rage was over, he sent a serjeant to release me.

This ill usage of me brought a concern upon my mind to write to the mayor about it; which I did as followeth, thus directed:—

"*To Richard Pocock, Mayor of Newbury, These.*

FRIEND,

I have a few words to communicate to thee concerning thy dealing with me the last court-day: therefore I desire thee in the coolness of thy spirit, to consider what cause or occasion was given on my part, that should move thee to do by me as thou didst. Thou mayest remember what my words were, which thou tookest offence at, and the occasion of them; which was thus. As I was pleading for the discharge of my bail, and urged that what I desired was according to law and justice, thou toldest me, I ought to give thee thanks for the justice thou didst me the last court-day. To which I replied, all the justice that was done me then was but an undoing of some injustice which was done me before. These were the words thou tookest offence at. And now do but in soberness consider what ground thou hadst to be offended at those words, which may easily be proved true from thy own words, viz. That I had justice done me the last court-day; which thou knowest was in disannulling and reversing what had been done against me before; and surely that must needs be injustice which was disannulled and made void by justice. Now I write this, not to upbraid thee or glory over thee; but to let thee know that my suffering by thee is not for evil-doing. For the Lord of heaven and earth hath revealed his living Truth unto me, and in his fear and by his strength I stand a witness for him against all deceitful hireling priests, their works and wages; and against all corrupted lawyers and laws, and all those that act contrary to the righteous law of God in the heart, which leads to do to all men as they would be done unto. So I desire thee to weigh and consider what thou hast done. And this know, that I am so far from seeking revenge that I can from my heart not only forgive thee, but even pray for thee, that thou mayest come to repentance that the Lord may forgive thee also, and may open an understanding in thee, that thou mayest see and discern in this thy day the things which belong to thy soul's everlasting peace, before they be hid from thy eyes; which is the real desire of

O. SANSOM.

The 30th of Eighth month, 1673."

The court was adjourned to the second day of the tenth month, 1673, at which time I appeared; as also I did three several court-days following, viz. the 9th, 16th, and the 23rd days of the same month; but my adversary, John Anderton, put in no declaration against me in all that time, only continued the suit. But on the 13th of the eleventh month, when the court met again, there was a declaration put in against me. To which I appeared the next court, holden on the 20th of the same month, and offered to pay that which they called the king's duty. But the mayor and some of the lawyers opposed it, alleging that if such a thing should be suffered, that a man should defend his cause without an attorney it would hinder the lawyers' calling, and they might beg their bread whose education had been so chargeable to their parents; with much more to the like effect.

I said, there is no need of such lawyers, for generally they do more hurt than good.

They still pressed me much to employ an attorney, which I refused; yet still urged my personal appearance and answered to my name as oft as I was called in court. I also proffered to render my body to discharge my bail. Yet the mayor would take no notice of it; but entered judgment against me for non-appearance, though I appeared there in open court before them all.

ther pleaded, that seeing my adversary
t in his declaration without an attorney's
o it, I might have the like privilege to
ny defence in my own person and to go
. without an attorney. But the mayor
could not be; it must not be suffered:
en he permitted my adversary to amend
laration by putting in an attorney's name
ter it was filed in the court.
he 27th of the eleventh month, 1673, I
the court again; where were two jus-
f the peace, viz: John Kingsmell and
n Craven, besides the mayor and justice
vbury. The mayor spake to me and
ill you yet employ an attorney; if you
t employ an attorney the judgment shall
nd; what say you?
od up on a bench because of the throng
ple and began to speak; but the mayor
not suffer me to stand there, but caused
o pull me down, and said, if I would
elow by the table I should be heard. So
eing made for me I stood by the table;
fore I could speak, some that stood by
ld have pulled off my hat; but John
ell forbade them, saying, let his hat
Then in answer to the mayor's ques-
aid,
not employ an attorney because the
in controversy is not a common case,
nding merely between man and man;
my part is a case of conscience towards
rd. For there are many doubts and
s in my mind which are very weighty
which if I were resolved and satisfied in,
troversy would soon be at an end. For
formerly declared and do now declare,
I were satisfied in my conscience that
ns ought to pay tithes, by any either
nd or example from Christ or his apos-
n I shall be willing not only to pay tithes
nat I possess for the time to come, but
all the time that is past to restore se-
for what I have kept back. But that
priest who hath dealt most unchristian-
me, in spoiling my goods and casting
prison, and keeping me there until his
id always refuse to answer those scru-
ich lay so heavy upon my conscience,
ts in my mind, that if I should pay tithes
I sin against God, and deny that Christ
in the flesh, which I dare not do what-
suffer. And I have been informed and
use to believe, that by the laws of this
s court ought not to determine anything
ing tithes. And therefore I do deny the
ngs here, and do appeal to such other
s are by the king's laws appointed to
l determine such matters.
n I had thus spoken, Justice Kingsmell
ingly, what court would you appeal to?
Will you go to the court of heaven? and if so,
you may be sure the lawyers will not come
there.

After this many more words passed from him
and others to persuade me to employ an attor-
ney, which I refused, telling them, no attorney
was sensible of the ground and cause of the
controversy on my part, and therefore I must
commit my cause only to the Lord who hath
hitherto preserved me.

Then was my personal appearance again re-
fused, whereupon I again proffered to render
my body to discharge my bail; to which my
adversary's attorney answered, we will not
have your body, we will have none of your car-
case; we are of the mind to go another way to
work with you. While the attorney said this,
my adversary himself was whispering the
mayor in the ear; and then the court adjourn-
ed until after the term.

CHAPTER IV.

His prosecution at Newbury Court—Letter to the lawyer on the ground of his refusal to pay tithes—Injustice of the Mayor—Letter to him—Is committed to Newbury Compter Prison—His sickness there—Letter to his wife—Letter to the late priest's widow, his prosecutrix—Remarkable liberation—Letter to a Presbyterian priest who had preached against Friends—This priest's charges—Oliver Sansom's replies—Further correspondence between them.

On the 17th day of the twelfth month, 1673, the court sat again, and I appeared; but the mayor not being present, nothing was done fur-
ther in my business; only the clerk said the judgment was affirmed against me.

But on the 24th of the same month, when the court sat again, my cause was called and the mayor asked me, if I would yet employ an attorney? Whereupon I produced a paper which I desired might be entered into their book and I would pay for the entry. The mayor took it and read it openly in the court; and this is a copy of it.

"Memorandum,

That whereas there was an action entered in the name of Charity Anderton against Oliver Sansom, in the Borough-court of Newbury; and judgment was given against the said Oliver for not appearing by an attorney, and also execution taken thereupon; but by reason the declaration was found so defective that the plaintiff was ashamed of it, the judgment was reversed and the proceedings made void. But yet the mayor gave order for the action to be

renewed, and to go to trial upon a new declaration; but the said Oliver would not consent to it unless he might change his bail. And then he did proffer to render his body into the serjeant's hands to abide a prisoner until he did get other bail; but all was denied. And then a second declaration being put in, a second appearance was also required; and Oliver Sansom was called by name to appear in the court, and he made answer and proffered his personal appearance accordingly; and desired that he might appear and make his defence in his own proper person; which he claimed as his common right, and tendered sixpence in the court, as the king's duty for such an appearance. But the mayor would by no means admit of his personal appearance. Whereupon the said Oliver did render his body to be a prisoner to discharge his bail; but it was refused. This was done in the open court, on the 27th of the eleventh month, called January, in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Charles the Second, now king over England, &c., A. D. 1673.

And this is also further to be noted, That Gabriel Buck who did engage for Oliver Sansom's first appearance and is the bail first mentioned above, did engage no further than only for that first appearance unto the first action and declaration; but for the second appearance there was no bail engaged either by consent or intent; unless it can be by force."

When the mayor had read this paper openly in the court, he could not object anything against the truth of it; but asked me, why I would have it entered into the book?

I answered, seeing this paper contains a short account of the proceedings against me, and also the time when I rendered my body to discharge my bail; therefore I judge it may stand me in stead, and be of service to discharge my bail in time to come if need require. The mayor then said you may have it entered, but what will you give? I will give a shilling said I to the clerk, for entering it into the book, and for him to set his name as witness to it. If you will give five shillings, said the mayor, you may have it entered; otherwise it shall not be done. I replied, seeing I have proffered a shilling, which is more than it can be worth, I think it very unreasonable in thee to desire more. You may let it alone then, said the mayor; and if you will yet employ an attorney, the judgment may be reversed.

Just as this discourse ended, an attorney spake privately to me, and in a loving manner said, if I would but employ him, he would undertake to put an end to the business and throw it out of the court. I asked him, what ground he had to think so? he said, because an action for tithes ought not to be tried in this court, as he could produce statutes to prove. Then I began to reason in my mind about it, whether the Lord might not make use of him, as an instrument, to free me from that court; and so in my simplicity too hastily consented to him, and gave him his fee; whereupon he entered my appearance presently, in order to proceed in my defence. But I was much troubled and burthened in my spirit afterwards, and could not have peace until I had written a letter to forbid his proceeding any further on my behalf; which I did as followeth.

"FRIEND,

I am pressed in my spirit to write unto thee concerning my business, which thou didst enter upon at the last court-day in Newbury; because thou dost not understand the ground of the controversy on my part; which in short is this. About ten or eleven years since, I was convinced by the light of Christ in my conscience, of the deceit and hypocrisy of the hireling-priests of the nation, who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies; and the Lord required me to stand up for him a witness against them in their ministry, both as to their call to it, their practice in it, and maintenance of it. And in true obedience to the Lord and in his fear, have I denied the payment of tithes, even to the hazarding of all that I have in this world. For which cause I have suffered both the spoiling of my goods and the imprisonment of my body; and in all my sufferings the Lord hath so preserved me that it hath all wrought for good unto me. And to His glory be it spoken, he hath not only made me willing to serve him, but hath given me strength and power to do it. And in all my sufferings hitherto I have committed my cause unto the Lord, knowing the cause to be his, who gave me faith and patience to endure until he wrought deliverance. And so I quietly rested in content, and never troubled myself to contend with my adversary; though advantages in the law might have been taken. And so it is with me still, that I must commit my case to the Lord; for in him is my strength and power, my peace and comfort; and trusting nakedly in him I can rest in quiet, in the midst of trials and sufferings, who hath never failed me hitherto. And as the cause for which I suffer is the Lord's, so I hope I shall experience, as well now as heretofore, the power of my preservation to be his: so shall the glory of my deliverance be ascribed to Him, as his peculiar right, for evermore.

Now as the Lord hath kept and delivered me out of the mouth of the old lion, so I believe he will so far shut the mouth of the young one

that his teeth shall not hurt me. What if his paw should tear away some outward things? yet the Lord my God will limit him that he shall not go beyond his bounds.

Therefore I desire thee to go no further on in my defence; for I cannot have peace in committing my cause into thy hands. For if it were really in thy power to deliver me, I tell thee plainly, as the matter stands, I cannot accept of it, because I expect deliverance another way; and yet I do not question but that thou mightest possibly perform what thou didst promise me. And indeed at that instant when I retained thee, before I had thoroughly considered of it, I thought the Lord might peradventure make use of thee as an instrument for my deliverance; but having since more seriously weighed and considered better of it, the Lord hath showed me that it is nothing so. And he hath also given me to see, that thy end is nought; and that thou and thy fraternity there are so bad and corrupt in your practices and proceedings, that the Lord doth abhor you and will one day plead with you for them. Now by what is here written thou mayest take notice, that I do utterly deny thy proceeding any further in this business; but would have thee let it alone as if thou hadst never meddled with it.

And in tender love to thy soul I advise thee to turn in thy mind to the light of Christ in thy conscience, which doth search thy heart and will show thee in secret all that ever thou hast done. And if thou wilt heed it and obey it, then thou mayest come to witness that it will not only show thee sin and reprove thee for it; but it will also save thee from it, and salvation cannot be obtained any other way. This is all at present from him, who is thy friend,

O. Sansom.

The 26th of Twelfth month, 1673.

These to the hands of —— Brooker, an attorney in Newbury-court, dwelling at or near Woolhampton in Berks."

At the next court, which was holden on the third day of the first month called March, 1673–4, this attorney Brooker related how that I had sent him a letter, to forbid his going on any further in my defence; and he showed my letter to the lawyers; and they were angry and said that letter was a charge against them all; and some threatened to lay an action upon me for it. But I told them I would stand by what I had written, and bid them clear themselves of it if they could.

Then addressing myself to the mayor, I said, I have committed my cause to the Lord, who is able to deliver me if he pleaseth, but if he do not deliver me out of your hands, yet I cannot employ any of these corrupted lawyers for my defence.

One of these lawyers thereupon said, Oh! he will commit his case to God: God was never a lawyer! I replied, neither did the Lord set any of you on work to do as you do, but you are employed by another power, and your reward will be accordingly.

Then turning my speech to the mayor again, I said, thou dost well know, that this matter which I am sued for ought not to be determined in this court. Yet if thou art resolved to proceed and suffer the law to be prosecuted against me, contrary to the intent of it, then here I am to answer it and suffer the penalty of it. But I do wish thou mayest not suffer that to be acted in thy name and by thy authority, which will be a dishonour to thee afterwards. Upon this the court broke up.

The next court-day was on the seventeenth of the first month, 1673–4, where I appeared again and said openly, I am grieved with your proceedings against me; for the mayor knows that the controversy wherein I am concerned ought not to be decided in this court; and it hath been depending here near half a year already. Therefore I desire that an end may be put to it without any further delay.

The mayor thereupon interrupting me said angrily, where is your attorney?

I answered, if my case ought not to be tried here, what need have I of an attorney here?

The mayor then, being in a rage, said, I have proffered thee very fair and delayed the business for thy sake; and still thou dost refuse to employ an attorney, but abusest me for it, thou shalt not think to escape so. Constable, I command you to take him away and lay him by the heels. The constable not making haste, he said again, take him away; put him in the stocks; he shall not think to do as he did last time, only sit upon the stocks.

Upon this I said, I desire thee to make known openly what evil I have done for which I must now be set in the stocks?

Thou hast abused me, said the mayor; and told me I do not know the law.

Where is thy evidence, replied I, to prove this? And then calling out aloud I said, is here any man that can bear witness for thee, that what thou hast now said is true? But no man said anything for him. Whereupon he being in a great rage, said, constable, I command you to take him away, for I am in earnest. I'll bind him to his good behaviour. Then the constable haled me out into the street, but did not put me in the stocks.

On the 24th day of the same month, as soon as the mayor and his company were settled in the hall, I spake to them as followeth. It is generally known to you all, that the case here

depending, wherein I am concerned, ought not to be meddled with in this court. And I have often appealed to such other courts as by the laws of this nation are empowered to hear and determine such matters, but I cannot be heard.

The mayor thereupon hastily said, where is your writ to remove it out of this court? Show your authority and then you shall have it out.

I answered, if thou hadst not suffered it to have been prosecuted here, my adversary could not have proceeded. And seeing I am like to suffer by this court, here I am ready to undergo it. But I desire that no snare may be laid to cause my bail to suffer, by making return that I am not to be found; seeing I am here ready and do render my body to undergo such sufferings as this court hath lawful power to inflict upon me.

You shall hear by and by, replied the mayor, what will be done in the court.

At that word came in my adversary, John Anderton, and said to me, thou must now go home on foot, for I have seized thy horse. And rejoicing in his wickedness he told his companions that he had watched where I set my horse, and having got a "Fieri facias" sealed, he went with the serjeant and took him, and then made return of it in the court.

When I heard this I said, seeing I am a sufferer by this court, I desire to be resolved, whether my now rendering my body to be a prisoner will not fully answer the law, redeem my horse, and discharge my bail?

No, said the mayor, your horse cannot thereby be redeemed. Why, said I, can my adversary keep my horse and yet come to trouble my bail, seeing I do offer to render myself to be a prisoner? No, said the mayor jokingly, he will rather expect that you will come to town again with another horse before it be long. But my adversary, John Anderton, said, he would keep the horse, and yet come upon my bail for the remainder.

The mayor, who was indeed my adversary also, told me, I did trouble the court and was worthy to be set in the stocks. Why, said I, what evil have I done or said? If I have said or done any evil, make proof of it, and here I am ready to suffer for it.

Then the mayor asked me, are you provided with sureties for your future good behaviour?

I answered, I need not until some evil behaviour be first proved against me. And after some more words to the same effect the court broke up.

At the next court, which was on the 31st of the first month, 1674, return was made in the court, that my horse was sold for four pounds and five shillings. But the horse with bridle and saddle, as he seized him, was well worth six pounds.

Then said I to the mayor, is my attendance at this court any longer required, or will any suffering come upon my bail if I should not be present here?

You may ask your attorney, said the mayor scoffingly, because I would not retain an attorney.

But, said I, seeing thou sittest judge of this court, it is but reasonable that thou shouldest resolve me this question, that I may thereby understand what the court requires of me.

But, replied the mayor, I may choose whether I will answer you or not.

Well then, said I, so far as I understand the ground of my suffering by this court, it is, because I cannot employ an attorney.

'Tis true, said the mayor; and I had once persuaded you to employ an attorney, but afterwards you forbade him again.

I have given my reasons, replied I, wherefore I cannot do it; which are, because the case wherein I am concerned is truly a matter of conscience to me towards the Lord; and none of these lawyers can take cognizance of it. And besides, they are so self-ended and corrupt in their practices, and deceitful in their proceedings, that I have chosen rather to suffer by this court unjustly than to have anything to do with them. And although I seem vile and contemptible in your eyes, yet be it known unto you all, that I am a witness for God against your corrupt and abominable practices.

Will you pray for them, said the mayor scoffingly, and try if you can make them better?

I replied, I have peace with the Lord in my testimony against them. And if they will go on still in their wickedness they will have a reward from God accordingly. But I desire to know, said I, whether my adversary's action against me is ended or not.

Your horse, said the mayor, is taken and sold; and they are so far satisfied.

But can they come upon my bail, said I.

I believe, said the mayor, they do not intend to trouble the bail, but will rather stay to see when you will bring another horse to town.

Yet in a few days my bail was served with a "Scire facias," as they call it, to appear the next court-day. And being called in court and not present to answer for himself, I answered for him and said, the bail looks upon himself not to be concerned, because my goods are taken away already, and I have often rendered my body for his, which ought to have been received and he discharged long ago. And if my goods which are taken away already do not satisfy, or if my adversary have anything further against me, I do here now also again offer

to render my body to be a prisoner that my bail may be discharged.

Hereupon the mayor said, you shall be heard anon; your turn is not yet come. This put me by for the present; but after awhile the matter being in debate, I spake again and said:

I desire there may be no proceeding against my bail, but that he may be forthwith discharged; seeing my adversary hath taken away my goods and I have so often rendered my body as you all know for his discharge; it is altogether unreasonable and also unjust to proceed against him.

Then one Joseph Garrett, a counsellor at law, stood up, without my bidding, and said, the bail ought to be discharged, because the principal hath rendered his body.

The mayor then turning to me said, have you employed him to plead for you?

I answered, there is no need of such a question; if he speaks truth, he ought to be heard, whether I employ him or not.

If you will yet employ an attorney, said the mayor, his plea shall be heard; but as for you, whatsoever you say, we will take no notice of it.

What! said I, shall I not have justice because I am not an attorney?

Yes, replied the mayor, you shall have justice; such as it is.

I know not any law, said I, that binds me to employ an attorney; but thou art bound both by the law and by thy oath to do justice. And if thou, sitting judge in this court, dost see injury and injustice done and will not restrain it, but wink and connive at it, it will certainly be charged upon thee, and before the Lord thou wilt be found guilty of it.

It is true, said the mayor, I think so too. But this spake he in a scornful manner.

Then said I, may not my bail have liberty until the next court-day; and counsellor Garrett stood up again and desired it. Whereupon the mayor said, upon this motion of Mr. Garrett it shall be granted. But take notice, I will not hear you after next court-day. And then in a light manner he said to me, you have learned skill and knowledge in the law by coming so often to the court.

Now after the court was risen, perceiving them still bent to go on wickedly and unjustly, I was pressed in my spirit, in the consideration thereof to write again to the mayor; and once more to warn him to fear the Lord and to do justice, and to put a stop to and restrain those unjust and unrighteous proceedings, which in their court they were carrying on against me. And thus I writ to him.

"RICHARD POCOCK,

I desire thee to consider and call to mind how thou hast dealt by me all along, ever since thou hast been chief magistrate in Newbury; I say, consider whether thou hast been as an impartial judge betwixt me and my adversary; and whether thou hast done towards me as thou wouldst be done by. I appeal to God's witness in thy conscience to give an answer, and to plead with thee on my behalf. For the Lord God, the righteous Judge of heaven and earth, knows thy thoughts and searches thy heart; and the deceit and wickedness thereof is not hid from Him; and unto Him an account must thou give of all thy deeds done in thy body, and a reward accordingly shalt thou receive, for there is no respect of persons with Him. Therefore be not light and vain, but serious; and fear the mighty God, for in His hand thy life and breath is, who can take it from thee when he pleaseth. And in his fear and by his strength do I this day stand a witness for him against the hypocritical hireling priests, who serve themselves but not the Lord; and seek their gain from their quarters. And also my testimony is against the greedy, covetous, fraudulent lawyers; who for filthy lucre sake will plead for anything, be it never so unjust. I say, the Lord's controversy is against them all. And he hath raised me up to stand a witness on his behalf; and I do testify, that they who do such things shall not escape his righteous judgments; but his wrath and fury will surely be poured out upon them, except they speedily repent. And for this my testimony, even for not feeding the priests, and for not employing the lawyers, have I suffered by this court; and am like to suffer more, if the Lord prevent it not. But as the cause for which I stand is the Lord's, so into the Lord's hands have I committed both myself and it; and he will surely plead it for me and take my part against all those that do oppose me. Therefore I advise and warn thee, to take heed what thou dost against me; for whatsoever thou dost against me herein, the Lord will take it as done unto himself; and will recompense thee accordingly. And if thou dost suffer so great injustice to be done, as to cause my bail to suffer; then know for certain, that as such proceedings are hardly to be paralleled among tyrants and unjust judges, and for such injustice thou canst scarcely find a precedent; so shall thy recompense be from the Lord.—Wherefore, in tender love to thy soul, I warn thee to fear the Lord and do justice, if not for my sake, yet for thy oath sake and for thy own soul's sake, let it be done, and defer not to do it in this particular. But if thou art resolved thus unjustly to proceed, then know assuredly that the Lord will appear for me and avenge my innocent cause, and his judgments will seize upon thee and his terrors will compass thee about as a perjured person, and one that

hath been perfidious, and unfaithful, both to God and men. Therefore, while thou hast time be faithful to do what the Lord requires of thee; which is to do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with him. And remember thou hast been warned by him, who wisheth thy everlasting well-being.

OLIVER SANSOM."

The 14th of Second month, 1674.

The same day I came with my bail to the court; and the bail being called appeared and said, here is the man himself who renders his body for my discharge, wherefore I desire to be discharged.

The adversary, John Anderton, was not there himself; but his attorney pleaded saying, it is now too late to render your body because the "Scire facias" is returned. Whereupon I said, I have proffered to render my body almost every court-day for a great while, only desiring to have my bail discharged; and if the rendering my body before the "Scire facias" was returned be sufficient to discharge the bail, then surely this man ought to be discharged.

Thereupon two or three of the lawyers, being weary of me and willing to be rid of me, stood up to plead for me, and said, they could bear witness that what I said was true; for to their knowledge, I had often rendered my body for his discharge before the "Scire facias" was returned. At that my adversary's attorney being offended asked them, who employed them to plead my cause? and many words thereupon passed between them in contending one with another. But the Steward of the town, who bore a great sway in the court, happening to be there at that time, when he understood the matter, debated it with the rest, till at length he brought them to agree and conclude, that the bail ought to be discharged upon my rendering myself; and so forthwith he was discharged in open court.

Now was I a prisoner. And as the serjeant was leading me out of court to the compter-prison, some of the people asked why I would go to prison? telling me it were better to refer the controversy into men's hands to be ended between my adversary and me.

I told them, I had long ago proffered his father, and was still willing to stand to the same, that if he could make it appear by the Scriptures of Truth, that ministers of the gospel by any command of Christ or his apostles, ought to receive tithes and force people to pay them, then I would for whatsoever I had kept back restore seven-fold.

At this they seemed to deride me, and would hardly abide to hear it, but told me that was not a place to talk of Scripture, or to dispute about matters of the gospel. Wherefore as I passed on from them I said, seeing it is to me such a weighty matter, and lies upon my conscience towards the Lord, therefore I cannot commit it to be determined by men, though they may be counted indifferent. For in short it is thus with me, that I shall rather choose to suffer the loss of all I have in this world, yea, and my own life also, than consent to pay a farthing on this account.

Now I being a prisoner in the compter-prison, the mayor gave a strict charge to the keeper that he should not suffer the Quakers to come to me lest there should be meetings.

After I had continued two weeks a prisoner, the court sat again on the 28th of the second month, 1674. And then my adversary John Anderton, being vexed that in his absence the bail was discharged, moved the court that he might come upon him again: and the steward not being there, the mayor hearkened to him and granted his desire. So that the poor man was constrained to employ an attorney to defend him, although he had been before discharged in open court as aforesaid. And then my adversary John Anderton entered another action against me also, while I was a prisoner; which I continued to be, upon process (as they called it,) but they did not proceed to justice and execution until the 16th of the fourth month, 1674. At which time the court being held, the mayor commanded the serjeant to fetch me from the compter, which he did. And when I was come into the court the mayor said to me, I thought you had been at home before this time. Come, here is an action laid against you for thirteen pounds due to Charity Anderton upon account.

I, feeling the weight of their wicked spirits, stood still, and did not quickly answer. Then some of the lawyers seeing the declaration laying before them, said to me, did you ever account with her for so much? Whereupon I answered, I do owe her nothing, nor did ever account with her for anything. Then some interrupting me said, you had best employ an attorney; and then you may defend yourself, overthrow your adversary, and recover costs. But I replied, I cannot meddle with an attorney. But this action is altogether unjust and the declaration most untrue. For she might as truly declare against any man here for accounting with her as against me, for I never did account with her in all my life; neither do I owe her anything.

The mayor then, to ensnare me, said, bring hither a book; which being brought he said to me, come, will you swear here before us that you owe her nothing, and that you never accounted with her? And as I began to speak,

he mayor interrupting me said, answer plainly, will you swear or not?

I dare not swear, said I, whatsoever I suffer. But I can testify, as in the sight of the Lord, that I owe her nothing; nor ever accounted with her. Then I must give judgment against you, said the mayor. It seems then, said I, because I cannot swear, judgment must be given against me. No, replied the mayor, that was offered but by the bye. But you may employ an attorney, and then you shall have a legal trial. Nay, said I, I cannot employ an attorney; but I have committed my cause to the Lord who has hitherto preserved me; and I believe he will now preserve me, and also deliver me in due time.

Then the mayor said to the serjeant, who was my keeper, you had best look to him and keep him close; unless you will pay the thirteen pounds. The serjeant said, he was not able to pay it. But I said, I have been kept above two years already a close prisoner, and not so much as saw my outward habitation, and all for this very matter that this is grounded upon. But what did he gain who was the cause of it?

But I, said my adversary, will keep thee twenty years now if I live so long. Thou canst do nothing at all, said I, against me, unless the Lord give thee leave; and then he will give me strength to bear it.

So judgment being entered against me, I was had back to prison; and two days after an execution was taken forth upon which I was to be kept close. And then my keeper dealt hardly and cruelly with me for some time; seeking to compel me to satisfy his unreasonable demands for lodging, &c. Which because I could not bow under nor submit to, I suffered some hardship in the prison, upon which I fell sick; and my sickness turned to the small-pox; which was so sore upon me that I was nigh unto death. But it pleased my tender God to be my good physician, and to raise me up in his own time.

[The following is a copy of a letter he wrote to his wife from the Compter-Prison of Newbury at this period.]

"My dear wife,

My dear and tender love doth truly reach unto thee in the uprightness of my heart, breathing for thee as for my own soul that the Lord may fill us both with his heavenly life, and to cause the fresh supplies thereof to be renewed unto us, as duly as the morning and evening comes upon us. Oh! that our hearts and souls were always waiting for it, then surely should we be as a well-watered garden, fresh and green and lively, giving a pleasant smell unto the Lord our God in the sight of all people. Dear heart, by this thou mayest know that my distemper does wear over apace, and I am pretty well at present, blessed be the Lord; and the beginning of next week my nurse intends to wash and air the clothes and room, and to be ready to go home on fourth or fifth-day next, if thou dost not send for her before. Indeed I have longed much to hear from thee, as I believe thou hast desired to hear from me, but cannot hear very certain; only this day I received a few lines from thy sister, which certified me thou wast very little amended of thy distemper on last second-day, but how is it with thee since I cannot hear. But if thou art pretty well, I desire thee not to venture to come to me, until thou hear further from me, but let me hear from thee as often as thou canst. My dear love is to thy sister, and her tender love and care of me is not by me forgotten, but remains as a seal upon my heart by that tender Spirit of Truth which is the cause of it; but I do expect to write to her this day a nearer way if I can. However, let her see this letter, and my love is to Betty and also to all her friends that love the Truth. I rest

Thy dear husband,

O. S."

Newbury Compter-Prison, 9th of Fifth month, 1674.

While I was thus in prison, the woman at whose suit I was imprisoned, whose name was Charity Anderton, speaking with a Friend who was coming to visit me in the prison, desired him to remember her love to me and to my wife; whereupon something arose in my mind to write to her; which I did thus.

"Charity Anderton,

I understand that A. H. had some discourse lately with thee concerning me, and that thou didst bid him remember thy love to me and my wife; and that thou also saidst, if I would send thee some money, then I should see how reasonable thou wouldst be with me or the like. Now this I say, if thou hadst any true love in thy heart to me or my wife, I think thou couldst not deal so by us, as thou hast done; for thy son to forge a lie in thy name against me, after this manner, viz: that I accounted with thee for such a sum of money, on such a day of the month within the liberty of Newbury, and that I promised thee payment; yet notwithstanding, though often desired, refused to perform my promise. Upon such a wicked lie is thy suit brought against me, and an execution thereupon procured to keep my body close in prison. And in that time I was visited with the small-pox in the prison: whereupon my dear wife hearing that I was sick came to be with me, and tarried with me about a week; and then she beginning to be sick also, my keeper fearing she would have the same dis-

temper, would by no means suffer her to continue in the prison with me. And so she being ill and in danger of the distemper, was by force separated from me; and though I lay then very weak, she was constrained to get a man and a horse to carry her to our habitation at Farringdon, being about twenty miles off. I tell thee truly, that this thing was harder to me than anything I suffered by thy husband. And if this be some of the fruits of thy love to us, then I must tell thee, this love of thine is very great cruelty.

But yet the tender love of the Lord my God hath indeed been manifested and extended to me in a very large measure, in preserving and strengthening me and raising me up again; so that now I am pretty well recovered; blessed and praised be His Holy Name over all for ever.

And as for sending thee money, this I tell thee in the integrity of my heart, that I cannot nor dare do it, be it never so little; for I am convinced and certainly persuaded and satisfied in my conscience, that if I should do such a thing, I should sin wilfully against the Lord and bring condemnation upon my own soul. Therefore I shall rather choose to suffer the loss of all I have in this world, yea, my very life also, rather than consent to do such a thing: therefore let thy expectation concerning that matter be at an end.

And now the Lord hath suffered thee to cast my body into prison, thou mayest remember thy husband did the like for the very same wages which thou dost now pretend to claim. O consider, what profit did he reap thereby? Or what benefit was it to him? Was it not his burden on his dying bed? And do not thou look for nor expect any other than the same reward that he had; because thy deeds are the same with his. For the Lord who was with me then is with me now; even the same God that kept me and delivered me out of the hand of thy husband. To him have I committed my cause and he will plead it with thee in his due time; for in his hand thy life and breath is, and thou shalt not be able to escape his justice; but his righteous judgments will overtake thee and thy reward will be according to thy deeds. But I do hereby acquaint thee, that I desire no revenge upon thee; but leave thee to the Lord to plead with thee and make known my innocency unto thee. And the Lord is my witness that in true love to thy soul I have besought the Lord for thee, desiring that he would put it into thy heart to cease thy cruelty towards me, because I know it will turn to thy hurt and sorrow in the end. And that thou mayest also come to do those things which the Lord requires of thee, which if thou wast faithful in would conduce to the peace and well-being of thy soul for ever. And I can truly say that I have true love in my heart towards thee; although thou art my open enemy, and I am a sufferer by thee.

O. Sansom."

Newbury Compter-Prison, the 23rd of the Fifth month, 1674.

Now I was settled in prison upon an execution not to stir so much as without the door; and without any prospect of deliverance or ground to expect it. But I was well satisfied in the will of the Lord, being fully resigned to him, and desiring his will might be done in all things; and as he knew what was best for me, so my breathings were unto him, that he would glorify himself in and by me, whether in bonds or at liberty. And as I was thus given up in my spirit and quietly satisfied in my suffering, the Lord made way for my release in a sudden and unexpected manner; which thus was brought about.

During the time of my imprisonment, it pleased the Lord to send a great distraction among the magistrates of Newbury, even such a confusion as had not been known nor heard of in that place since it was a corporation. For George Cowslade, who had been mayor the year before, and who when he was going out of his office had granted the first warrant against me, was taken away by death; and this Richard Pocock, the next imperious mayor, in the height of his pride and ambition was pulled down from his chair with shame, as I had forewarned him he should be. For the Lord, in his justice, doth suffer confusion to fall upon the wicked who have despised his mercy; so that one wicked man becomes a scourge unto another; and by such ways and means the Lord sometimes doth bring deliverance unto those that trust in him; and so with respect to my imprisonment, it was in that place at that time.

For the priest of that town and this lofty mayor fell at strife about the receiving of that which they call the Sacrament of the Supper. And being both of them proud and high-minded men, so that neither of them could well abide an equal in that town, they fell out, as was said, about their bread and wine to that degree, and the enmity on both sides rose up to that height, that no agreement could be hoped for between them; but to law they would go, and did with might and main. And being both of them exceeding subtle and expert in the law, for the mayor was a lawyer by education; and the priest was better acquainted with the law than with the gospel; they seemed for a great while so equally matched every way, that the lookers on could not discern which of them was most likely to have the victory; though most thought the mayor would have carried

he cause until the very last. But when at the assize, which was holden at Abingdon in the fifth month 1674, they came to trial, the priest overcame and got the victory over the mayor, and brought him under so low that he was fined in a great sum of money, and turned out of his place of mayoralty beside. And he being thus shamefully degraded from his office, all the proceedings which had been in that court, and the judgments thereupon given under his authority from the time called Easter past, were made null and void; and thereby my imprisonment became contrary to law.

Whereupon one of my relations began to stir in the business, both to procure my liberty and to call my adversary John Anderton in question for my false imprisonment. Which when he understood, he sought by all means to have it put to reference; which that relation of mine hoping to be awarded a great sum of money for my false imprisonment agreed unto, without any either consent or knowledge of mine. But the persons to whom the matter was referred never brought it to any issue, and so it rested ever since. But within something more than a year after, my envious adversary John Anderton died miserably, having been a filthy, lewd, unclean person.

Thus it pleased the Lord to work my deliverance; so that on the 22nd day of the seventh month, 1674, after I had suffered imprisonment twenty-three weeks, not without some hardship and much hazard of my life, I was set at liberty; but the whole time that I was entangled in that court from the first to the last, was a whole year and some days over. But in all my sufferings and exercises the Lord was with me and supported me; so that I have great cause to say, the Lord is worthy to be trusted in and waited upon, for his fatherly care and tender compassions never fail; but his mercy endureth for ever.

During the time of my exercise and sufferings in Newbury-court aforesaid, an exercise of another kind befell me in a controversial way with one Benjamin Woodbridge, a preacher to the Presbyterians there. Which though it began and ended before I was set at liberty, and so in point of time should have come in sooner, yet I chose rather to reserve it to this place, than by bringing it in before, to interrupt the account of my trials there.

This Benjamin Woodbridge had been priest of Newbury in the times of the Protectors. But when King Charles the Second was restored to the crown he was displaced; and thereupon lurking up and down, hid himself in holes and corners to avoid persecution, until the time that the king sent forth his declaration for liberty of conscience; and then he crept out again and coming to Newbury, where he had been priest, preached openly; and had great meetings for some time in the Market-house, and afterwards in a barn. In one of those meetings more especially, did this non-conforming priest open his mouth wide against us the people called Quakers. Which I hearing of, a concern came upon my spirit to write to him about it, and that drew on for some time an intercourse of letters between us; but the occasion of my first writing to him, was upon some words which I was told he spake privately against us, to a young man to dissuade him from coming to our meetings. And that which I wrote to him was thus.

"Benjamin Woodbridge,

I had lately some words with a young man who was a follower of thee, but he has since come among us at our meetings. Yet before he left thee, being well persuaded of the way and truth which we believe in and profess, and not finding that with thee, which could truly satisfy, he went to thee, as I understand, for advice, desiring thee singly to give thy judgment concerning going to the meetings of the people called Quakers, Whether it was a duty or a sin to go to them? And thy answer to him was, Doubtless it is a sin.

Now for the truth's sake, which is dearer to me than my life, I am at this time concerned to write unto thee, and in the fear of the Lord to charge thee, as thou wilt answer it before Him in the dreadful day of account, that thou declare plainly what thou knowest or canst prove concerning the doctrines which we hold forth, or our usual practice of meeting together to worship the Lord, which may be any ground for thy assertion before-mentioned, viz. That it is a sin for people to hear us. For if it be a sin for people to hear our doctrines, surely then it must needs be a greater sin to them who preach those doctrines; and the doctrines themselves must needs be sinful and contrary to truth and righteousness, which cannot be heard without sin to them that hear them. Therefore I do again in God's fear, charge thee to declare and make known in writing plainly and publicly, wherein the doctrines which we hold forth do any way tend to lead people into sin. And further, I challenge thee to make it appear, wherein and in what particulars, our doctrines and principles are contrary to the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, recorded in the Scriptures. Leave off back-biting, come forth and be plain-hearted for we desire no favour from thee. If our meetings be so sinful and dangerous, make them appear so if thou canst in the sight of all people. But if our meetings are indeed only to wait upon the Lord, and to worship him in Spirit and in Truth; and our preaching and doctrines are only to stir up people to righteousness and

holiness, and thou canst not prove the contrary, then thou oughtest to confess thou hast wronged us and suggested falsely against us. So come forth plainly and honestly, and let us know what thou hast against us; or else lay thy hand upon thy mouth, and let thy silence be a clear evidence to testify for us, and for the purity of that way and worship which the Lord hath made known unto us, and hath owned and preserved us in. I remain,

A lover of truth and plainness, but a witness against backbiting and deceit,

O. SANSOM.

The Second month, 1673."

This letter was delivered to him, but he never returned any answer. So that although, serpent-like, he had crept behind us and attempted to have bruised our heel, by smiting secretly at us behind our backs; yet it was clearly manifest by his silence at that time, that he durst not appear openly to our faces to make good what he had said against us, notwithstanding he was challenged and provoked to it. And so his silence in not answering my letter might be taken as a clear evidence for us.

After this I heard not of anything he said concerning us for about half a year. In which time our Friends having taken a house to meet in, which stood in a more public place than where they met before, he from thence began to break forth against us in preaching before a great assembly of people; so that it was generally talked of both in town and country, how he endeavoured to render us and our principles odious to his auditory. Yet had it not altogether the effect he wished; for many of his hearers were not pleased with him for it, and some of them spake to me about it, relating much of what he had said against us; and one of them in displeasure, said he never heard the like before.

When I had pondered these things in my mind, I was troubled and grieved in my spirit for the man; considering how unmanly, yea, how uncivilly, and most unchristian-like he had dealt with us, in refusing to answer my letter, whereby he might have let us understand plainly what he had against us; and yet to retain such envy and malice in his heart against us, and to belch it out in such a noisome manner, even as much as in him lay to incense the peoples' minds with prejudice, and to raise them into enmity against us. Wherefore I was much pressed in my mind to write to him again in much tenderness, desiring and even entreating him to give me under his hand in writing what he had declared openly against us; and this I did, to the end that if possible I might bring him forth, openly upon the stage as it were, either to prove what he had charged us with, or else to clear us of it. Wherefore I wrote thus unto him.

"BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE,

Forasmuch as it is commonly reported both in town and country hereaway, that upon the 9th day of this month, thou preaching at Newbury, didst in thy sermon speak very much against the people called Quakers; charging them to hold very dangerous principles, and as deniers of the chief fundamental points of religion, and the true marks of a Christian; and also, that what they made a show of outwardly in point of worship, &c., is but mere deceit and hypocrisy, to gain proselytes; and much more to this purpose, it is generally reported, thou didst then and there speak and declare to a multitude of people, who were at that time congregated together.

Now I being a man who for some time have walked among those despised people, and being in my heart well-persuaded of the truth of their doctrines and principles; and in the fear of the Lord God I can speak it, it hath been and is the real intent and purpose of my heart to serve the Lord and to be given up to follow him fully, and to obey him in all things that he requires of me, according to the light and understanding he hath given me. I can truly say, I count not anything in this world dear unto me so that I may receive the end of my hope, even the salvation of my soul, and that I may finish my course with joy and lay down my head in peace when time here to me shall be no more. This is the real intent and purpose of my heart, and the sincere desire of my soul; as the Lord, who searches the heart, knows and can bear me witness. And I have often desired and do truly wish that all people, yea, my very enemies might, if it were possible, know and understand the most secret intent and bottom of my heart, as the Lord doth. And so, I myself detesting all deceit and hypocrisy, and having no manner of reserve, but desiring to appear the very same outwardly before men, as I am inwardly before the Lord; and being innocent myself, I have no ground to question, but have good cause to believe my brethren and sisters are so as well as I. Therefore I marvel how thou couldst speak against us and judge so hardly of us, as thou didst; as to charge us with hypocrisy, or the like. And I do in meekness desire this of thee, that thou wilt give me under thy hand the substance of what thou didst then speak; and whatsoever thou hast more against that people. For this I dare promise thee, in the fear of the Lord God, that if thou canst prove that the people who in scorn are called Quakers, do hold any tenets or principles, or teach anything for doctrine that is contrary to the commands of God, or disagree-

ıg with the doctrines and precepts of Christ nd his ministers, mentioned and recorded in he Holy Scriptures; I shall be willing and eady openly to revoke and disown all such rinciples and doctrines, which by the Scripıres can be proved to be contrary to the prinıples and doctrines, of Christ and his apostles. ınd as truth seeks no corners and innocency eeds no covering, so I desire thee in plainness f heart to grant me this request; and expectıg to hear shortly from thee, I remain

A true lover of all those that love truth in sincerity.

OLIVER SANSOM.

The 26th of the Ninth month, 1673."

P. S.—When thou writest, direct thy letter ɔ be left with Robert Wilson in Newbury for ne. I wrote to thee about half a year ago, ut never yet received any answer; I desire to now the reason.

O. S.

This letter was delivered to him, and seemıgly well received by him; and some of his earers who were intimate with him reported e did say, he would answer it as soon as he ras able to use a pen. For suddenly after he ıad preached so bitterly against us, he was ıken with a great weakness of body, which ome said was from the gout in his hands and eet; but after about three weeks time he began ɔ handle his pen again, and sent me the answer ɔllowing:—

"OLIVER SANSOM,

I received a letter from you about a fortnight ince, when I was under so much bodily weakess that I could not write, nor am I yet well ble to do it; but for some reasons am unwilng your letter should lie any longer unanwered; the rather because it is written with ɔore sense and sobriety than any that I have ɔrmerly received, either from yourself or any f your party. For the reports you may hear, neither am nor will be accountable; and if ou have heard all you write, you have heard ɔore than is true. That which I delivered, in eference to your party in general, was briefly ɔ this purpose. Namely, that I heard there ras a certain sort of infidels (meaning thereby ou Quakers) setting up in town, no doubt in opes of a great harvest of proselytes, against hom I thought it was my duty to caution my earers. Having used the word infidel, I gave ɔe reason of it, as the matter I was then upon ɔd me to; namely, that I did not know any isible sign or mark by which men were known ɔ the world to be Christians, and distinguished om all other religious sects, according to the criptures, which you did own. I instanced particularly in four, the most known and universal marks of Christians.

1.—Baptism into the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; without which no man is to be owned as a Christian, in communion with the church of Christ. But neither do you baptize your proselytes into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and the baptism you received in your infancy you reject.

2.—The celebration of the Lord's Supper; a special act of Christian worship, to be continued in the church in remembrance of Christ to the world's end. But neither have you this supper of the Lord celebrated amongst you; and some of your authors write contemptibly, that I may not say blasphemously, of it.

3.—The sanctification of the Lord's Day, which you also disclaim; indeed you keep your meetings then as you do upon occasion on any other day of the week, but not in acknowledgment of any special sanctity by the Lord's institution in that day more than any other, or of any special duty which lies upon you to keep that day holy more than any other.

4.—The offering up all our worship to God in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, as our only mediator and advocate, through whom alone we can expect that we or our services can be accepted of God. But neither do you seek mercy of God for the sake of Christ, nor do you offer up prayers, praises, thanksgivings, &c., in his name. And if some of your speakers do sometimes mention him with some kind of honour; yet it is no more than the Turks do, who are yet far from being Christians; for they acknowledge him a great Prophet sent of God. Upon all of which considerations I declared then, and now declare the same to you, that you are not to be owned as Christians; nor may the church of Christ or any particular Christian have any communion with you as such.

This was the substance of what I then spake more at large; which for preventing of uncertain rumours I have sent you written, as well as I am at present able, with my own hand and my name subscribed.

BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE.

December the 18th, 1673."

Unto this letter I returned the following reply:—

"BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE,

Thy answer to my last letter I received, and I take it kindly from thee, that thou hast so far fulfilled my desire, as to give me under thy hand, the substance of what thou didst declare, and yet remains in thy heart against us the despised people called Quakers. And upon the perusal of what thou hast written, and search-

ing the Scriptures, I find that thy charge against us, and thy judgment and sentence thereupon is not agreeable to the Scriptures, nor can be proved or maintained thereby. And being willing to open my mind plainly and nakedly to thee, and desiring in the uprightness of my heart that all scruples might be removed, that the plain truth might clearly appear and be manifest in the sight of all people; and expecting thou wilt not be backward to explain and prove by the Scriptures what thou hast charged upon us—I shall, according to the understanding the Lord hath given me, mention those things by way of reply concerning which I am dissatisfied.

Thou art pleased to term us infidels, &c., and speakest of our setting up in town, in hopes to reap a great harvest of proselytes. Which words, as it seems to me are written in derision of us; therefore at present I shall pass by that, and reply to that which in thy letter seems to be more weighty.

And to prove us infidels, thou sayest thou knowest no visible sign or mark by which men, according to Scripture, were known in the world to be Christians, which we did own; and thou instancest four marks or signs.

The first mark was baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. These words, as thou hast laid them down we do clearly own; and do believe that none can be owned as Christians, nor have communion with the church of Christ, but they who are baptized into his Name, which is mighty and powerful, as it is written, Phil. ii. 9, 10. "That God hath given him a Name, which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue should confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Now the outward name Jesus, which signifies a Saviour, was given as a signification of that inward virtue, life and power, by which he would save his people from their sins; as it is written, "His name shall be called Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins." And "He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end," Matt. i. 21. Luke i. 23. And as his kingdom is an everlasting spiritual kingdom, so His name and power, by which he saves his people from their sins, and delivers them from their soul's enemies, must needs be spiritual. And this is the name, and there is no other given among and in men, whereby they must or can be saved from their sins, Acts iv. 16. And the apostle Paul mentioned some who had been great sinners, but were cleansed and washed, &c., in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God, 1 Cor. vi. 11. And so, this inward washing is no other than the baptism of the Spirit. By one Spirit, said the apostle, we are all baptized into one body, 1 Cor. xii. 23. And although in Scripture this inward washing is in divers ways expressed, yet the power is but one by which it is effected; and the baptism also is but one, which is effectual to salvation. For as there is but one Lord and one Faith, so also but one Baptism. And this only is available; and in the church of Christ will ever remain. And this one inward, substantial baptism, into the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, we do own as fully as thou canst do. And this which is the foundation of thy first charge being removed, the charge that is built thereupon must needs fall to the ground.

And as concerning sprinkling of infants, I suppose thou art not ignorant that it was an institution of the Church of Rome, invented and set up in the night of popery, with the sign of the cross, godfathers and godmothers and the like, being an unscriptural practice, I think thou wilt hardly plead for that.

Thy second mark is the Lord's supper; which, as thou hast worded it, we do clearly and fully own; and we do believe it will always be continued in the church of Christ: not only in the remembrance of him, but in the sensible enjoyment of his presence; and our communion herein with the Lord and one with another is in Spirit, as all true Christian worship is, as Rev. iii. 20. 2 Cor. v. 16. John iv. And so this which is the ground of thy second charge being taken away, the charge that is founded thereupon must needs tumble down.

And as for outward bread and wine, (which thou dost mean, yet thou hast not mentioned,) about which there hath been in Christendom so much contention, strife, confusion, and bloodshed, it is, and ever was, at the most, but a sign or shadow of this substantial spiritual supper. But I desire thee to let me know the names of those authors who have written either blasphemously or contemptibly of the supper of the Lord. Let the books and pages be quoted; and as a minister of Christ said in another case, so say I in this; he is not a Christian who is one outwardly; neither is that the true baptism and supper which are visible and can reach only but to wash and feed the body, which are but the shadows of the true. But he is a true Christian who is one inwardly; and that is the true baptism—that the true supper, which is inward in the Spirit, not in the letter or shadow, whose praise is not of men, but of God. And I believe that wicked men may have these outward marks, and yet be no better than infidels. But they that are, with the Holy Spirit, baptized of Christ into His name and power, and feel his fan thoroughly to purge the floor, and his fire unquenchable to burn up the chaff, and then come to sup with him, and abiding faithful, follow his leadings, taking up the daily cross

in the true self-denial, I am persuaded that such, however they may be accounted of by men, will never be condemned by the Lord, for not practising the signs or shadows before expressed. For the saints in days past did not look at the things that were seen, but at the things that were not seen; because the things that were seen, were temporal; but the things that were not seen, were eternal.

Thy third mark is concerning the Lord's day: which thou sayest we disclaim. This seems to be a downright charge, but grounded upon little or no foundation; and as little proof. But to consider simply of thy words; what day is it, which according to Scripture testimony may most properly be called the Lord's day? I believe that as the Lord, who is from everlasting to everlasting, is a Spirit; so His day is a spiritual everlasting day. And this is clear from the words of Christ, John viii. 56, who said, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it, and was glad." And so He who was before Abraham was, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, that day which he owned and called His, who shall gainsay or contradict? for every tongue must confess that he is Lord. And this spiritual everlasting day of the Lord Jesus Christ may most properly be called the Lord's day, and in the light of this blessed day are the things of God seen and revealed by the Holy Spirit, according to his own will and pleasure. On this blessed day was John in the spirit when those deep things were revealed to him, Rev. i. 10, which are left upon record in that book. Much more might be said concerning this holy day of the Lord. But this may let thee know that we do not disclaim, but according to the Scriptures do truly own the Lord's day: and blessed be the Lord, we do in measure joyfully witness the glorious dawning and appearance of it.

By thy following words, I guess thy meaning to be an outward day. Now I do believe that it is the duty of every true Christian to be always in the Spirit serving the Lord, and to live to him every day: for it is clear to me, that every day is the Lord's day. But if it be not our principle to observe a day altogether according to thy persuasion, that is for any special sanctity by the Lord's institution, in that day more than in another, as thou expressest it; yet seeing in practice we are as diligent, for ought I know, in keeping our meetings, as any of you are; therefore, methinks thy censure is exceedingly harsh. And therein it plainly appears, thou art not of the apostle Paul's mind, who said, Rom. xiv. 5. "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord," &c. And he exhorted them not to judge one another for it. And he also reproved some who, after they had begun in the Spirit, were in the observation of days and times, which he called weak and beggarly elements, Gal. iv. 10. And further he said, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body or substance is Christ." Col. ii. 16. And he that is in Christ doth find rest for his soul; and so is ceased from his own works to keep the holy Sabbath-day in Christ: and here is the true Christian Sabbath known, of which the seventh-day was but a sign or shadow.

As for thy fourth mark, thou art greatly mistaken in us, and dost very much wrong us to conclude so of us as thou dost. But I am tender in judging thee, until I hear what ground thou pretendest to have for this assertion; for I assure thee, this charge is altogether false: therefore let me know from what ground or information thou didst write it; for I testify, that our meetings are in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; and his presence, according to his promise, is witnessed and enjoyed in the midst of us to our great comfort and refreshment; and in his name are prayers, praises and thanksgivings offered up to God the Father; who hath sent the spirit of his Son into our hearts whereby we can call God our Father. And without this Spirit we cannot pray as we ought, but it "helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered. And he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit; for it maketh intercession for the saints, according to the will of God," Rom. viii. 26, 27. And it is only in and by this Spirit of Christ Jesus that our offerings and services are accepted: for without him, as himself said, we can do nothing that is acceptable or well-pleasing to the Lord. And all they that have received Christ Jesus, who is a quickening spirit, come to be quickened and made alive to God by him, and come more and more to be renewed in the spirit of their minds, even to bear His image and appear in his likeness. And by his power and virtue they do bring forth fruits of righteousness to the glory of God the Father; and as Christ Jesus was, so are they, in this present world; but the world knows them not, "because it knew not him," 1 John iii. 1. And this is the true spot or mark by which the children of God are manifest; as the children of the devil are by the want of it: he that doeth righteousness is of God; but he that doeth not righteousness is not of God, nor he that loveth not his brother, 1 John iii. And thus every

tree is known by the taste and relish of the fruit it bears, and not by the gloss or colour of the leaves only.

By what hath been said, it is evident that those outward marks or signs which the scope of thy letter seems to point at, as water, bread and wine, and the observing of one certain day in every week, and to cry Lord, Lord: all this a man may have and do, and yet not be a real Christian, but a worker of iniquity, and be excluded the kingdom of Heaven.

Now for the further clearing of these things before treated of, I shall propound two or three queries, which I desire thee to return a plain answer to, according to the Scriptures.

Q. 1. Whether there is any express command from Christ that the baptism with water must always remain in the church, yea or nay? If yea, then who are now sent of Christ to baptize that have larger commission than the apostle Paul had, who said, that he was not sent to baptize, but to preach the gospel.

Q. 2. Whether there is any express command from Christ or his apostles, that outward bread and wine, which is but a sign or shadow, must always be received in remembrance of Christ's death by every member of the church, when Christ is come who is the substance, and his life risen and witnessed dwelling in them? Answer, yea or nay? If yea, then declare how and in what manner it ought to be celebrated. For I suppose thou art not ignorant what division there hath been, and 'tis like still is, in the world about the form and manner of it.

Q. 3. What command or institution is there from Christ, which doth require or enjoin Christians to keep one day in a week more holy than another? or to prefer one day above another? seeing the Lord doth every day provide for us and doth not fail to feed us; giving us day by day our daily bread, and affording us life and being and all things needful both outwardly and inwardly; then surely, ought we not rather to live to the Lord every day, and to serve him with all our might, and to keep every day holy to Him? For which day is not the Lord's day? Did not he create all the seven days? And did he not create man to serve him all the days of his life?

And as to thy judgment against us in the conclusion of thy letter, in condemning us for infidels; and thy sentence of excommunication from having any communion with the church of Christ or any particular member thereof; surely this is not only harsh and cruel, but it seems to me to be altogether unjust. What! condemn a man or a people without hearing? As Nicodemus who was a ruler of the Jews once said, "Doth our law judge a man before it hear him and know what he doth?" And by the laws here in England, the greatest malefactors are called to the bar and hear their indictment read and are permitted to plead to it, guilty or not guilty; and before they can be condemned, there must be sufficient evidence brought to prove the indictment true. I desire thee to consider of these things, and seeing thou hast taken upon thee to be our judge, I only desire justice of thee, and do crave no more than the law allows transgressors. And if those things charged against us in thy letter must be our bill of indictment, then let this my reply serve for a plea to it, that we are not guilty. And now it remains that thou bring sufficient evidence to prove that which thou hast laid to our charge, and so let us come forth fairly to trial; and if upon trial we cannot clear ourselves of these things charged against us, by and according to the Scriptures of truth; then let judgment be given against us and sentence passed upon us. But if we do appear clear, and thou art not able to prove the things thou hast charged upon us; or if, being conscious to thyself that it cannot be done, thou wilt not come forth to a fair hearing and trial; then this I desire of thee and do claim as justice, that thou give forth under thy hand, an acknowledgment that thou hast wronged us and wast mistaken in us, and that we are not such people as thou didst take us to be, and that thou be as diligent publicly to clear and acquit us as thou hast been to charge and accuse us.

And although thou now appearing as our accuser and judge, and we standing at present as it were arraigned at thy judgment-seat, I have not charged thee with any unsound principle; yet I would not have thee or any other therefore think that I can produce nothing justly against thee and thy party, concerning matters of religion; for I hereby let thee know, that upon good ground I have cause to question, if not plainly to charge, that those people called Presbyterians, do hold many things relating to religion, which are not agreeable to nor warrantable by the Scriptures of truth. But I shall pass that by at present; being willing first to hear all that thou canst say against us and to know thy proof for it, that I may appear clear myself, before I take upon me to question another. Wherefore, whatsoever thou knowest against us the despised people called Quakers, I entreat thee not to keep it back; and as I promised thee before, I am still in the same mind, that if thou canst prove that we hold anything contrary to the Scriptures and sound doctrine, I shall be ready and willing openly to revoke and disown it. For my judgment is, that it is as much a duty and as noble a mind in any one to disown and renounce an error, when convinced of it, as it is to contend for and vindicate the truth. So upon thy serious perusal of

this my reply, I shall expect from thee a more mild, considerate and Christian-like answer; and do still, and hope ever shall remain

A lover of the truth, as it is in Jesus,

OLIVER SANSOM."

The 24th of the Tenth month, 1673.

About a week after I received from him this following answer:—

"OLIVER SANSOM,

Yours of the 24th instant I received. When I had read the beginning of it I could not but expect that in the following part I should have met with a denial of something which I had spoken against the Quakers, a term which I use not in scorn but of necessity, but my expectation failed me altogether; for I met with no such thing, but rather a confession of all I said, except in the fourth particular. So that if I needed it, I should henceforth make you my witness that I spake the truth. And yet after all this, you tell me towards the end of your letter, that you are not guilty, and demand of me to prove, and that from the Holy Scriptures too, what I have laid to your charge. If you have no more understanding or regard of what you affirm or deny, you must not expect that I should concern myself for anything you write to me. I charged it upon the Quakers, that they denied the visible signs of Christianity, as namely, baptism, Lord's supper, Lord's day. Do you deny this? not a tittle of it, but rather confess it plainly and fully. Only you tell me of an internal baptism, Lord's supper and Lord's day; which, whatsoever you mean thereby, I never accused you of disowning, but of that only which is external and visible, by which you may be seen and known in the world to be Christians, and consequently owned as such by them who are Christians; and without which you are not to be received into visible communion with the church of Christ. Not that I am forward to believe he can own the Lord Jesus in his heart, or be a Christian inwardly, who shall willingly and deliberately, and without temptation reject these institutions of his, wherein it is his pleasure his name should be professed outwardly in the world; but my matter not leading me to it, I speak not a word of it.

As to the fourth particular of your not offering your worship to God in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ as our only mediator and advocate, through whom alone we can expect that we or our services can be accepted of God; you tell me this charge is false, and why? because his spiritual presence is enjoyed in the midst of you, and you offer up your prayers, praises and thanksgivings by his spirit; and it is only in and by this spirit of Christ Jesus that your offerings and services are accepted. If this last clause be true, it seems you have so good an opinion of the perfection of your services by the spirit, that you need no mediator or advocate at the right hand of God to further their acceptance.

But you should not have perverted my plain meaning: I mentioned the offering up of our worship to God in the name of Christ as the visible mark of a Christian, and therefore must needs mean the Lord Jesus so expressed in our worship, that whosoever comes in and hears he may thereby know by the witness of his sense that we professedly hope for acceptance with God through Christ Jesus, as our only mediator and advocate with the Father. And this I said, and say it again, you do not nor could you have put me upon the proof of anything which I can prove with more assurance. For your contempt of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, I read it six or seven years since in a wretched pamphlet of one Solomon Eccles, which is not now by me, nor can I assure you of the words; but the sense of it was as if that which made that ordinance desirable was the hope of a good draught of wine. Your rejection of the Lord's day I knew by a large discourse I had about it with one who was a great man amongst you, what he is now I know not, nor am concerned,—Billing, a brewer in Westminster. But what I am now speaking of I have it not by information of any man, but from my own personal knowledge, for I have been often at a great meeting of Quakers in Westminster; and once in special I forced myself to stay it out to the end. I heard many men and women too, a shameful thing in Christian assemblies, and five or six of them pray with a great deal of bodily fervour and strainedness; but not one of them in all their prayers throughout, from the beginning to the end, made the least mention of our Lord Jesus Christ, either by that name or any other that might give a stander-by the least hint of their acknowledgment of any such person, or of any respect they had to him or hope in him as their mediator, for his sake to find mercy with God; or give a man the least evidence, that for religion they were Christians and not Jews; for the Jews acknowledge one true and living God as well as they.

I therefore take this last part of my charge as confessed to, while you deny not what only I affirm here, that you offer not up your worship to God in the name of Christ, so expressed with the mouth, that standers-by may hear you do so professedly own him as your only mediator and advocate with God; what you do internally is known only to God and your own souls. It is your external acknowledgment of Christ in your worship by which men can

know that you are Christian worshippers, offering up your worship in his name. After all this you require me to prove what I have laid to your charge by the Scriptures. A strange request! I have charged you with nothing but matter of fact. Would you have me prove from Scripture that these and these are the Quaker's tenets, when neither they nor their tenets were in being till 1600 years after the Scriptures were written? What would you have me to prove by the Scriptures? Is it that you are not to be owned for Christians? This, I confess, is more matter of doctrine than the other; but that is no part of that which I accused them of, but a natural inference, which you call an excommunication, from the premises; for if you reject the visible marks of Christianity, you are not to be owned for Christians. My whole charge against you is in the four particulars above mentioned, of which you confess three and deny not the fourth; but either ignorantly or wilfully mistake my plain meaning; so that what is left for me to prove from Scripture I profess I know not.

As for the three queries you put to me, they are not of difficult resolution, at least the two first of them. But I perceive by what you add about the Lord's coming in the second question, and every day being the Lord's, in the third, that you aim not at resolution, but to draw me into further disputes with you; which unless you were able to write more strictly and closely to the matter, without multiplying words to no purpose, I shall not be drawn to; and therefore forbear to answer your queries, yet remain,

Willing to do you any good I can,
BENJ. WOODBRIDGE."

December the 31st, 1673.

When I had received this letter I was troubled to see so little plainness appear: and how subtilly he did seek to hide and cover himself, and to waive the matter. So that I did not write again presently, but laid it by a while; and made inquiry after Solomon Eccles' his book which he quoted; but could not hear of such an one. But after some time I wrote a pretty sharp reply to his last letter as followeth:

"BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE,

I have perused thy answer to my reply, which indeed is rather a mere evasion of the matter than any plain answer. For thou sayest that I have denied nothing of what thou didst accuse us of; but have confessed it altogether, except the fourth particular; and thou boastingly speakest, that if thou didst need it thou shouldst make me thy witness that thou hast spoken the truth.

REPLY.—If I may be a witness then let my evidence be heard and considered. First thou didst charge and conclude us to be infidels for denying those four marks or signs which thou sayest are according to Scripture, the most distinguishing marks of Christianity. Did I confess this? not in the least; but showed according to Scripture, the most distinguishing mark to know Christianity from infidelity by; because that murderers, adulterers, thieves and covetous, yea, the worst of men here in England have these visible marks, and yet are as bad as may be; and many such are condemned and executed year after year, notwithstanding their having those visible marks or signs.

And I did also signify what was the manifest mark and special spot of the children of God, who are the only true Christians; which was the fruits of righteousness and holiness brought forth in and by them through the power and spirit of Christ Jesus working effectually in them. Neither have I denied anything more that I know of than the apostle Paul did. Concerning sprinkling infants, a thing not known that I read of in his time, I said, it was an invention of the Church of Rome, which I did suppose thou wast not ignorant of, and now thy silence in that part confirms what I said, and therefore thou canst not plead for it.

Was the apostle Paul an Infidel, for his not being sent to administer water baptism; and for his setting up the baptism of the Spirit, and affirming "there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism?" And what more have I said or confessed of all that thou hast charged upon us; but the Scriptures testify the same, as may be seen at large in my former reply? And must we be accounted infidels for believing and owning the Scriptures? or must we be accounted infidels for denying the Church of Rome? Answer plainly. And therefore, if thou make me thy witness I must needs plainly testify, as in the presence of the Lord to thy shame, that thou hast told a great untruth; and it does still lie upon thy head to prove us infidels. For true faith stands in the power of God and is his gift, and stands not in the wisdom of words nor in visible things.

And now this I query of thee concerning baptism,—whether dipping or sprinkling infants is an express command and institution of the Lord? Produce if thou canst one Scripture to prove that if we do not practice it we are infidels.

And I further query concerning receiving the Lord's Supper, after what sort it ought to be celebrated? Whether kneeling, standing, sitting, lying, walking? for all these sorts of ways I understand are practised in the world? and in the use of shadows the outward manner

f performance is held to be absolutely neces-
ary. But do thou produce one scripture to
rove, that if we do not practice it in some such
ort and manner, we are infidels.

And further, what authority hast thou to
reach? By whom wast thou ordained? By
ne bishops, or no? Canst thou prove thy or-
ination successively from the apostles' times?
nd canst thou prove thy own qualification to
ender thee fit to administer such sacraments,
s thou callest them, and to pray and preach
ublicly for the instruction of others? Answer
ese queries plainly, in the spirit of meekness,
f thou art a true minister.

Again, concerning the observation of a day;
is so far from being a Christian mark, that
he apostle Paul makes it a Jewish one. And
herefore by the rule of contraries upon thy
wn principles, judge thou by consequence who
s the infidel. Do not the reformed churches,
eyond the seas, both Lutheran and Calvinist,
o called, deny the morality of the first-day of
he week, and practice it only as an apostolic
radition, as they speak? Are they therefore
ll infidels? But since they who pretend to
eep it on the account of its morality, keep it so
adly, what a crew of infidels are there in Eng-
and? Put it to the consciences of all sorts,
whether the Quakers show such looseness on
hat day, as many of those assertors of the mo-
ality of it do.

And as concerning thy fourth particular
harge, which thou goest about to prove from
hy being at Westminster meeting: thou being
n envious person prejudiced against us, thy
estimony is not to be taken. What didst thou
o so often thither for? If thou didst hear any
reach or pray contrary to sound doctrine, why
idst thou not inform them, and instruct them,
nd show them their error? If thou hadst
een indeed a true minister of Christ, thou
ouldst surely have preached Christianity to
hem; and not have come among them like
atan, watching for occasion on purpose to ac-
use them.

And since thou callest it a shameful thing
n a Christian assembly for women to speak, I
sk, if the Lord according to his promise hath
oured out his spirit upon sons and daughters,
hen why may not daughters prophesy as well
s sons? and that without shame, unless it be to
hose that despise them.

However, inasmuch as thou hast prejudged
s, I must tell thee in plainness as before is
inted, thou hast made thyself too much a
arty to be received as a competent witness
gainst us. Therefore thy testimony is not to
e taken or regarded. And I do not question
ut many hundreds of impartial persons who
ave frequented that meeting will appear, if
eed be, to testify the contrary to what thou
hast charged us with in that particular. And
besides our books which are public, do show
forth to all people who will read them, that we
do own Christ Jesus to be our Lord and Sa-
viour; and it is our joy and comfort and the
seal of our assurance, that we know him to be
our King, Priest and Prophet, and the only
Mediator between God and man. And thereby
it is evident that thy proof is no proof, but thy
charge still remains altogether false, a mere
slander uttered by thee against us.

Wherefore, to come yet more closely to thee,
consider whether it did become a man who him-
self is a dissenter, and who hath played at hide
and seek, and shrunk in times of trouble, and
not stood to suffer for his testimony, to fall so
untruly, unneighbourly and uncharitably upon
a harmless people that had done him no wrong?
And whether these things do not tend rather to
division and animosity than to quietness?

And lastly, consider whether it was not un-
worthily and basely done, in a public assembly
thus to brand us for infidels; and to express it
after such a manner as if we were about to set
up infidelity in the town of Newbury as a
trade. The Lord rebuke thy envy and make
it manifest. But this way which thou hast
taken, will please none but hypocrites and per-
secutors: for sober moderate people may come
by this means to be informed both of thy en-
mity and our innocency.

As for the book thou mentionest of Solomon
Eccles, and which thou unhandsomely callest a
wretched pamphlet, I have sent and enquired
after it, which was some reason why I was so
long before I writ this, but cannot hear of any
such book; so that it remains for thee to bring
it forth to acquit thyself from being accounted
a slanderer in that also. So expecting a plain
answer without evasion to the several heads
before mentioned, I remain,

An earnest contender for the true faith against
infidelity,

OLIVER SANSOM.

The 19th of Eleventh month, 1673.

P. S. Whereas in the conclusion of thy let-
ter thou queriest what I would have thee to
prove by the Scriptures; I answer, thou hast,
as thou knowest, accused us of infidelity for
denying those four particulars, which, thou say-
est are according to Scripture, the distinguish-
ing marks between Christianity and infidelity.
But if these be the Scripture marks, is it then
such a strange request, as thou wouldest make
it, that they should be proved so by the Scrip-
tures? and not only so, but also to prove by
what express command the practice of those
things is enjoined, so that whosoever is not
found in them is an infidel. And when thou
hast so done, then prove the matter of fact, as

thou callest it, that we deny or reject those practices.

The substance of those things was contained in the three queries I sent thee; which if thou hadst plainly answered, thy nakedness and shame would have been more discovered. But what a pitiful shift hast thou made to avoid the answering of them! doubtless thou thyself art sensible that thou hast charged us falsely, and now wouldst fain slip out of it.

As for thy saying that our tenets were not in being until 1600 years since the Scriptures were written; this is a false affirmation returned back upon thee to be repented of: for I testify, that our tenets and principles are the same that the apostles and ministers of Christ believed, taught, and held forth, and the Scriptures bear witness to them; prove thou the contrary if thou canst. And though the term Quaker is cast upon us in derision and reproach by the scorners of this generation; yet that reproach doth not make void the truth of our principles, nor the antiquity of our tenets; any more than the term Christian formerly did the Christian principles and doctrines, when it was first cast by the scoffing heathen on the followers of Christ. O. S."

After Benjamin Woodbridge had received this letter, which I sent him by an eminent hearer of his, I was certified that he was not willing to answer me any more in writing, but rather to speak with me privately; and the said messenger also desired that we might speak together. Whereupon I sent him word to this purpose, that seeing he had openly charged us in a public assembly, therefore I could not go about to smother it up in secret; but if he were willing to have a public dispute, concerning the matters in controversy betwixt us, to be soberly debated in moderation, with free liberty to as many as should desire to be present on either side; I did not question but my friends would join with me to engage him. To this effect I spake several times to the aforesaid messenger, whose name I forbear to expose, not having asked his consent. But when after about two months waiting, I could not find him any way willing to appear in public, I wrote another letter to him as followeth:—

"Benjamin Woodbridge,

I have long waited to receive an answer from thee to my last letter, dated the 19th of the eleventh month, 1673. And to stir thee up to return a plain answer, I have sent thee several verbal messages by thy friend N. C. to provoke thee to come forth honestly and answer fairly; but by thy delays I perceive that thy design is to answer me, as the saying is, by silence. Which indeed, if it were only a personal or private controversy, might serve, if not to satisfy, at least to put an end to it; because it might be taken as a manifest evidence that thou art not able to prove what thou hast charged, and therefore wouldst willingly have it die in silence, that so it might be buried in oblivion. But because it is the blessed way and worship of the living God which thou hast reproached, and us for our practice therein hast branded for infidels; and hast also endeavoured to cast stumbling-blocks in the way to hinder those who might have a desire to prove and try and be acquainted with the way and worship which the Lord hath gathered us into; and moreover it may be an occasion to stir up the magistrates against us, through thy false instigation, to persecute us as infidels; therefore this may let thee know, that for the Truth's sake, which is dear and precious to us, we are engaged and concerned to clear and vindicate, in a public way and manner, both the Truth and ourselves, as to our belief of it and our worship to the Lord in it: and also to satisfy and inform both magistrates and people, that although thou hast in public appeared against us, and openly charged and branded us for infidels, and so bespattered the precious Truth which we profess, yet when thou should come to proof and trial thou art not able to stand before it. For the Truth is strongest; and as it hath, so will it prevail, and have the victory.

And as I doubt not but thou art sensible that thou hast falsely charged us and done us wrong; so I desire that the sense and weight of it may come so close and heavy upon thee, that thou mayest repent of it, and give forth a public acknowledgment to clear us and thy own conscience; and thereby make some sort of satisfaction for the wrong and injury thou hast done us. So in the love of God I remain

A well-wisher to thee and all men,

O. Sansom."

The 22nd of First month, 1674.

But neither did this letter draw him forth to give us a public meeting. Wherefore, after I had thus cleared my hands of him, the Friends of our meeting in Newbury, looking upon themselves to be concerned to give forth some vindication more public on behalf of Truth and of the precious faith, which we through mercy have obtained, against this envious man's imputation of infidelity; they abstracted out of the foregoing letters the heads of the matters in controversy, and having drawn them in a fit form and method, delivered copies thereof to several persons of note in the town of Newbury. All which this evil man chose rather to lie under the censure of, than come forth in public to acquit himself therefrom.

CHAPTER V.

ith S. Burgis starts for the yearly meeting—Are arrested at Windsor—Their examination there—To the yearly meeting in 1676—Proceeds to Liverpool, taking meetings on the way—Delays—Sail for Dublin—Travels in Ireland on a religious account—Three letters to his wife—Returns home—Epistle to Friends in Ireland.

Some time after this, the yearly meeting at ondon coming on, to which my dear friend id brother in the truth, Samuel Burgis and intending to go, we set forward together on ir journey thitherwards. And as we travel- l on the way we felt drawings on our spirits visit our Friends at their weekly meeting at 'indsor; which caused us to turn in thither. it after we were come into the town and be- re the meeting began, there fell a great weight darkness upon us, which brought so sore an pression upon our spirits, that we were sen- ble the meeting would be disturbed and that fferings would attend us that day.

When the meeting time was come and iends were gathering together, we went and t down in silence with them. And after we d waited awhile, I having something by way testimony to declare, stood up and spake for out an hour; and being pretty clear sat wn again. And then my dear brother S. rgis stood up and began to declare; but had t spoken long before the Mayor and a justice the town, with several other officers, came o the meeting, and commanded him to hold; t he not heeding their words went on still. hereupon the Mayor commanded the officers pull him down and to have us all away to Town-hall, and there secure us until we re examined.

Thither we were had, and our names being en, we were kept there a long time, while magistrates held a consultation privately ween themselves concerning us. Which ie, and they sitting in the place of judg- nt, we were all called together before them, l part of the Act against seditious conventi- s was read; upon which the justice put such nstruction, that in his sense he concluded ransgressors. But yet he very nobly said, if any of us had anything to say in our defence, to show why he should not pro- l against us, as persons convicted by the Act, they were ready to hear us.

so happened that John Swinton,* of Scot- land, being in the town at that time upon busi- ness depending on the court, was taken at the meeting among us; and being first called he spake first, and his examination proved some- what long, at least I thought it so; for I began to be uneasy, as wanting room to speak what was upon my mind. So upon my request lib- erty was granted me; whereupon I spoke as followeth:

I do not understand, said I, that we are such people as this Act is provided against; for we are no seditious sectaries nor disloyal persons; neither can it be proved that we were ever found in seditious practices to the disturbance of the peace or raising insurrections; therefore being innocent and clear from all those dangerous practices which this Act provides remedies against, I cannot see wherefore we should suf- fer by it.

At this the justice was angry and charged me with a lie, for affirming that no Quakers were ever disturbers of the peace, or found raising insurrections; for he said there were many in the wars in times past.

I mildly replied, I do confess that several which had been in the wars, and had borne arms came afterwards to own the Truth and leave the wars; but I did and do deny that any, after they came to own and abide in the Truth, did ever take up arms or use a carnal weapon.

After this, Samuel Burgis being called and charged with deluding the people, he asked them whether it was an offence or breach of the law to exhort people to fear God? The justice said, yes. Then said S. B. if it be an offence to fear the Lord and to exhort people to it, then am I here ready to suffer for it, if it be to the laying down of my life. The justice said again, in your sense it is. Whereupon I said further, seeing this Act is not made to sup- press the true worship of God, nor to punish any for worshipping God in sincerity and truth, but against seditious practices; and seeing we are real, upright and innocent in all our inten- tions both towards God and man as touching all our meetings, therefore it cannot reasonably be supposed that we are the people meant or intended by this statute.

The mayor said, the Quakers are expressed in this Act, as he thought. But when I desired him to show it me and he had taken up the Act to look after it, the justice interposing said, he thought the word Quaker was not in it; but added, that it was ground enough to conclude our meeting a seditious meeting, because seve- ral of us were found there whose dwellings

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John Swinton of Scotland, formerly called l Swintowne, frequently mentioned in that esting and valuable work by the late John lay, "The Diary of A. Jaffray, &c. with Me- moirs of the Rise, Progress, and Persecutions of the people called Quakers in the North of Scot- land." At page 217 of that work a biographical notice is given of John Swinton, to which the reader is referred.

were so far remote from that place. I answered, some of us were on our journey to London, and did but visit our Friends in our travel, and John Swinton had business there, to speak with the king upon, as you have heard.

The justice thereupon said, we are as unwilling to cause you to suffer, as you can be to suffer; but if we don't fine you, we are liable by this Act to be fined ourselves £100.

To which I answered, except we are proved seditious the Act clears us; and then there is no need for you to fear the hundred pounds fine.

But, replied the justice, I will not venture that.

Thereupon I asked him, if he knew of any magistrate that had suffered in that kind, for not putting this Act in execution against us?

Yes, said he, I know of two that suffered; one was at Chichester.

I answered, this I confess I have not heard of before, and can say nothing to it; but I can say, and that in truth, we are truly innocent concerning sedition. And to meet in reality to worship God is neither contrary to this Act nor to the liturgy; for the liturgy doth acknowledge that it is very right and meet, and our bounden duty at all times and in all places to pray and give thanks unto God.

I see, said the justice, you are not ignorant of the liturgy; but that will not excuse you.

Well, said I, we do commit our cause to God; but I desire that in thy proceedings against us thou mayest have regard to the royal law of Christ Jesus, which is, to do to all men as thou wouldst be done unto; and consider if it were thy own case and our condition were thine, couldst thou be willing to suffer thyself in this manner?

Yes, replied the justice, I should fulfil the law passively; for there is no withstanding an Act of Parliament. The whole nation, added he, had a hand in making it; and thou thyself, speaking to me, hadst a hand in making this Act.

If, said I, it might be concluded that I had a hand in making this Act, then surely, I may justly claim a right to interpret and explain it.

No, replied the justice, thou hadst a hand by thy representative in making it; but it is left to the judges of the law to interpret it.

When this discourse with some more to like purpose had passed, they proceeded to impose fines; and they fined me and the rest of the Friends five shillings each, except S. Burgis, whom they fined as a preacher twenty pounds; for which his corn was afterwards distrained and carried to market, but not sold, nobody being forward to buy it; and after it had lain in a garner in Newbury a considerable time, it was at length delivered to him again.

About this time the mystery of iniquity was secretly at work in this county of Berks in divers, some of whom had been great sufferers for the Truth; but in the late time of liberty, growing high and lofty, they lost the sense of their former tenderness. And being carried away with a high admiration of two wandering stars, John Story and John Wilkinson, an exalted, opposing, separating spirit, by that means prevailed in the fleshly wisdom, to the defiling of some and grief of many. Of which, occasion may be offered to say more hereafter. Wherefore I shall now go on to relate some other services, which the Lord was pleased to employ me in.

About the time before mentioned of my going to London by Windsor, I felt some drawings on my spirit to go over into Ireland in the service of the Gospel; and very hard it was for me to give up to that journey; but in waiting upon the Lord and shutting out carnal reasoning, the Lord in time made me willing to be resigned to his guidance in that exercise; and so the thing remaining near two years, grew still more weighty upon me. Then I acquainted my dear brother Samuel Burgis therewith, and he was made free and willing to go along with me, and be my companion in that journey, although he came from thence not long before.

So we went up first to the yearly-meeting in the year 1676. And soon after our return from thence we set forward from our own homes, on the 11th day of the fifth month; our wives and several Friends that lived near us, in love accompanying us to bring us on our journey. We went first to Cricklade, where was a weekly meeting that day; where several Friends of Cirencester having notice of our coming, met us; and we were well refreshed together in the sense of the renewed love of our God.

After the meeting we went with our Friends to Cirencester, and the next morning after we had waited awhile together, and prayers and supplications were poured forth unto the Lord, that he would be wisdom and strength unto us, to direct and preserve us in our weighty undertaking, and in tender love and brokenness of heart, committing each other to the care and keeping of the Almighty; we took our leave of our dear wives and Friends there, and having heavenly encouragement, we went the same day to Cheltenham; where we had a meeting with Friends that evening, and the Lord's blessed presence and power was with us, which caused a great tenderness over the meeting.

Next morning we travelled to Worcester, and had a good meeting with Friends, at their

weekly-meeting that day, and Friends were very kind and loving to us.

From thence we passed next day to Stourbridge; and it being market-day we had a meeting with Friends there in the evening. They were desirous to have us tarry with them until the first-day also; but we, being pressed in spirit to go forward, went on next morning, which was the seventh-day of the week, to Shrewsbury; where we tarried the first-day. At our entering into that town we felt a great weight of darkness over the place, and soon after we understood the assize was holden there at that time. At the meeting, one of the Sheriff's bailiffs and several more people were present, and continuing many of them to the last, behaved themselves soberly and gave great attention. It being the monthly meeting, it was large; and very precious through the goodness of the Lord, who is worthy to have the glory over all for evermore.

Afterwards in the evening many Friends being together with us, we had then also a good time together to our comfort through the favour of the Lord. Then we went to visit two Friends that were in prison; and there also waiting together awhile in the prison we felt and tasted something of that spring of divine life, whereby we had been so often refreshed. Holy, pure praises be ascribed to the everlasting Fountain for ever and ever.

The next day we passed to Chester, and had a meeting amongst Friends there; and the power of the Lord reached to most in the meeting, which caused great tenderness amongst them; endless praises be to his name for ever; and much love was manifested unto us from them.

Then hearing next day, being the fourth-day of the week, of a ship laden with coals and bound for Dublin ready to set sail, we disposed of our horses, and hasted away to Nesson, where the ship lay: and there we waited for a wind until the seventh-day in the morning, at which time the wind blew and sat very well for us. Whereupon about sun-rising we with many other passengers got all on board; but the wind blowing very strongly tossed the boat in such sort, that many passengers were sick before they could get aboard the ship.

Then hoisting up their sails they put forth and went away very swiftly for about three-quarters of an hour. But passing over a shoal the ship struck upon the sand once or twice, and then she stuck fast in the sand and could not get off. And it being an ebbing tide, the water went clean away from the ship so that it was dry land round about for a great distance from the ship. Wherefore many of us went down out of the ship, and walked four or five hours on the sands which lay dry for two or three furlongs in length, but encompassed round with water at a distance, that none could get to the land if they had desired it; but when the tide came in again we all went up into the ship. And when it was high water the ship floated, being borne up by the flood above the sands. Whereupon we endeavoured to get forward; but the wind being turned almost against us, the seamen toiled hard and sailed to and again until the evening, yet were they then fain to cast anchor.

Next morning, being the first-day of the week, as soon as it was day-light the sailors went to work again, and having weighed anchor and spread their sails, endeavoured again to get forward; but the wind was still strong against them. And when they had laboured till near the middle of the day the wind grew more turbulent with rain and stormy weather; which forced them to cast anchor there again.

This unexpected stop and delay of our passage brought afresh to our remembrance, that when we were at Chester, treating with the shipmaster, and just as we had concluded for our passage, a great weight came upon my spirit; and I had some drawings to go to Liverpool, to visit Friends there, and thereabouts, and in that part of Lancashire before we left England. But we having suddenly disposed of our horses, and being not well able to travel on foot, and withal thinking it long ere we were got over into Ireland, did take that weight which fell upon me at Chester, to be a forewarning from the Lord of some hardship or suffering that was like to come upon us at sea.

There were on board the ship about fourscore passengers in all, many of them as lewd and wicked, I think as any the earth did bear, but others of them were more sober; though as to religion very dark. Yet the Lord by his power preserved us, so that none of them offered any abuse unto us, so much as in words; though they were very vain and frothy among themselves; and the weight of their iniquity lay heavy upon us.

While thus we lay at anchor in the afternoon, when all had dined, but we ourselves were fasting all the day, we went up upon the deck in the fear and dread of the Lord God, and my brother S. B. opening his mouth with an audible voice, declared to them of the mercy and love of the Lord, exhorting them to repentance. When he ceased I spake to them also after the same manner, putting them in mind of their latter end and reproving them for their vanity, exhorted them to turn to the grace of God, which had appeared to them, to teach them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world.

When first S. B. began to speak they came forth and drew near unto us, standing together upon the deck like a pretty large congregation, and gave diligent attention.

Among them was one called a lady, and several other persons of quality, who showed much soberness in giving heed to what was declared.

The lady came up close to my elbow because the wind was high and she was desirous to hear. And afterwards she asked me several questions which I answered to her satisfaction. The master of the ship also, and the seamen seemed well pleased, and were kind and courteous to us; for indeed, the powerful presence of the Lord was with us, and most of them were so far reached, as to confess that what we said was true. Only some Frenchmen, who were said to be fiddlers and fencers, and such like seemed to be hardened; yet they also were bounded from offering us any abuse.

As soon as we had done our service amongst them, the weather being likely to be more tempestuous, they weighed anchor and tacking about returned back to Nesson in about an hour's time. And we, having been thus strengthened by the Lord to sound forth his truth amongst them, when being brought into a straight they were willing to hear, were greatly comforted by the Lord our God in our obedience to him in that exercise and service; blessed and praised be his holy name for ever.

But being thus set on shore again at Nesson on the first-day at night, which was the 23rd of the fifth month 1676, we tarried there until the morning; and the wind still standing contrary, we then took our journey on foot into Lancashire; and passing through Liverpool without hearing of any Friend here, we went on about three miles further to the house of a Friend, whose name was Henry Baker, where we were kindly received and lodged that night.

Next morning we went back to Liverpool, the Friend our host accompanying us; and he brought us to a Friend's house there, where we stayed awhile.

There was that day a great fair at Liverpool, and my dear companion S. Burgis being under a great exercise of spirit, was constrained to go into the midst of the fair, near the exchange; and having given a man money to let him stand upon the end of his stall, he cried out aloud in the dread of the Lord, against the pride and wickedness of the people, warning them to repent.

This gave an alarm through the town, there being at that time a multitude of people; yet none offered any violence to him. When he had cleared himself of what was at that time upon him he stepped down, and I being next him all the time, we came forth from among the great throng, and went back to the Friend's house again, where many Friends who were come to the fair came to visit us, and were exceeding kind and loving to us, inviting us to come into the country among them, until we might have our passage. But we hearing of a ship ready to set sail for Dublin, and waiting only for a wind, went back again that night to Henry Baker's house; and next morning finding the wind set fair, we went again to Liverpool that we might be in readiness if the ship should sail: but when we came thither we were informed that no ship would sail thence that day.

Some Friends of the country hearing of us came to see us there, and very kindly proffered to lend us horses to go into the country with them. But we, having a desire to have a meeting in Liverpool, which we could see no likelihood of obtaining that day, went about a mile out of town, and lodging there that night, returned next day to Liverpool again. And then finding no other way open, I sent a Friend about in the town to see if he could hire a room for a meeting that day; he soon met with one, who willingly for money offered his house; and we, being very glad of it, appointed the meeting to begin at the sixth hour in the evening, it being the fifth-day of the week.

Notice being given thereof much people came in, and we had a good meeting; for the Lord's power was manifested and many hearts were tendered; and the Friends who were there were well refreshed and greatly satisfied. They said there had not been a meeting in that town for sixteen or seventeen years past; about which time Richard Hubberthorne* was there: but

* The name of Richard Hubberthorne often occurs in the early part of the history of Friends, as an able gospel minister and patient sufferer for the Truth. He was a native of Lancashire, and the only son of his father, a yeoman of good repute. In his youth he obtained a post in the parliamentary army, which on his embracing the Truth he quitted and testified publicly against it; and became a valiant soldier under the banner of the Prince of Peace. After passing through many inward probations, he became qualified to direct others in their way to the kingdom of heaven, and was one of the first of our Society who travelled in the work of the ministry. See G. Fox's Journal, where he is frequently mentioned, Leeds edition, vol. 1, p. 193.—R. H. was a man of much meekness, humility, patience, and brotherly kindness, clear in judgment, and quick of understanding; and although he was of low stature and had an infirm constitution and weak voice, he was a powerful and successful minister, and great numbers were convinced by him, and brought over to the faith and practice which he preached. He travelled in the exercise of his gift for the space of nine

the magistrates then drove Friends out of the town, through the instigation of a wicked envious priest, who advised them to beware of the Quakers, and not to suffer them within their borders; telling them it would be too late to seek a remedy when the mayor's throat was cut, and all his officers slain. But between that time and this, Friends were better known and their principles better understood.

Among the many people that were at this meeting, there was one of the chief men of the town; and he was so very courteous and kind to us, that he even constrained us to go to his house and drink a glass of wine with him; which, more for his sake than of his wine, we consented to.

About an hour after the meeting was over, our spirits being clear and greatly comforted in the goodness of the Lord our God, who had given us our hearts' desire, we went on board the ship and passed away in much inward joy and satisfaction. But when we came out at sea, the winds proving something contrary as well as rough, we were three days and three nights upon the water; which caused my companion to be sea-sick; but I was as well as at other times.

We arrived at Dublin on the 30th of the fifth month, 1676. And when we were come into that city a hard travail of exercise came upon us, by reason of the power of darkness which had wrought strongly and mysteriously in the hearts of some, who had once known a better state while they were little and low. But when the Lord had given them rest and increased them in outward things, the love of this world entering their hearts, became as a root of bitterness in them, from whence sprang prejudice, enmity, contention, high-mindedness, self-love, and the like.

We tarried there the weekly meeting, and the two meetings on the first-day following; and although the power of the Lord was over all in those meetings, to the comfort and refreshment of the tender-hearted; yet inasmuch as there were some other travelling Friends also from England, we had not then opportunity fully to clear ourselves amongst the Friends of that place, but tarried longer amongst them; and on the second-day went to a women's meeting there; and we have cause to say, the Lord owned them, by affording them the enjoyment of his refreshing, powerful presence among them, for the strengthening and encouraging of us all, as we are humbly resigned to obey him.

Next day there was a men's meeting, to which also we went; and the power and presence of the Lord was mightily revealed, which enabled us to discover and give warning against that spirit of darkness, which was the troubler of Israel. After this, not yet finding ourselves fully clear, we tarried their weekly meeting on the fifth-day, and the Lord was with us as at other times, blessed for ever be his Holy name, and the upright and tender-hearted were refreshed and made glad in the feeling of the love of God, which flowed forth through us towards them in the time of our being there amongst them.

Now after we had tarried eleven days in Dublin, we left that city, and passing away towards the north of Ireland, had a meeting near Drogheda, at a place called Killmeer, where many people came in, and the Lord's power was blessedly with us; which caused great openness and tenderness in the meeting; glory over all and endless praises be given to the God of our life and strength, for evermore.

We travelled the next day forty Irish miles or upwards to Leggekore; and on the morrow, being first-day, we went to a meeting at Balyhagen; where we were comforted together with Friends in the goodness of the Lord.

We were next day at a women's meeting, and the day following we went to another women's meeting seven miles from thence; where, notice having been given of our coming, the meeting was large; and at both these meetings the Lord's blessed presence in the midst was enjoyed, and life received by the thirsty ones to their great comfort and refreshment.

Next day we went to Francis Robson's house near Lurgan, where was a large and good meeting. And from thence next day we passed to a meeting near Lisnegarvy, which also through the great love of our God was made good unto us. From thence went to the city of Antrim that night, and the next day to Grange; where we tarried a little time with Friends, and then passed on to James Moores, who lived near Ballimurry, and lodged there; and the next day, being the seventh-day of the week, leaving our horses there, we went on foot to a Friend's house, whose name was Gilbert Crocket, near Colerain, where the meeting was to be on the morrow, and a large and precious meeting it was, through the goodness of the Lord, in which we with Friends were comforted and refreshed together.

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years, and shared at different times in the sufferings to which our early Friends were exposed.

In the fourth month, 1662, he was violently haled from a meeting at the Bull and Mouth in London, and taken before that implacable persecutor Alderman Brown, who, after abusing him with his own hands, committed him to Newgate. Here the throng was so great, and the air so impure, that he soon fell sick. His disorder encreased upon him, and within two months from the time of his commitment, with an unclouded prospect of a resting-place "where the wicked cease from troubling," he was released by death.

On the second-day we came back to Grange, and had a meeting there on the third-day; and were comforted in the Lord with Friends there also.

We came to Antrim on the fourth-day, and staid the meeting there; and the next day we came to Carrickfergus, and had a meeting there; and in all these places the Lord was still with us to our comfort, blessed be his Holy name for ever.

Next day, being the sixth of the week, leaving Carrickfergus we passed along by Belfast and Lisnegarvy and came to Lurgan at night. And on the seventh-day, many Friends accompanying us, we went to Ballyhagan to the province meeting, which lasted two days; here we met with Roger Longworth and John Symcock; and a very precious meeting there was through the loving kindness of our tender God; to whom for all his goodness be the praise and glory ascribed, and offered up over all for ever more. Amen.

After the meeting on first-day was ended we travelled to Armagh, and had a meeting there that evening, to which many people came, and a good time we had with them through the continued love of our merciful God.

We went next day to a meeting near Charle-Mount, where also the Lord comforted us with his people. And from thence we went to Dungannon where we had a meeting that evening, to which many rough people came and heard pretty quietly; for the Lord's power was over all, which kept their spirits down.

The next day we travelled to Cavan, which was about forty-miles. And the day following we went to Belturbet meeting seven miles, and back to Cavan that night: and were at the weekly meeting there on the fifth-day; and still the love and favour of our gracious God was renewed and continued to us for our great encouragement, and to the confirming and refreshing of his heritage where ever we came; all glory, honour and endless praises be returned to him for evermore.

On the sixth-day we travelled to a Friend's house near Trim, an old decayed city, and had a meeting there on the morrow: and after the meeting we rode twenty miles to Dublin, and were there at both the meetings on the first-day. Those meetings were full and large, abundance of people thronging in; and some rudeness there was amongst them for some time; but for the most part they behaved themselves soberly; and blessed be the Lord, his power was felt over all, in which the word of truth was sounded forth in his divine authority over the meetings to the comfort of the faithful.

On the second-day we were at the women's meeting in that city and the Lord was with us there also.

[The following letter written to his wife may be appropriately introduced here. Two letters at subsequent dates, written also from Dublin, are inserted in their places.]

Dublin, 11th of Seventh month, 1676"

"My dear Wife,

In that love which sea or land cannot separate doth my soul salute thee and truly reach unto thee, and the secret breathings of my life are often poured forth unto the Lord, that thou mayest daily partake with me of the same heavenly comfort and sweet refreshment, which the Lord in his love hath opened as a spring in me; whereby my soul hath been daily strengthened and encouraged, that all my travels and exercises inward and outward have been made easy unto me, so that I can say that the way of the Lord hath been pleasant unto me, and my soul hath found true peace in walking in his path. As I have patiently been resigned to take the yoke of Christ upon me, he hath enabled me to bear it with ease and delight, so that I have cause to say he is not a hard master, but doth give power and strength sufficient to fulfil all his commands unto all his servants who daily wait upon him for it; therefore, dear heart, wait daily upon the Lord, and let the exercise of thy soul be poured forth in breathings unto him continually, for he sees in secret and takes notice of that man or woman whose heart inclines after him. He will watch over them to do them good, and to keep and preserve them in perfect peace, when the mind is staid upon him. So labour against all worldly thoughts, and shut out all worldly desires, and wait for heavenly desires and a staid heavenly spirit, that so thy affection may be wholly set on things that are eternal. Then all that we can suffer here will seem light and easy unto us, and not worthy to be compared to that glory which our heavenly Father is revealing in us. Therefore let us for ever dwell low and look not out, but keep the eye within and live by faith, and we shall surely obtain victory, and in time come to be made more than conquerors through Him that has loved us, who is blessed for evermore. Now this may let thee know that I and my companion S. B. are very well, and so have been ever since our arrival here.

The Lord hath been very good unto us, and his blessed presence hath been with us, and the savour of his divine power been manifested through us in all places where we have been, for which our souls are deeply engaged to return honour and glory and immortal praises over all unto him for evermore. After our arrival here we tarried eleven days at Dublin, and were at several meetings, where we had very good service, and Friends were very glad

of us; and then having provided us horses, we went to the meetings of Friends in the province of Ulster, where we spent something like three weeks and travelled about 330 miles, and came again to Dublin on the seventh-day at night, to be at their meeting on the first-day. We had a very large meeting, both in the forenoon and also in the afternoon, for abundance of the world's people thronged in; so that here is a great service on the first-days in this great city, which we are constrained to supply as much as may be while we are in this nation. We have thoughts to go into the country to-morrow, where we think we may visit about four meetings this week, and return again to be at Dublin next first-day, and then if the Lord enable us, we think to go into the south, as into the province of Munster, Leinster and Connaught, which will take up pretty much time. I received a letter from thee, which T. Robinson sent, and was glad of it, but I expected another from thee before this time, which was the cause that I wrote no sooner now. I sent a letter to thee by the first post after we came ashore, and about ten days after I sent a letter to Joan Vokins, to whom I desire thee to mind my very dear love, and to her husband and family. I have received no letter from her as yet but what was annexed to thine. I also then sent a letter to my brother John, and this day received one in answer from him. Mind my dear love to him when thou seest him, and also to his wife, and to all Friends thereaway as if named. To M. W. and D. A. whom I desire may not be negligent in their endeavour for settling a women's meeting; you are all concerned, for the Lord requireth it of you. Therefore look not out, but go on in the faith and His presence you will feel. I could say much more: we have been at three women's meetings in Ireland, and we are witnesses the Lord owns them, and I am persuaded and am very confident that you cannot neglect it and be guiltless. And mind my dear love to all Friends thereaway belonging to Farringdon meeting and Uffington and Charlow, &c., I cannot particularize their names, but my dear love is unto them all, desiring and breathing for their well-being in the Truth. My dear love is to thy father and brother and their families. I should be glad to hear from thee how things are and how Truth prospers, and what Friends have been there. So in that tender love of our Heavenly Father, which is shed abroad in our hearts, and hath made us near unto himself, and thereby united and joined us together with all the faithful, in one body, as with joints and bands; oh! let us in that same love dearly feel one for another, and breathe one for another, and therein I rest and remain

Thy dear husband, O. S.

Next day we went to Kilbalin and had a meeting there, in which the Lord answered the desire of the upright, for the diligent received a good reward, and the slothful and lukewarm were warned and exhorted to zeal and diligence in the obedience of the truth.

The same day we went to Castle-Dermot, and the next day, being the fourth-day of the week, to New-Garden meeting, and the day following to the weekly meeting at Ballinakill; from whence we returned next day to Castle-Dermot, where was a large meeting, at which many people were present. And in all these meetings the wonted goodness of our tender God was still extended to his people, to our mutual refreshment and comfort together; to Him alone the praise is due and the glory belongs, and to Him be it ascribed for ever and ever.

On the next day, being the seventh of the week, we returned to Dublin, and were at their two meetings on the first-day which were very large; and the Lord's power and presence was sensibly enjoyed to the comfort of the tender-hearted, for which thanksgivings and living pure praises be given unto him for evermore.

We left Dublin on the third-day of the week, which was the 12th of the seventh month, and being accompanied by many Friends went to Wicklow, where was a meeting on the next day; and the day following we had a meeting at Ballicave; in both which the Lord's comforting presence still accompanied and refreshed us with his people; blessed forever be his holy name.

Next day we travelled in the county of Wexford, and lodged at a place called the Deeps. From whence next day, being the first-day of the week, we went to Thomas Holme's house, where was a large and blessed meeting. And the day following we went into the Barony of Fort, and had a meeting at Balliconnick on the third-day, to which many people came; and here also the Lord blessed us with his refreshing presence; glory be to him for ever.

From thence we went next day to a meeting at Wexford; and the day following to a meeting at Lambs-town; and to another meeting at Edward Goddin's the day after. At which five last meetings, that honest, ancient labourer in the Lord's work, Thomas Briggs,* was with

* Thomas Briggs was born in Cheshire about the year 1610. In 1653 he was convinced by Geo. Fox; in whose Journal, as well as in Sewel's History, and other early writings, his name frequently occurs. He, like Paul, "was before a blasphemer and a persecutor, and injurious;" and like him also, "having obtained mercy," became a faithful minister and servant of Christ. (See G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 202.)

This Friend found it required of him publicly as

us; and very good precious meetings they were, in which the life and power of our God was over all; blessed for ever be his worthy name.

On the first-day following we were at the meeting at Wexford, where many people came in; and a heavenly sweet meeting we had in the enjoyment of the renewed love and life of our God in the midst of us, to our comfort and great encouragement; to him for ever be the glory rendered, for all his goodness extended to us at all times and in all places.

The next day we went again into the Barony of Fort, to a meeting that was appointed to be on the morrow at Leonard Lerlye's house, and there also many people came in, among whom were some men of note, as having been formerly officers in the army; and a very good meeting it was for the opening and clearing of Truth to the understandings of the honest enquirers; and the authority of the power of our God was over all, blessed be his holy name for ever.

We went next day to a meeting at John Fennel's house at Ballimonybig; and the next day we had a meeting at Newbridge; at both which places many of the world's people coming in, the meetings were large, especially the last; and the presence and power of the Lord was with us, being feelingly witnessed to the refreshment of the faithful, and for the awakening, and stirring up the slothful and backsliders, to diligence in the work which the Lord hath called them unto.

The next morning being the 29th of the seventh month, we had a meeting at Edward Goddin's in the forenoon; and though it was but little yet it was a comfortable meeting, the fresh living presence of the Lord being with us, blessed be his name for ever.

From thence going along with Friends to a fair at Enniscorthy, we passed to Francis Randell's at the Deeps at night, in order to be at a monthly meeting at Lambs-Town on the first-day following, which was the first of the eighth month. The meeting there was very large, and the Lord made it also very good for us by appearing, according to his wonted kindness, in the midst, to the refreshing and comforting his heritage.

On the second-day we travelled to Waterford, and had a meeting there on the third-day; another at Clonmell on the fourth-day in the evening; another at John Fennel's on the fifth-day; and another at Tullow on the sixth-day; at all which places the Lord our God was still with us, and gave us his precious reward into our bosoms, to our own and his people's great refreshment; magnified and exalted be his name over all for ever.

On the seventh-day we went to Youghal, and on the first-day had two meetings there, in which the refreshing presence of our never-failing God was sweetly enjoyed in the midst, to the tendering the hearts of many. On the second-day we went to Cork, and were at the meeting there on the third-day; and on the fourth-day we went to Bandon, and so forward to John Allen's, commonly called Major Allen, at night, and had a meeting there on the fifth-day; from whence, returning to Bandon we had a meeting there on the sixth-day. And the Lord our God still continued his love and favour to us, so that in all these meetings he was pleased to accompany us with his presence, which made our meetings with his people, to be times of refreshing and of renewing of strength to all his sincere waiting ones. Oh! the glory over all and pure living praise is His due, and to Him alone be it returned for evermore. Amen.

We returned to Cork on the seventh-day and were at their two meetings there on the first-day. We tarried there on the second-day also that we might be at the six-weeks' meeting for the province of Munster, which began on the third-day, and ended on the fourth-day in the evening. A very precious time we had with our friends in all those meetings; for the Lord our God was exceedingly good unto us in fill-

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well as privately, to testify against the cruel and deceitful priests and their practices, which exposed him and his exercised companions to much persecution. "He was," says Whiting, "commanded to preach repentance through many towns and cities in England, and the Lord's power and presence did wonderfully accompany him." For a more detailed account of some of his labours, the reader is referred to "Persecution Exposed, in some Memoirs of John Whiting," first edition, p. 133—7. Both Whiting and Sewel mention his preaching through the streets of London previous to the great fire, and in Cheapside, foretelling of the destruction of that city.

He travelled much in Wales and other places in the service of the gospel; becoming in many as a sign unto the people, "a spectacle unto men, a fool for Christ's sake;" but was wonderfully preserved in his testimony, and very instrumental where he was sent, "to open their eyes and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." Not only did he suffer personally by imprisonment and the violence of wicked men, but was fined five times for having meetings in his house, under the Conventicle Act; his goods being taken to the value of £50. In his travels he frequently accompanied his dear brother Geo. Fox, and with him visited Ireland in 1669, and the West Indies in 1671. A short time before his decease, "being become old and weak, he wrote to G. F., in which he signified his perseverance in godliness." He died near Nantwich about the beginning of 1685, and bore "a large testimony the first-day before his decease;" being aged about seventy-five years; a minister thirty-two years.

ng our cups and causing them to overflow, and n a wonderful manner did he refresh his heri-age; and Friends' hearts were exceedingly ten-dered and enlarged towards us in the love of God.

On the fifth-day in the morning we left them and went to Malla, where was a pretty large meeting. And the next morning after we had a little time with Friends, and had committed them to the Lord who had refreshed us togeth-er, we passed from thence to Charlowfield, and had a meeting there that afternoon. It was a large and good meeting; for notice had been given to Friends beforehand of our coming. But it happened that the Bishop of Limerick was in the town at that time with many priests and two or three justices, and they consulting together caused the chief magistrate of that place, who is called the Sovereign, to send the constable with a company of men to our meet-ing to fetch away the speaker.

After the meeting had continued about three hours, the constable came in, but very soberly, and stood still and heard a pretty while, I be-ing then declaring the Truth; and after some time the constable came near, and taking hold of my arm, said, you must go along with me before the Sovereign. I desired him to be so-ber and stay a little, and I should go with him without haling; whereupon he let go his hold. Then I spake a few words in the dread of the Lord unto him, to warn him to take heed how he laid hands on the innocent; at which he seemed to be struck, and was much down in his spirit and silent. Then I kneeled down and prayed, and the constable put off his hat while I prayed, and stood quiet afterwards until the meeting broke up; and then I went with him to the Sovereign; who, as soon as I was brought before him, asked me, pretty cour-teously, pray what is your name?

I said, I hope you hast no evil intent in this thy asking, and although I am not either afraid or ashamed to discover my name, yet I would gladly know thy purpose in it.

I ask you, said he, for no hurt.

Then I am very free, said I, to tell thee that my name is Oliver Sansom.

Where, said he, is your dwelling?

My outward habitation, said I, is in Berk-shire, in England.

What did you come over hither for? said he.

To preach the gospel, answered I, and to visit my friends.

What friends? said he; have you kindred here? or have you any business in merchan-dise? I desire to know the chief cause of your coming hither.

As for kindred, said I, after the flesh, I have none here that I know of; nor for any gain of this world am I come; but I am come in obe-dience to the will of God, who appeared unto me and laid a necessity upon me to preach the gospel; and sent me hither by the same spirit, by which he sent forth his ministers in the pri-mitive times.

Then, said he, if you have no dwelling-place you are a wanderer.

Upon that, a Friend that stood by interpos-ing said, he is no vagabond, I will be bound for him for a hundred pounds.

I did not speak so gross, said the Sovereign, as to say he is a vagabond; but if he hath no dwelling here I must account him a wanderer.

Thereupon I said, I am no more a wander-er than the ministers of Christ were, as the scriptures bear witness; and if Christ himself were here or his apostles, thou mightest as well judge them wanderers as me. For Christ said, he had not where to lay his head; and his min-isters left all and followed him, and had no cer-tain dwelling-place.

Well! said the Sovereign, I might ask you for miracles, but you will say they are ceased. Were you at Cork? said he.

I answered, I was at Cork.

Had you, said he, no dwelling there?

When I was there, replied I, I lodged at the house of Thomas Cook, a merchant.

I know Thomas Cook well, said he; but how long have you been in Ireland?

I told him two months.

Then said he, you know the times are dan-gerous; towns have been fired and plots have been contrived; and you being one that wan-ders and can give no good account of your bu-siness, I cannot let you go unless some will be bound for your good behaviour.

Thereupon I said to him, I have declared the naked truth unto thee concerning my com-ing over hither and travelling here. And to the witness of God in thy conscience do I ap-peal, whether thou dost judge me a person sus-picious to plot against the government or to fire towns or cities. But whether thou wilt let me go or not, I take no thought for that; for I am given up to the will of God, not only to preach the gospel but to suffer for it; yea, even to seal my testimony with my blood if I am called to it.

Then said he to the Friends that were pre-sent, if you will promise that this man shall come before me again to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, I will let him go with you to-night. They said they would promise, and so I went away with them.

Next morning one of the Friends went with me to the Sovereign's house, and he being in bed sent to have the Friend brought up to his bed-side; and then told him, that the bishop of Limerick and several justices had been in town,

and hearing of the meeting, had sent to him to break it up, and secure the speaker. Now, said he, I being a minister of the law could do no less than I did. But however, added he, if you will promise and engage that he shall not come hither again, I will let him go.

I cannot promise any such thing said the Friend; for it may be the Lord may require him to come again. But this I can say, that his intent at present, as I understand, is to pass away if he has his liberty, and I believe he hath no purpose at all to return hither before he goes for England; but I cannot enter into any engagement for it.

Then, said the Sovereign, he may go where he pleases. I was waiting below all this while, and when the Friend came down, and acquainted me what had passed between the Sovereign and him, and that I had my liberty to go away, I felt an exercise come upon my spirit, so that I was not clear to go. Whereupon I desired to speak with the Sovereign myself; which being granted, when I came up to his bed-side, he thus began with me.

How do you do, Oliver? Would you speak with me?

Yes, said I.

Pray, what is your will? said he.

When I was brought, said I, before thee yesternight, thou didst ask me several questions concerning the occasion of my coming into this nation, and I told thee the naked truth from my heart, how that I came in the name of the Lord. But I then perceived by thee that if I had come in my own name and on my own business, as a merchant, to buy and sell, or the like, thou wouldst have received me courteously and entertained me kindly. But I am now come in obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, as his messenger and servant to preach the gospel in his power and authority. And seeing thou professest thyself a Christian, and in words dost call Christ, Lord, now let it be manifest what entertainment thou hast for his servant. Wilt thou receive me and hear my message? To this he gave no answer; wherefore, after a little pause, I went on and said, if thou wilt hear me then call up thy family together, and here I am ready to declare what I have received from the Lord.

To this he answered, No, no.

Then, said I, if thou wilt not receive me nor hear my message, the substance whereof is that the heavenly kingdom and government of Christ is at hand; and behold, it is to be sought and waited for within, then must I shake off the dust of my feet as a testimony against thee. Yet notwithstanding, be thou assured of this, whether thou wilt hear or forbear, that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, and very nigh unto thee.

Hereupon the Sovereign said, I have not faith to believe, and many do run before they are sent.

Such, said I, are the hirelings who run for gain and profit, by whom thou and others have long been deceived.

I do not yet believe, said he, that you are a true messenger.

Thou didst hear, said I, the last evening, the evidence of them that heard me, and of their owning my message, which may be looked upon as a seal to my ministry. But I would have thee retire within and hearken to God's witness in thy own conscience, and mind the testimony thereof, whereby thou mayest be fully satisfied. And moreover, I am not ashamed nor afraid to appear to vindicate my call and message, through the help of God, to the faces of any that shall oppose it, either by word or writing, though it be any of them whom thou dost judge true ministers, and to whom thou payest hire; that so it may be openly manifest who are sent of God, and who are sent by man. And, as I told thee before, I came not hither for either gold or silver or any thing of this world, nor in my own will, but in obedience to the will of my Lord Jesus Christ, who hath said, it shall be more tolerable in the day of judgment for Sodom and Gomorrah, than for those that slight his servants and reject their testimony.

To this the Sovereign only said, I have not faith to believe.

Then, with respect to his having asked my friend to promise that I should not come thither again, I said to him, I do now let thee know that I cannot consent to any promise or engagement concerning my passing away or not coming again. Here I am in the will of God offered up; if he gives thee power to detain me I seek not my liberty.

You may go about your business, replied he, I have done with you.

Then said I, the Lord God in whose hand my breath is, knows that I have nothing in my heart but tender love towards thee; and I believe that one day thou wilt repent, I wish it be not too late first, that thou hast slighted this opportunity.

Then finding myself pretty clear of him, I left him, and as I turned from him, he said, pray God bless you.

Being thus set at liberty, I with my dear companion S. B., went the same day, being the seventh-day of the week, and the 21st of the eighth month, 1676, to Limerick, where we tarried the first-day, and were at both the meetings, and the good presence and power of our God was with us, to the refreshing of us with his people, blessed be His holy name for ever.

Very loving and tender to us were the

Friends of this place, and many of them came to visit us in the morning at our lodging, where we sat together awhile and had a good time with them; and then taking leave with prayer we passed away, and some of them accompanied us as far as to Birr, which was thirty-two miles.

There we had a meeting on the third-day, and on the fourth-day we went to Abraham Fuller's at Lehinch, and were at the meeting at the Moat of Grange on the fifth-day; and returning back again to Lehinch had a meeting there on the sixth-day. On the seventh-day we went to Mount-mellick and were at the meeting there on the first-day, and passed thence to John Pim's at night. And at all these meetings the Lord still continued his love and goodness to us, and wonderfully strengthened and upheld us by His mighty power; blessed and praised be His worthy name for ever.

On the second-day we went to Ballinakil and visited the Friends there, and having tarried some time with them we went to William Harris' to lodge.

On the third-day, being the 31st of the eighth month, we had a meeting at Kilkenny, where abundance of people came in, and the presence of the Lord was with us; and His life and power were over the meeting, to the convincing of gainsayers and refreshing the faithful; praises over all be to our God for evermore.

Next morning we went to John Watson's, where we had a meeting on the fifth-day; and on the sixth-day we had a meeting at Carlow. And at both these meetings the Lord continued his love and tender mercy to us as at other times; everlasting praises be returned to Him for ever.

On the seventh-day we went to the six-weeks' meeting for the province of Leinster, which was held at Castle-Dermot and lasted two days; and a very good and large meeting it was.

Dublin, 7th of Ninth month, 1676.

"My dear Wife,

My dear and tender love doth reach unto thee and doth dearly salute thee, with thy dear sister and all the upright in heart thereaway, earnestly desiring that you may be preserved and kept by the power of God unto the everlasting salvation of your souls, that so we may see one another face to face with joy, if the Lord do bring us together again. Dear heart, my breathing is truly for thee, that thou mayest grow in the life of Truth and press on from one degree of godliness to another, that fruits may be brought forth daily unto Him in due season, who is the good Husbandman, who long ago hath sown the good seed in our hearts, and watered it from time to time with the dew from heaven; and surely now the time for fruit is come, and he expects it from us all. Oh! that ripe fruits of righteousness and holiness might be brought forth, and yielded unto Him from all the plants of His own right hand planting, that He may be glorified, who alone is worthy of all glory and honour, and immortal praises to God over all blessed for evermore.

Dear heart, I wrote to thee from Cork, and the next day I received a letter from thy sister and thee, and was right glad of it, and was truly refreshed in the sense of the tender love of our heavenly Father, who hath answered the expectation of my heart, and fulfilled and satisfied the desires of my soul, in carrying on His own work by His own blessed power, in His own way and time, by His divine wisdom and counsel, to the satisfaction of the upright in heart; blessed be His holy name and glorified be His unsearchable wisdom for evermore. Now this may let thee know that I and my companion are very well, his love is to thee and Friends, and the Lord hath been exceeding good unto us, and tender over us from day to day and from time to time, and from meeting to meeting, since we parted from thee. Oh! his mercies are infinite and inexpressible, and the sense of his tender love doth even overcome and break my heart, and even force tears from my eyes in the writing of it. Oh feel! feel the power of it and be refreshed, and let it constrain thee to breathe with me and travail with me that I may feel thee as a meet help in spirit unto me in the work of the Lord, that His righteousness may be brought forth, and His salvation be revealed more and more in the hearts of the children of men, and that I may finish my testimony with joy, to His praise and glory who alone is worthy of it for ever. We have gone through this nation and came to this city yesternight. Here is a general meeting begins to-morrow for the whole nation; abundance of Friends are come already to town. John Banks is here, his love is to thee; and when one first-day more is over, we see nothing at present but we may be clear to return to England. So in dear and tender love to thee and to thy dear and tender sister, and to thy and my relations as thou hast opportunity, and remember my dear love to all upright-hearted Friends in general that ask after me, as if named; hoping in the Lord's will and time to see your faces again, I shall cease to write further. But in that which was before words and writing were, feel and read me, in which I rest and remain thy dear husband. O. S."

On the second-day we went to the half-year's general meeting at Dublin, which began on the fourth-day of the week, being the 8th

day of the ninth month, at the ninth hour in the morning; and the meeting for worship continued until after the first hour. About an hour after, Friends met again in order to consider of the affairs of the church; but the power of the Lord brake forth so mightily amongst Friends in many testimonies, prayers and praising the Lord, that there was no time to enter upon business that day, and so the meeting broke up.

Next morning the meeting began again about the ninth hour, and continued until near the third hour in the afternoon, and a precious heavenly time it was; then adjourning for an hour, Friends came together again to go upon the business of the meeting; but then again the Lord's power mightily appeared, whereby many mouths were opened to declare of the goodness of the Lord, and to offer up prayers and praises to him; which took up the time of that day also, so that very little could be done as touching business.

But early next morning Friends went about the business of the meeting, and continued at it the greatest part of that day and the next day also. And in much unity and harmony generally was the business managed and carried on all the time, only there happened some difference between some particular persons, which occasioned some trouble for a little while; but the diligence of Friends was not wanting to put an end quickly to it and proved successful therein; and the Lord's presence was preciously enjoyed, and his mighty power was over all and brake forth through many vessels, in testimonies, prayers and praises; so that the business could not be accomplished until the seventh-day in the evening.

Next day, which was the first-day of the week, there were two public meetings, which were very large and lasted almost all the day; and a very heavenly season it was all the time that the Friends were together, in those five days; in which time there were nine meetings held at the largest meeting-house. And the powerful presence of the Lord was greatly manifested; blessed and praised and magnified be His holy name for ever.

On the second-day morning the country Friends began to disperse and depart out of the city; but we staid some days longer; and in the afternoon we visited the women Friends at their meeting; where we found the good presence of the Lord was among them, for the comforting and encouraging them in his work and service.

We went also the next day to the men's meeting; where the Lord in his goodness to us, did make us sensible witnesses that he is no respecter of either persons or sexes; but as male and female are faithful and diligent in their duty, in doing the work and service he hath called them unto in their respective places, they are accepted with him and owned by him.

On the fourth-day in the evening, we had a little meeting at a Friend's house, where many of the world's people came in and were very sober; and the Lord's power was over all; praised be his name for ever.

Their weekly meeting was on the fifth-day, at which we were; and on the sixth-day we went to a meeting, appointed for us at Chapel-Lizzard; unto which many of the world's people came. And there also our gracious God, who never faileth his, did answer our sincere desires to our satisfaction.

We spent the seventh-day in visiting Friends at their houses in Dublin. And on the first-day, there being three public meetings in the city, we were at two of them with our dear friend John Banks* from England. They were very large and precious meetings, and that which made them so, was the Lord's refreshing presence, which was sweetly enjoyed to the satisfaction of the upright hearted; everlasting praises be offered up to him for evermore.

We went next day into the country, beyond Edenderry, where we had a meeting on the third-day; to which many tender people came in; and the power of the Lord was wonderfully felt over the meeting, which caused a great tenderness and openness, to the great satisfaction of the hungry souls; the Lord alone is worthy to have all the glory for evermore.

Being greatly comforted at that meeting, and

*John Banks was born in Cumberland, in 1637. At sixteen years of age, which was before he heard the doctrines of Friends preached, he was convinced of the Divine Light in the heart as professed by them; and being inwardly directed to go to one of their meetings, he went to one at Pardshaw, where few words were spoken, but a great impression made on his mind. He subsequently became a minister amongst Friends, and travelled in that character through several counties. He laboured zealously and very extensively, in the promulgation of the gospel in Scotland and Ireland. In the course of his labours he encountered many difficulties and dangers, and crossed the sea twelve times. He was weightily concerned to go forth into those districts, where the spirit of separation, originating with Story and Wilkinson, as mentioned by O. Sansom at page 68, had gained ground, in order to bear his testimony against it. It was also his lot in common with his cotemporary fellow professors to suffer persecution by imprisonment and spoil of goods.

In the year 1696, he removed into Somersetshire, and died at Street in that county, in the eighth month, 1710. His end was peace, as appears from his dying words, "It is well with me: I have nothing to do but to die, and I shall end in the Truth as I began." For further particulars, see his valuable journal.—*Vol. 2nd of Friends' Library.*

ur desires fully answered there, we returned vith joy to Dublin on the fourth-day, and vere at the weekly meeting there on the fifth-lay. On the sixth-day we went again to a neeting at Chapel-Lizzard, and there being no neeting on the seventh-day, we spent that time n visiting Friends at their own homes.

On the first-day we were at three meetings; vhereof two were in the great meeting-house ınd were very large, the other was in the even-ng and at a private house; and at all these neetings the Lord was with us, and both trengthened and refreshed us with his people, n the enjoyment of his living presence and ıower; blessed and praised be his worthy name or ever.

On the second-day we visited the women Friends of that city at their meeting; and on he third-day the men Friends at theirs; that we might take a solemn farewell of them, be-ore we left Ireland; which we purposed to do he next day.

Dublin, 25th of Ninth month, 1676.

"My dear Wife,

Thine I received with thy dear sister's dated he 1st of this month, and am truly glad to hear from you and greatly refreshed in the ten-der love of our heavenly Father, in which our unity and communion stands, which sea or land cannot divide or separate. And in this un-changeable love let us feel for one another and breathe for one another, that we may always be a help and strength one unto another, and one another's comfort and joy in the Lord, that all our exercises and trials may work together for our good, and for the glory of the Lord, who is worthy of all glory, honour and praise of all His redeemed ones for evermore. Dear heart, we could not be clear to leave this na-tion according as I expected in my last, but we have been back in the country since, and we are not yet clear of this city, but we hope we may towards the latter end of next week, and if the wind serve, and we are clear we may go to sea; for the Lord hath been so good unto us and tender over us all along, in keeping and preserving us in all our exercises, that our souls are engaged and constrained to wait upon Him, that we may feel and enjoy his presence with us in our returning back. But indeed we had a desire to return according as I wrote to thee, and had partly agreed with a shipmaster to carry us, but I could not have peace until we had got off again. So now we desire to stand single to the Lord, knowing that his time is the best time, and believing that He will make way, that we may ere long see each other's face, and so I shall cease at present to enlarge in writing. Yet look not out for me until thou see me, but if we tarry longer than we expect, I may write again. Hereby thou mayest know that I am very well and do want for nothing, for the Lord is my Shepherd, who takes care of me every way, blessed be His name for ever. So unto Him do I commit and leave thee, who also is and will be the same to thee as He is to me, if thou hearken to His voice and follow Him. And so in that un-changeable love which was before ink and pa-per were, doth my soul salute thee, with thy dear sister and all the upright in heart, and rest thy dear husband, O. S."

But in the morning when we were almost ready to depart, many of the Friends came to our lodging, with whom we spent some time in prayer to the Lord; and then committing them to the word of his grace, in great love and ten-derness of spirit we took our leave of them; and several of them accompanying us to the ship we went on board, and in much clearness and satisfaction, in the fruition of our Heavenly Father's love we left that nation.

Thus through the Lord's supporting power, which bore up our spirits and kept us from fainting, were we exercised as is before ex-pressed, in the service of the Lord, with all our might and utmost diligence during the time we were in Ireland, which was four months; in which time we travelled nine hundred and fifty miles, going to and fro from meeting to meet-ing in that nation. And the only aim and end that was sought by us in this undertaking, was singly the glory of God, in doing our duty in obedience to his requirings, for the gathering of the scattered ones to Christ the great Shep-herd, and for the building up and confirming in the faith them that were gathered, to the measure of grace and ability the Lord was pleased to bestow upon us.

About the second or third hour in the after-noon, the ship wherein we were set sail; and the wind being at south and southwest, and blow-ing strongly, the vessel ran so swiftly that we got near Holy-head before midnight, but to-wards sunrising it grew pretty calm, and near the middle of the day the wind coming easterly and blowing stifly, the seamen were fain to toil and tack about often to and fro; yet through the mercy of the Lord we came to anchor before sun-set, and were set on shore two miles from Nesson, and going to a village that was nigh, we got lodgings there that night.

Next morning, being the 1st day of the tenth month, we went back to the ship; and having got our horses out, we went to Liver-pool; and having stayed there with Friends a little time, we passed on three miles further to Henry Baker's house, where we had lodged before we went over; and there we tarried the seventh-day resting ourselves.

On the first-day we went to a meeting at Liverpool; where our tender God in his wonted kindness did sweetly comfort and refresh us together with his people, by affording His good presence in the midst of us, blessed be His worthy name for ever.

We had also a meeting that evening at a Friend's house without the town, where many baptists and other people came among us; but all was quiet and well, for the Lord's power was over all to our great comfort and satisfaction.

On the second-day we went to a quarterly-meeting in Cheshire, and lodged at Alexander Lawrence's at night. On the third-day we travelled towards Stafford; and on the road we fell in company with a friendly man, who had us with him to his house three miles from Stafford, where we had a meeting that evening to which many of his neighbours came. Next day we passed to Stafford, and having visited two Friends that were in prison, and called upon Thomas Taylor's wife and daughter, he himself being from home, we went on to Birmingham, and had a meeting there in the evening. Thence going on the fifth-day to Warwick, we had a meeting there also in the evening; and went next day to a monthly-meeting at Lamb-cut in Warwickshire. In all which meetings the Lord our God was with us and upheld us by his mighty power, and refreshed us with his living presence among his people in all places where we came; so that to the praise and glory of His great name we have good cause to say, our God hath been with us and blessed us both in our going forth and in our returning home; and all along by his mighty power, He hath preserved us and strengthened us to do his will. Wherefore in humility of heart and soul we can sincerely say, not unto us, poor weak worms, not unto us, but unto his powerful name, be all the glory, honour, wisdom and strength ascribed and returned for ever and evermore. Amen.

After I had been some time at home, the remembrance of Friends of Ireland and of my travels and labours amongst them in the Truth was weighty upon my spirit; and in a sensible feeling of the renewings of the love and life of my God, which I had often enjoyed among them, my heart was overcome and greatly tendered towards them; so that I could not contain, but was thereby moved and even constrained to visit them with an epistle in writing, the copy whereof here follows:—

"*To Friends of Truth in the County of Wexford, and elsewhere, in Ireland.*

Dear Friends,

Brethren and sisters, born of the immortal seed, whereby you become heirs of life and immortality, and who are daily striving to inherit and possess that immortal life, which through the spiritual birth, you have a right unto and interest in. The salutation of my dear and unfeigned love truly reacheth unto you all, in the innocent life of the Lamb, in whose spirit is no guile, having you often in my remembrance; and the living sense of the blessed presence of the Lord, which in meetings I with you enjoyed, doth often refresh my soul; and as the same life arises and is tasted of and fed upon, then are you often before me; and tender breathings arise in me for you all, as one man, that as a united body, you may together be preserved, holding in all things the head Christ Jesus. And that, as members one of another, you may in the spirit and life of Jesus be united one to another, being all bound up in one bundle of life by the swaddling band of tender love, which in all your hearts is shed abroad by the Holy Spirit. That a holy care may be in all for each others' good and welfare in the Truth, even as for his own; having an inward feeling one of another, that if one member be hurt or bruised, or comes to suffer, all suffer with him; and if one member be comforted, all take part of it; and so here, one cannot say to another, I have no need of thee; but we are all helpers one of another, with that help which we receive from the Lord; and therein we are a help, strength and comfort one to another. Here now is seen how pleasant, sweet and precious it is for brethren and sisters, the begotten of one Father, and born of and nursed by one mother, to dwell together in heavenly unity. Oh, feel Christ our life herein; and feel our nearness in the same one unto another. That so the true unity of the right Spirit you all may keep and hold, which is the living bond of peace; for that soul, whoever it be, that goes out of this bond goes out of peace into trouble.

O Friends! watch and stand upon your guard, and hold fast your living fresh zeal for the cause of the Lord, and be valiant for his Truth upon earth. And keep out of the false spirit, which under a disguise or show of Truth waits for an opportunity to creep in amongst you; for if he prevail in any he will draw the mind down from the heavenly habitation in the light, into the earth, and then lukewarmness instead of zeal, and jealousies and secret prejudice will get in, and the love which thinks not evil will come to be weakened and by degrees grow cold and die. Oh Friends! there is as much need for us to be watchful now as ever there was; for the enemy is working in the deepest deceit and most secret subtilty. He appears now in his transformed shape, like an angel of light; and where any are wandering in their minds or scattered in their imagina-

tions, letting in earthly desires, they can hardly escape his snares. For they only who abide fixed on the Rock shall be preserved; and they are the true Church, which Christ is the builder of; against which the gates of hell cannot prevail. And these also are the very elect which cannot be deceived.

Therefore, my dear Friends, let every one of you be diligent to witness your calling and election to be made sure unto you; that none of you may be deceived or beguiled by the subtilty of the wicked one, and that no evil bitter root may spring up among you to trouble or disquiet any of you, tending to divide or make you at a distance one from another. But keep this evidence every one always in your hearts, that you are passed from death to life, because ye love the brethren.

And dear Friends, as wise virgins, always wait to feel the oil of life, and be careful to retain it in your own vessels. This will keep the lamp, which the Lord hath lighted, from going out, and give you an entrance into the marriage-chamber to enjoy the beloved of your souls. For as surely as our heavenly Father hath given the light of the life of His dear Son for the salvation of mankind, and caused it to shine in our hearts; so surely doth he require of us all, that we should submit and yield obedience to it, and let it shine in our conversation; that we may do the works of it in sincerity; and men, who are yet in the world's spirit, beholding our good works, may be convinced and come to glorify our God, and to testify that he is in us of a truth. This is more effectual than all words that can be spoken; yea, it is indeed the seal of our ministry and testimonies, and an answer of the travail of our souls, who have faithfully laboured amongst you. And seeing it is so, that we are commanded to let our lights shine for the good of others that are without and not gathered to God, then consider how much we are enjoined, and in an especial manner commanded to take care of our own family, even the household of faith; that at all times we watch for the good and benefit one of another. And all who do believe in the light of Jesus, and walk in it, as their minds are exercised in His life and love, the care of the Churches of Christ comes upon them daily, for the good of the whole body; that every member may keep his place in the body and wait to know his office, even his work and service appointed by the Lord. And then as the eye is kept single in the head Christ Jesus, every one will be serviceable in his place; for there are no needless members in the body, no useless vessels in the house of our God: for as a gift is given to every particular one, so is a service as certainly required by the Lord of every individual, according to the gift given. And as obedience is yielded to the leadings of the blessed Spirit in the gift received, here is a vessel of mercy that is given up to be used by the Lord; and in his using, it comes to be made a vessel of honour, to the praise of the glory and excellency of the heavenly treasure which the Lord reveals there n.

So dear Friends, much might be said as to this matter to stir you up to diligence in pressing forward towards the mark of your high calling in Christ Jesus, which is set before you, and to exhort one another daily to watchfulness and faithfulness, each in his place and station, and to take heed that there be not a drawing back into the world again, for the Lord hath said, 'He that draws back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him:' but that all hold fast the holy Testimony of Jesus, which you have received; and press forward in the meek spirit, and walk circumspectly, that our holy profession may be adorned with a holy, harmless and unblameable conversation. But I know there are many faithful brethren who labour among you, and frequent testimonies you have to this purpose. And although you know these things already, yet I have a sense that a word of exhortation will be tenderly received by you; as the same love is felt in you from whence it doth proceed, although through a weak instrument.

And moreover this is my testimony, that if true obedience be yielded to the inward leadings of the Holy Spirit, a godly care and weighty concern for the prosperity of the blessed Truth, and the preservation of all that are convinced of it, will certainly come upon every one according to his measure. And for this blessed end is the use and service of men's and women's meetings, which in the wisdom and power of God have been set up and established amongst you, [and are] seen to be very proper and necessary. Wherefore having such frequent and heavenly opportunities, O be diligent in the improving of them, as you see the heavenly day more and more increasing. And exhort one another daily while it is called to-day, and labour to stir up and provoke one another to love and to good works.

So dear Friends, be faithful to the Lord, and true and honest to your own souls and one unto another, in keeping diligently to your meetings; which, as you therein faithfully discharge your duty, will conduce much to the honour and glory of the name of the Lord, and the welfare of all your souls both here and hereafter. And of this be assured, that where there is a slackness in any in coming to meetings, there is first a slackness of spirit in such in obeying the Lord.

I can truly say, my heart is enlarged towards you in the love of my God, beyond what

I can express; and it lay upon me to send these lines unto you, as a token of that brotherly love which lives in my heart towards all the flock of my heavenly Father's fold; breathing unto Him, who is the God and keeper of his spiritual Israel, who never slumbers nor sleeps, but watches day and night over us all for our good. Oh! the cries of my soul in secret are, that the whole flock and family may be preserved in unity, yielding pure obedience unto the heavenly Shepherd; that they may be always led and guided by Him into the fresh pastures of life, where the soul's true satisfaction is enjoyed.

So, dear Friends, in all your meetings wait to feel the self-denying life of our Lord Jesus; for therein only can you find acceptance with the Lord. And whatever you do for the Lord, or on behalf of his Truth, do it in the name of Jesus, in and by the leadings of His meek, patient, and self-denying Spirit. That so nothing may be done among you through strife or vainglory; but let humbleness of mind be as a crown upon every one of your heads; that in the love which thinks not evil, you may be willing to serve one another daily. For all who will follow the Lord and bring honour to His name, must deny themselves. And so in the holy, self-denying life of Jesus, the meek Lamb of God, do I at this time bid you all farewell, and therein rest,

Your dear brother,

O. Sansom.

Farringdon, the 20th of Fifth month, 1677.

Let this be carefully copied over and communicated among Friends in Ireland, as in the wisdom of God a service is seen.

I sent this epistle directed to Leonard Kerly, in the county of Wexford; from whom afterwards I received an account that it was read at their following half-year's meeting, and from thence dispersed among Friends through that nation.

CHAPTER VI.

His concern as regards the schism of Wilkinson and Story—Is summoned to a Court-Leet—Is elected Constable of the Hundred—His letter to the Lord of the Manor—Goods distrained for not taking the Oaths—Another letter to the Lord of the Manor—Account of and letter from Joan Vokins—Twice fined for attending Abingdon Meeting—Is informed against and fined £20 for preaching in his own Meeting—Goods distrained but returned after four years—Clears himself of an untrue report—Converses with two informers, who inform against him for attending Meeting—Appears at the Quarter Sessions at Reading—Oath tendered to ensnare him—Refuses to take it and is imprisoned—Injustice towards Friends who appealed against the Informers.

I have hinted something concerning the spirit of opposition, division and separation, which had for some time wrought mysteriously and covertly in some, against the Truth and faithful Friends thereof. But by this time the same was grown stronger and wrought more openly, in and through those persons who first appeared for it in our county of Berks and elsewhere. Which caused great grief, exercise and sadness of heart upon faithful Friends; amongst whom I had a lot of suffering, through the Lord's mercy, even in this kind as well as otherwise. For when the paper at the yearly-meeting, in 1677, was subscribed by many Friends, against this spirit of division as it had appeared through John Story, John Wilkinson and some others; I being then at the said yearly meeting, and having a real concern upon my spirit against that rending spirit and its abettors, did in unity with my brethren subscribe the said paper; which to this day I never had any reproof from the Lord for, but justification in. But oh! the bitter enmity and opposition in them which had joined with the aforesaid bad spirit, was so much the more fierce and violent against me in particular; because no other Friend in our county beside me had his hand to that paper. But although they strove to tread me down in their spite, yet the Lord upheld me, and still preserved me by His mighty power, which He was pleased to make known in my great weakness, and He gave me victory over that wicked spirit in its strongest instruments; blessed and praised be the name of my tender God, whose the power is, and unto Him alone the glory belongs for evermore. Amen.

Yet this exercise and suffering from false brethren, who had received this spirit of contention, division and separation, was great and grievous, and also of long continuance upon faithful Friends of this county; the dividing work being promoted and carried on by some who had been of some note amongst Friends there; but are since gone out, and most of them yet continue out of the unity of Christ's church, in a separation; having shut up the meeting-house doors against Friends who had a just right and property therein. But seeing the works of this wicked spirit are recorded elsewhere, I shall not in this place enlarge by descending further into particulars. Yet inasmuch as it hath been the most grievous of exercises, and the hardest of trials or suffering, I do purpose, if the Lord give time and ability,

to commit to writing, for the benefit of posterity, some remarkable passages relating to my own particular sufferings in this respect, according to the notes I have by me thereof. Wherein my chief aim is to commemorate and acknowledge the mercies and goodness of my tender God unto me; who did support and uphold me in all my trials and sufferings, and hath delivered me out of all my distresses, and all along hath helped and never failed me; glory and honour, thanksgivings and praise be rendered unto him over all for evermore, Amen. But at present I shall go on, as the Lord makes way, to give a further account of what other sufferings and exercises did come upon me for the Truth's sake, from the spirit and people of the world; which I esteem more easy and far less grievous than those before-mentioned from false brethren.*

On the 17th day of the eighth month, 1678, one Thomas Blagrave, who was steward of the court to Sir Robert Pye, lord of the manor of great Farringdon, where I lived, kept a court-leet there, and being an envious man against truth and Friends, and desirous to get an occasion against me, he sent the bailiff to warn me peremptorily that nothing must serve but my personal appearance at the court. I was sensible a snare was intended; yet I innocently gave up in my mind and intended to appear; but it pleased the Lord to prevent me by indisposition of body, so that I found I could not be there. Wherefore fearing some wrong use might be made of my absence, I wrote a few lines, and sent them to the steward in the time of the court

* The schism, of which Story and Wilkinson were at the head, is frequently referred to in the writings of some of our early Friends. It commenced and spread mostly in the north; there were however those in London, Bristol, and some southern counties, who, through ease and unwatchfulness having lost their first love, and the discerning spirit, were deceived by a specious bait, and became the cause of much exercise and trouble to their brethren.

The ground of difference was alledged by them to be, their objection to those meetings for regulating the affairs of the Church, exercising a salutary discipline over its members, and more especially against the establishment of women's meetings, which George Fox and other Friends "were moved to set up." They stated with a show of plausibility which gained some, chiefly the looser sort, to their ranks, 'that such meetings were needless, some years having been passed in peace and unity without them;' and, 'that every individual ought to be guided by the Spirit, and left free to act; that meetings for discipline were a form, and the exercise of that discipline an infringement upon individual liberty.' Great endeavours were made for their enlightenment and restoration. In second month, 1676, a meeting was held at Drawell which lasted four days, in which 'many Friends laboured much for their preservation, but they were too far gone in a separate spirit to be reclaimed.' They therefore became out of unity with the body, who, 'walking by the same rule, minded the same thing,' fell to jangling and after awhile the best among them came to see how they had been deceived, and the rest after having had separate meetings are said to have 'vanished as snow in the fields.' See Sewel's History, folio edition, p. 583—4.

Berkshire, especially the Reading meeting, was the scene of much division on this account; many Friends there who had formerly been great sufferers for their principles being led away. Amongst these were Thomas Curtis, Benjamin Coales, Leonard Keyes, and others, whose names are familiar and whose tracts are extant. Perhaps a better description of the state of things, so trying to rightly concerned Friends of the county, cannot be given, than a brief abstract of the first few pages of an old monthly meeting-book. It commences thus—'A booke for the recording the proceedings of ye monthly men's meetings of ye people of God called Quakers, in ye town of Reading, in ye county of Berkse: Beginning to be thus recorded this twentie sixt day of ye first month, 1685. Not but there was a monthly booke for many years before, which Benjamin Coales did keep and did record ye proceedings of those meetings in: But for som years last past ye sd B. Coales with several others that had ye sway in those meetings have taken part with ye spirit of opposition and division which first appeared openly in John Wilkinson, and their party in ye north against orderly proceedings in monthly and quarterly men's meetings and women's meetings and other things too large now to mention.' It then, for the information of future generations, goes on to state, how these individuals deemed 'letters of advice and counsel from good Friends but papers of contention,' and would not receive them; and much that would grieve the spirits of 'all who retain their first tenderness in the Truth.' After reciting 'Ambrose Rigge, his vision concerning John Story;' also 'G. F's vision or revelation concerning J. S. and J. W.:' with the 'Vision of Charles Marshall,' and 'part of an Epistle of G. F's concerning this spirit of opposition after it openly appeared;' they add, 'And now notwithstanding these, and we believe as many more, visions, faithful warnings, and testimonies, as great part of this book (if not all) would contain if written, timely signified: yet many that have followed this spirit will not hear, but still go on in their opposition and gainsaying.' Then follows an account of some of its fruits; how, with unkind speeches, they were refused the use of the meeting-house for disciplinary purposes and women's meetings. Things went on so far that they could not meet in the house, Thomas Curtis having fastened up the door, and one of the first entries is that of a payment to Wm. Speakman of 9*s.* 9*d.* 'for 4 forms and 2 X legd. stools for frds. to sit on at ye meeting-house door.' This lamentable state of things prevailed more or less throughout the County, the rise and progress of it must indeed have caused the burden to be great on such faithful and well concerned Friends as Oliver Sansom.

to signify the cause of my not appearing there; the copy follows:—

"THOMAS BLAGRAVE,

Whereas I was summoned to appear at the Court-Leet held this day in this town; I did intend, by the Lord's permission, to have appeared there accordingly, to offer such service or fealty as a subject to the king, residing in this town, is by the law obliged to: provided my duty and obedience to my Saviour Jesus Christ be not violated. But it hath pleased the Lord to visit me with sickness, so that I cannot come to attend there without manifest danger. Therefore I do herewith send a penny in acknowledgement of my fealty, desiring that for this time my absence may be excused.

O. SANSOM."

Farringdon, the 17th of Eighth month, 1678.

While I was writing those few lines, it was laid weightily upon me to insert something as a testimony and warning to my neighbours against oaths and swearing; which I did by the following postscript.

"And you my neighbours now assembled at the court, it is in my heart to lay one weighty matter before you in the fear of God, and shall leave it to your serious consideration; not knowing whether I may live to see your faces, by reason of the frailty of this mortal life. The matter in short is this.

You all profess the worthy name of Christ, and desire to be called Christians; and also acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be your rule; wherein is recorded that plain and express command of our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep to yea and nay, and not to swear at all. Now if any of you do swear or cause others to swear, and that too even upon that very book wherein this command is written; this seems to me to be as great a contempt of the Son of God and trampling upon his command, and also walking contrary to the Scriptures, as possibly can be. I beseech you lay it to heart; and fear the Lord, in whose hand your life and breath is, that you may be preserved from this presumptuous sin; lest you be found of that number who in words profess Christ, but in works deny him.

This, in the love of God, is written, and sent as a warning to you all, by

OLIVER SANSOM.

I desire it may be read openly in the Court."

When the steward had received this letter, he did not read it openly in the Court; but, as I was informed, muttered some threatening words; as, that he would be even with me when time should serve, or to that effect. However at that time, by reason, as I suppose, of my present sickness, I was excused from serving the high constable's office, which I understood was designed to be laid upon me, and another man was appointed to serve it. But when he came to be discharged two years after, which is the usual time of serving, and a new choice was made at the Court-Leet, held on the 25th of the eighth month, 1680, I was nominated for one of the four, which are customarily presented to the lord of the manor, called Sir Robert Pye, who doth usually appoint which two of the four whose names are given him, shall serve the said office of chief constable and the other two are excused.

The court was adjourned from the 25th of the eighth month, to the 2nd of the ninth month following, at which I was summoned to appear to take the said office upon me. This brought an exercise upon me; and in that exercise I was pressed in spirit to write to the lord of the manor, who was also a justice of the peace; which I did and got it delivered to him the day before the court was held. And thus it was:—

"JUSTICE PYE,

In the fear of God and with due regard to thee as a Christian magistrate authorised to do justice, I do write these following lines as an address unto thee, in relation to my being chosen constable for the hundred, hoping to find such Christian tenderness and moderation in thee, as both to peruse and also to vouchsafe a favourable answer to my request herein signified.

As touching this office of constableship, it will I conceive, if duly performed as it ought to be, require much time and expense. Therefore it is usually conferred upon persons of considerable estates, whereby they are enabled to spend their time and to defray the charges of the said office. But as for me I have but little; so little, that at my coming to this town, which was but a few years since, it is well known I was constrained to bring sureties to be bound that I should not be chargeable to the parish; and my sureties stand engaged for ought I know to this day. And moreover, I inhabit but as a sojourner from year to year, in a house but of three pounds yearly rent; and have not one foot of land that I can call my own. Truly, I am persuaded that hardly any man of so mean and small an estate did ever bear that office, and for that reason I desire to be excused.

But if I may not be excused, then this I request of thee, to admit me to take the said office and perform it without having an oath imposed; and I shall endeavour, through the Lord's assistance, to perform my duty faithfully therein to the best of my knowledge, as well as any that will swear.

If it be objected, that an oath must be taken n such cases, because it is an engagement the aw requires for the performance of that office; answer, that a solemn promise under hand ınd seal, upon the same penalty in case of de-ault that is due to such as break their oaths, is ull as binding as an oath can be; and also as effectual in all respects to fulfil and answer he intent of that oath. And this I offer, if t may be accepted, viz. that I will solemnly promise, through the Lord's assistance, truly o do and perform the said office according to he best of my knowledge and understanding, keeping my conscience clear in the sight of God; and if I break this my solemn engage-nent, then let double the punishment be in-licted on me that by law is due to a perjured erson.

This I am content to give under my hand ınd seal. And the Lord God who searches my heart knows and is witness, that it is not in contempt of authority that I refuse to take this oath; neither out of wilfulness or obstinacy; but truly and sincerely in obedience to Christ Jesus, who commanded, saying, swear not at all. This is recorded in the Holy Scriptures with-out me, and this also the Spirit of Christ bears witness to, confirming the same within me. Therefore I cannot, I dare not, swear in any case at all, whatsoever I suffer therefor.

In short, this is the sum of what I desire and request of thee at this time; either to excuse me from the office of constableship for the reason first rendered; or else if that may not be grant-ed, to admit me to do it without swearing, upon he engagement before offered; which is equi-valent to if not more binding than an oath.

And lastly, if none of this will satisfy which I have here proposed, but I must notwithstand-ng be fined and have my goods taken away; hen unto the Lord do I commit my innocent cause, who will plead it with thee. And how-ever, this testimony in thy own conscience will stand on my behalf, that it is not for refusing he office that I shall suffer, nor yet for refusing o give an engagement for the performance of it as fully obliging as an oath; but only and alone for keeping Christ's command in refus-ng to swear. And if I suffer in this case, it is on His behalf, for my obedience to Him, and so for His sake. And I believe that what is done to me for the same, He will take it as done unto himself, and in the day of account will re-ward accordingly. So leaving what is here offered to thy serious consideration, and desir-ng the Lord to incline thy heart to justice and mercy, that of the Lord thou mayest find mercy; I am a companion to them who desire o manifest their love to the Lord Jesus Christ by keeping his commands.

OLIVER SANSOM."

The 1st of the Ninth month, 1680.

P. S. If thou please to admit me to serve in the said office upon the terms aforesaid, I doubt not but by practice to make it appear, that a man may be no less loyal to the king nor less useful and serviceable to his country, for refusing to swear. For to all those who know Christ the Truth, in their inward parts, and are led by him into all truth, both in words and actions, the occasion of oaths is taken away. O. S.

The next day after the foregoing letter was delivered, the Court was kept again as it had been by adjournment before appointed, and I according to summons appearing there, the steward, Thomas Blagrave, having first com-manded the bailiff to take off my hat, spake to me to this purpose. You are elected by the jury to be one of the constables for the hun-dred, and the lord of the manor hath allowed of it: and now, seeing there is no avoiding of it, pray lay your hand on the book, and take your oath.

I answered, forasmuch as I see it is in vain for me to plead to be excused from the office, which with good reason might be done—I do now only conscientiously plead to be excused from taking the oath; and therefore I do here offer an engagement for my faithful perform-ance of the office; which is to give my solemn promise in writing under my hand and seal, upon double the penalty of perjury in case of default; and having it ready written, I did de-liver it to him. But he pleaded much, and cited scripture, and with many words argued for the lawfulness of swearing. To which I answered him fully, proving plainly by the Scriptures, that Christ had put an end to all swearing among Christians, and expressly forbidden it to all his followers. But when he saw that my words gained upon the auditory, and that he was not able to withstand the power by which I spake; he then left off disputing and fell to scoffing and deriding at the paper which I had tendered him, seeking by such carriage to draw the people into lightness.

At length, being an obdurate, bad spirited man, he fined me five pounds; and instantly sent officers, viz. John Carter, tithingman, and William Tombes, bailiff, to my house, without any warrant, save only his verbal command, to distrain my goods for the said fine; which they did, and took away seven ends of whiten-ed cotton-fustian, well worth eighteen shillings an end; which came to six pounds six shillings, and one piece of dowlass, with other linen cloth, which cost me three pounds seventeen shillings and ninepence,—in all, ten pounds three shil-lings and ninepence.

These goods they brought into the court be-fore the steward and the jury; and there they

were openly measured, and valued at about nine pounds; and I being present drew an account how and wherefore those goods were taken from me; and four of the jurymen, then present did set their hands to it; namely, James Mills, Thomas Talbott, Richard Steed, and William Denman.

And inasmuch as those goods were thus taken away from me, for a fine pretended to be due to the lord of the manor; on that consideration it came upon me to write once more to him about it, and to lay the weight of my sufferings at his door, and there leave it. Accordingly I did write, and got my letter delivered to him as he sat at dinner, on the 4th of the ninth month, 1680. But when he understood it came from me, he would not open it; but sent it back to my house by one of his servants with this message, that he could not relieve me unless I would leave the town.

That letter having laid by me ever since, I think meet to insert here, believing that although it was rejected by him, yet if ever it come to public view, it may be of service to some hereafter. It was thus:

"Robert Pye,

I wrote a letter a few days since, and sent it to thee as an address to excuse me from the constable's office, which I thought was unequally imposed; urging a valuable reason, which was the smallness of my estate; or if thou wouldst not excuse me from the office, then I did request of thee to dispense with me as touching swearing; that an oath might not be imposed, but that my yea or solemn promise and engagement under hand and seal, upon double the penalty of perjury, might be taken; whereby the end of the oath might have been fully answered and the justice and righteousness of the law in that case fulfilled. I therein signified also the only ground and reason, wherefore I could not take an oath in any case, and thus laid my innocent cause before thee, and left it to thy consideration; hoping that since power was in thy hands, thou mightest have prevented that suffering which since is unjustly inflicted upon me, for no other cause but my obedience to Christ and keeping His command in refusing to swear. But when I came to the court and offered to take the said office upon me, tendering the engagement aforesaid instead of the oath, the steward did even deride and scoff, and imposed a fine upon me of five pounds; for which he sent immediately to my house and took away as much of my goods, as is worth more than ten pounds. Consider of it whether this be not great injustice and cruelty.

Now I do not write this as if the loss of my goods were matter of grief to me, or as being burdened with and weary of my suffering; no, no; it is cause of joy to me that He who commanded not to swear at all, hath counted me worthy to suffer for keeping his commands; for he himself is with me, and gives me faith and patience, and upholds me by his heavenly power to bear witness for him; who is the Truth in the inward parts, and leads to all truth those that obey him. So that through the goodness of the Lord, some can say in this day as was said formerly, 'that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us.'

But the cause and end of this my writing to thee, and my intent and purpose therein, in the love of Christ Jesus who teaches us to love enemies, is, that as the weight and guilt of my present suffering doth, as I shall prove, lie upon thy account; thou mayest be concerned to seek to have it removed, that it may not remain and rest upon thee. For it was openly said in the court, that the jury nominated four for the aforesaid office; and that out of them thou didst choose two that should stand. So that it appears it was in thy power to excuse me as well as to choose me; or to dispense with me as to swearing, since thou knewest I could not swear, upon the engagement tendered. Wherefore I have cause to conclude that the whole weight of the guilt of my suffering will lie at thy door, because it was done with thy consent and allowance. And moreover I am told, that my goods thus taken away are for thy use and behoof; and therefore unless thou dost hasten to shake thy hands from this gain of oppression, it will be chargeable upon thee, when thou shalt come to appear before Him who commanded, swear not at all; who is my leader and must be thy Judge, from whom there will be no appeal; and all that are cruel and hard-hearted to his followers may read their doom, in Matt. xxv. 31, if they repent not in time. Which I earnestly desire thou mayest do before the door of mercy be shut, and that decree sealed against thee, viz., He that is unjust let him be unjust still.

Oh! I beseech thee to consider how little time in the ordinary course of nature thou hast to live, having already attained to a pretty full age; and hearken not to the time-serving daubers who preach for hire and divine for money; serving their own bellies, and dishonouring the Lord Jesus Christ who said, Swear not at all. These men-pleasers will insinuate, that he meant not as he spake; and so would make the Lord like unto themselves, who would say one thing and mean another. But all their daubing will in the end prove to be but with untempered mortar, and as rottenness unto all that believe them and depend upon them.

But my Christian desire to thee in tender

love is, to turn thy mind to the Light of Christ in thy own conscience, which is truth and no lie, which will speak the same in thee now, if thou wouldest heed it, as is recorded in the Scripture, that thou mayest understand without any invented meaning, that Christ did really forbid all kind of swearing, when he said, Swear not at all. Some may go about to put a false gloss upon it, pretending that he only forbad vain oaths in ordinary communication; but I say, vain oaths were forbidden by the third commandment, &c., so that Christ saw it not needful to forbid only what was forbidden before. But it was that solemn swearing, allowed under the law, that Christ here mentioned and put an end to; placing yea and nay in the stead of it, whereby the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled; so that the word of a true believer in Christ, is of as much weight as the solemn oath of them under the law. The true Christian's yea must be yea, and their nay must be nay, or else they will fall into condemnation; and whatsoever is more cometh of evil. So to the Lord I leave thee, and desiring him to give thee an understanding by his divine inspiration; I remain

A friend to thy soul and a witness for the Truth. OLIVER SANSOM."

"The 4th of Ninth month, 1680."

It may be marvelled by some why this man appeared so implacable against me in this matter; seeing he was well known in the country, of late years especially, to be in the general against persecution for religious dissent, and was himself indeed reputed a dissenter. But he seemed to have a particular prejudice against me, though I can truly say I never gave him any just occasion. Yet I am sensible he took occasion to be offended with me about a year before this suffering came upon me; and as far as I can guess it arose from hence.

There was a Friend in Farringdon under great suffering, for refusing to pay tithes to the said Sir Robert Pye, who was an impropriator, and used extreme rigour and severity towards the said Friend. And I in tenderness sympathizing with the sufferer, was moved to write a letter to the said Robert Pye in true love, to persuade him to desist from proceeding any further in cruelty and spoil against the said suffering Friend. In which letter I alleged several reasons to provoke him to tenderness; and also showed the bad consequences of such rigour, and what reward in the end must be expected for it. I hinted also something touching the rotten root of tithes here in England; and how a conscientious concern is upon many in this gospel-day, to bear their Christian testimony against the imposed payment of them.

This letter, which I forbear to insert at length here, seeing it did not concern my own personal suffering, I mention only to show how this great man was offended at it. For having read part of it, he gave it to his chaplain and ordered him to tell me, that he was satisfied in his conscience in what he did, and would not have me trouble myself nor him in writing any further about it; for seeing he had begun his prosecution of the said Friend, he was resolved to go on; and he, the Friend, should have but what the law would allow him. It is probable he might think, that the said suffering Friend might receive encouragement from me, to stand faithful in his testimony against tithes, and not to bow for all that he could do unto him for the same; and thereupon he, as I suppose, conceived such indignation against me, that he became thereby hardened against all that I wrote to him afterwards; and also the more willingly took that opportunity to inflict on me the suffering before mentioned, for my not taking the constable's oath. However it was, he from that time carried himself ever after, though friendly to others, yet unkind to me, and as an enemy; as I shall have occasion further to observe hereafter.

[About this time O. Sansom received the following letter from his dear sister, Joan Vokins.*

* Of this Friend but little is known now, though in her day she was a patient sufferer and persevering labourer in the Lord's vineyard. She was religiously inclined in her youth, and many times cried unto the Lord to reveal his way unto her, promising to walk therein whatever she endured. In due time the Lord answered her weary soul and made known his truth and people unto her; and sent some of his messengers for her encouragement and confirmation. Then was she, and many more in a like state, right glad with the tidings brought, embraced the truth in the love of it, preached it in her life and conversation, and died in it.

During the early part of her convincement, she went through great exercises, and endured much opposition and sufferings from her near relations, unto whom, however, she was a good example; so much so, that by her conversation, through the blessing of the Lord, they, viz. her husband, her father, and her children, became convinced of and won to the truth. She is said to have been a very zealous fervent woman, but remarkably weak and tender outwardly. She was wonderfully supported in her trying journey to New England, 'though like to die on the way,' travelling much by sea and land in those parts, as the Lord directed her. After her return, she laboured in Kent, London, &c., encouraging Friends in their great sufferings, and when the prisons were opened and Friends freed, in 1686, she went to Ireland, and though very weak, travelled up and down many parts of that nation for a twelvemonth, to her own peace, and the comfort and service of Friends. In

As her name occasionally occurs in these pages, it may not be out of place here to insert it.]

"To Oliver Sansom and his Wife.

Dear Brother and Sister,

Whom I dearly love in the Lord Jesus, our life, who makes hard things easy, bitter things sweet, and bears up in the greatest trials, do I salute you with my Mary, my sister Margery and the rest of them, earnestly desiring your prosperity every way, as for my own soul. And by this you may know, that though sore exercises and travails attend on every hand, yet I am alive to magnify that power that hath preserved in dangers great, and difficulties many, and is able to preserve unto the end; and therefore I desire that we may trust in it and obey it to the honour of it; for it hath been manifested in my weak body, to the admiration of many of the upright in heart, and they are very loving to me wherever I come. And my tender Father hath strengthened me to do his service in Long Island and New York, and in Rhode Island, and Boston, and New Jersey, and those parts of America; and I was in hopes to have come home when I was clear of New England, but the Lord hath laid it upon me to go to Barbadoes, and in his strength I am going in a vessel that one George Fletcher is owner and master of, who professes truth. Do you not think that a line from you would be very precious to me? I neither heard from nor saw one of my native land since I left it; but I cannot blame you, not knowing whither to direct to me.

Remember my dear love to all our dear Friends of our men's and women's meetings, earnestly desiring their faithfulness therein, and in all things else that pertain to the life of truth, that we may bear our testimonies in uprightness to the end, that in the end God may be glorified and our souls comforted, forever and evermore. Dear Anne Lawrence's children are in my mind as well as my own. I hope you will look after them in my absence, that we may have comfort in their growth in the Truth, if ever we are present again, and if they grow in the truth and knowledge and love of God, then will the desire of your tender sister be answered. And so in that which satisfies our breathings, I remain

Your tender sister,

J. V."

"The 1st of Eighth month, 1680."

To relate my exercises in order of time as they fell, I must acquaint the reader, that in the second and third months 1682, our Friends of Abingdon being disturbed in their meetings there, I found myself concerned then as at other times, to take part with God's suffering people, and as I did believe it to be my duty, I went to their meeting at Abingdon divers times, and was haled about and brought before the mayor with other Friends. And for the first time I was fined twenty pounds; and again, for the second offence, as they called it, I was fined forty pounds. And all that I desired in point of favour of the mayor and his company, when I was before them, was only this; that none of my friends might suffer for me, or have any part of my fines imposed on any of them; for I did assure them that the Lord had blessed me with plenty, and I had sufficient of this world to suffer those fines, and more. I also wrote a letter and sent it to the then mayor, to warn him, as it arose in my heart in the love of God, to forbear any further persecuting the innocent. And he was restrained by an invisible power from making any distress for the aforesaid fines; and seeing by that means it was so ordered that no further suffering followed thereupon, I shall forbear inserting the before-mentioned letter, or enlarging any further concerning that matter in this place; but shall proceed to give an account of some greater sufferings; which thus arose.

There was one Eustace Hardwick, of Shrivenham in Berkshire, who by marriage had a pretty considerable estate of some hundreds by the year; but was an ill-disposed, lewd, wicked man. He, as was reported, had misbehaved himself, and abused the said Sir Robert Pye and one Thomas Fettiplace, both justices of the peace; for which it was said some endeavours were used to apprehend him, that he might be brought to condign punishment. This so provoked Hardwick, that he in revenge sought occasion against these two justices to get them out of the commission; especially Justice Pye, whom he thought he might the more easily

1690, she went up to the yearly meeting in London, and having been refreshed with Friends, stayed at Reading on her return home, where she sweetly died in the Lord, and in unity with his faithful people, on the 22nd of fifth month; which event she seemed to have anticipated previous to her starting for the yearly meeting, having left with her friend Theophila Townsend, certain papers which she wished to be made public after her decease. Her exercises and trials were many, but that which was her greatest grief and heaviest burden, and most grievous to be borne, was her suffering by false brethren and apostates, who under the form and profession of Truth, did make war and kick against the life and power of it.

At the time of her decease, her husband and eldest son were lying in Reading gaol, 'under that cruel oppression of tithes.'

Some account of her with her writings, were collected and printed by O. Sansom in 1691, entitled 'God's mighty power magnified.'

prevail against, because of his moderation to dissenters. Wherefore the better to compass his end, he, being an enemy to all good, put himself into the vile employment of an informer, and on the fourth day of the first month, 1683, he with his man-servant, one Roger Waight, came to our meeting at Farringdon, and happened to come in when I was upon my knees making supplication to the Lord. When I had done, he commanded his man to stay there to watch me until he came again, fearing belike that I would slip away and hide myself, which if he had known our principles and me, he needed not have done. Then went he to the said justice to inform against our meeting, and in the meanwhile we had a very good time, for the Lord's opening, tendering power was over all; and the serving-man who was left to watch me was so far reached, that he afterwards acknowledged what he did against us was against his own mind, and that he would never be so concerned any more.

After some time the said informer Hardwick returned to our meeting, and brought with him the constable, tithingman and other officers; whom he charged to take our names and do their office. But they being moderate and as yet not accustomed to such work, did not make haste to obey him; but discoursed with him, and went forth and tarried about the door until we ourselves broke up our meeting, the usual time being come.

While this delay was, the said Hardwick and his man slunk away from the officers, and taking horse got them out of town. But the officers fearing some suffering, or at least some blame would be laid upon them if they should let us all go, took me and one Friend more, and had us before the said justice Pye. He asked me if I was at the meeting? I answered, that I had done no evil, and had nought to accuse myself of; and desired if any had aught against me they might appear to my face. But he spake very roughly to me, and seemed to be very full of fury and bitterness against me, though he spake kindly to the other Friend, and in conclusion he fined me twenty pounds for speaking in the meeting. I told him I did look upon it to be a very hard measure to be fined when no evidence appeared against me. He thereupon asked the officers where the informers were? And they told him they were gone out of town; at which he was angry and said, why did you let them go?

However, he caused his clerk to write a warrant, and he sealed it, to levy twenty pounds upon my goods; and then sent one of his men away presently to Shrivenham, which was four miles off, to fetch the informers again to give their evidence against me, after he had set a fine upon me and granted a warrant to levy upon the goods.

Then did he fall very foully on me before the officers and many others, bitterly reviling me, and charging me that I deluded people, to give away their estates at their deaths to enrich our church like the papists; and upbraidingly said, you must take upon you to counsel men to make their wills to ruin their own children!

I knew not in the least what he meant, and so I told him, and desired him to let me know wherein I had done amiss; but he would take no notice of what I said, but in a furious wrathful frame ran on railing against me till he had wearied himself, and then he withdrew into another room, whereupon the company dispersed and I went home.

In the evening the informers came, and the officers had me up again to the justice's house. But the informers were very backward, and seemed unwillingly to take their oaths against me, till the justice threatened them that he would send them to gaol if they refused; and then they did take their oaths, that they heard me speak in the meeting.

When they had given their evidence the justice presently commanded the officers to disarm Hardwick. Whereupon they forthwith took from him his sword and two pocket-pistols, which upon search they found about him, and then took him into custody for some misdemeanours by him, before committed. The same evening came over the other justice, Thomas Fettiplace; and Robert Pye and he together made a mittimus for Hardwick, and early next morning sent him away prisoner to the common gaol at Reading. But he was soon at liberty again, for the assizes began on the same day, and Hardwick served on the grand jury. For at that time there were some at court that greatly favoured him; with whom he so wrought that within some short time both those justices, Pye and Fettiplace, who had committed him, were put out of the commission for the peace.

But I could not be satisfied to lie under the reproach which Justice Pye had cast upon me. Wherefore I waited next day to speak with him when he rode abroad as his custom was, to take the air; and I did speak with him, first about my present exercise. He asked me what I would do about the fine; for, said he, they will levy twenty pounds upon your goods if you have so much. I answered, I bless God I have so much, and it is no grief to me to suffer the loss of it for so good a cause. But this is more cause of grief and trouble to me, said I, that thou shouldest be so angry with me, and render me such a great evil-doer; and yet not

let me know wherein I have offended, or who have been wronged by me or through my means.

Then speaking pretty mildly, he told me, there were complaints made concerning one Bartholomew Malam's will: that I had advised him to settle his estate, for the enriching our church, and wronging his own children. I told him it was altogether false: for I could prove that the said Bartholomew Malam's estate, was by his will, disposed to his own children, and children's children, and was now possessed by them, and none other. And that whoever had informed him otherwise, had abused him with a slanderous lying story: wherefore I desired him to tell me who had informed him of this matter? But he would not tell me; only said, that the complaint came first from one Stephen Barly, a son-in-law to the said Bartholomew Malam. Then I entreated him to grant me his warrant, for he was yet in the commission, to cause the said Stephen Barly to appear before him; that if he could, he might make proof to my face, wherein I had wronged him or any other: or else to make me satisfaction for slandering me. But he would not grant me his warrant, but rode away and left me.

About a week after this, viz., on the 8th of the first month, 1683, the officers of Farringdon came to my house to make distress for the aforesaid fine of twenty pounds. They that came were Thomas Butler, constable, Thomas Reynolds, tithingman, John Edmundson and Francis Trinder, called churchwardens, and Hatton Green, overseer of the poor. These being there altogether, distrained, took and carried away of linen cloth, serge, and other mercery goods, and several books of mine, as much as was worth in the whole twenty-one pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence, as the goods were then measured and valued by themselves, and a particular account thereof taken in writing; whereof they left a copy with me. Which account I think meet not to insert here at large: but of the disposal of the goods I am willing to give the reader this short account.

The goods were carried to the constable's house, and there, not sold, but kept for about four years; and then soon after King James' declaration for liberty came forth, they were restored to me again without my either asking for or seeking after them. Some damage there was by the moth in the serge, and what else was made of wool; and the books which were carried to the tithingman's house, were some of them lost and never restored again, by reason the man himself was taken away by death.

Thus was the Lord pleased to order things by his divine wisdom, that after I had freely given up my goods, and had parted with them for four years, he caused them to be returned to me again; so that surely I may say, the Lord is worthy to be trusted in, and to be praised and magnified over all, for ever and ever.

That slanderous report which proceeded first from Stephen Barly, and with which justice Pye was so strongly possessed, namely, that I did advise Bartholomew Malam to make his will, so as to deprive his own children to enrich our church—this false charge, I say, and the exercise which it brought on me, lest not I only, but the truth and Friends should suffer reproach by it, remained with so great weight upon me that I found myself concerned to do my utmost endeavour, to manifest my innocency and clearness to the said Sir Robert Pye; that if it were possible, he might be made so sensible of it, that the prejudice he had conceived, might be removed out of his mind; and instead thereof, he might come to have a better opinion both of me, and of the truth which I profess.

Wherefore to effect this, I sought for, and did, with some difficulty, obtain several opportunities to speak with him when he rode abroad. For I had no other way to get access to him, for he would take no notice of my letters; and in his own house I could not be admitted to him; so that I was fain to wait for him on the highways, as he once a day, went forth to air himself; having usually two servants attending him on horseback. And truly it was a pretty great cross to me, thus to force myself into the company of a person so much above me, and who I knew, had no favour for me: yet through the strength which the Lord gave me, and the innocency of my cause, I was emboldened to speak freely to him, and plead with him again and again, about the matter whereof I was accused. And sometimes he would seem pretty low and tender, so that the more I had to do with him, the more love I had to him; but this disadvantage I was under, that when at any time I was got into a sober discourse with him, and my words seemed to take some hold of him, he being on horseback would ride away from me, and I being on foot, could not keep up with him to clear myself of what I had in my mind to say unto him.

To help myself in this kind, I once took my horse with me, and so waylaying him as it were on horseback, I rode along with him by his side, for, I think, two miles and upwards, and then spake my mind freely to him; and he seemed to resent it well for the present. But when he came again into the company of some who were envious against truth, they would make him as bad as he was before.

Which I observing, and thinking that my own plea on my own behalf, and in my own cause, might not be so taking and prevalent with him as the testimony of others; I therefore wrote to the Scrivener, that made B. Malam's will, and to another Friend, William Hitchcock of Marlborough, who had been most intimate with him all along, for about twenty years, desiring them to certify what they knew concerning this matter. They did both certify severally; and the copy of their respective certificates follow:—

That of the Scrivener was thus.

"THIS may certify all people whom it may concern, that I have been concerned in transcribing all the wills and deeds that Bartholomew Malam made, for the settlement of his estate, ever since the year 1670, and had the advice of several learned men in the law, as Sir Bulstrode Whitlock, William Tarrant, John Foster of Marlborough, and others. And he was never fully satisfied in his mind concerning any will he made, which were several, till the last will. Though in all his several wills which I have made, and one will made before, by Thomas Neat of Chippenham, in the year 1664, he gave the very self-same legacy to Stephen Barly's wife, as he gave in his last will; and but very little alteration to any of his other children. In all which wills and settlement, I never in the least, knew Oliver Sansom advise the said Bartholomew Malam, or be any way concerned any otherwise, but that his name was mentioned as an overseer among others. And as far as I know, when Bartho. Malam made his last will and testament, Oliver Sansom was at London. So that the charge of the said Stephen Barly, against the said Oliver Sansom, appears both false and malicious. In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, who have been both an eye and ear-witness to these transactions.

JOHN RICHARDSON."

"Marlborough, the 1st of December, 1683."

The certificate from William Hitchcock was thus worded.

"THIS I can also certify, that I have had knowledge of Bartholomew Malam's mind, in the settlement of his estate, from time to time, for near twenty years, and have seen all his several wills and deeds of settlement; and they were all one and the same, as to Stephen Barly's wife's portion. For there was not any will or deed of settlement, made by him for so many years past, but after the rough draught was made, and before it was engrossed, he would either call John Richardson to my house, and read it in my hearing, or call me to his house to hear it read there. And this I can truly further say, that I have reasoned the case with him, why he gave Stephen Barly's wife no more, and he replied, that he had given her a good portion already, and more he did account he had done for Stephen Barly; and he having no child had no need of it, or words to that purpose. For I know, and can further certify, that Barthol. Malam was a resolved man, and did always dispose of his estate according to his own mind and will, without any man's advice whatsoever, unless for the securing it by law. And as concerning Oliver Sansom, I have known him many years, and have been intimately acquainted with him, but never knew him in the least concern himself in any way, to advise Barthol. Malam as to the disposing of his estate. And this I have endeavoured, as I have had opportunity; to satisfy Stephen Barly in, but his malice is so great, that the naked truth can take no place in his heart. I am sorry for it, the Lord forgive him for wronging an innocent man. So for truth sake, and the clearing of Oliver Sansom, I could do no less than thus to certify; in testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name.

WILLIAM HITCHCOCK."

Marlborough, the 1st of Tenth month, 1683.

When Robert Pye had received the before-written certificates, the answer he gave me was this: they, meaning John Richardson and William Hitchcock, are both of your own company, and I will no more believe them than you. This showed him to be implacable: wherefore contenting myself that my innocency was known to the Lord, and that I had done enough to satisfy any reasonable man, I determined to forbear seeking him any further in this case, or using any more endeavours about it. But one William Brice, who was chaplain to the said Robert Pye, and to whom I had sometimes spoken touching that matter, perceiving how fruitless my endeavours had hitherto been, and being somewhat touched, as I suppose, with a sense of my innocency, and hoping to satisfy his master thereof also, wrote to one Oliver Curr, of Auburn, desiring him to go along with me to the said Stephen Barly's house at Baydon, and to hear his charge against me, and my answer when we were face to face, and to make report of the state of the case as he understood it, and to send it in writing by me to Sir Robert Pye.

Now, though I had given over the thoughts of stirring any further in this business, yet lest the chaplain should mistake it for a token of guilt in me, if I refused, or was backward to go with his letter to his friend Curr, and so to Stephen Barly about it, I took the letter and another Friend with me and went, and with much ado prevailed with Curr to go with us to Barly's house. Where after about two hour's

discourse on that subject, no shadow of proof could be produced of anything that had been suggested, concerning my having had any hand, or being any way concerned about making B. Malam's will, or settling his estate. But Stephen Barly was angry and fierce against me, because I was assistant to Barthol. Malam's daughter, whom he made his executrix, in the speedy proving of the will, whereby he was prevented from contesting and hindering the probate of it, and thereby putting the executrix, his wife's sister, to charge and trouble about it.

But when all was done, this Oliver Curr refused to give his report in writing, as was by the chaplain desired; and although I did earnestly entreat him, yet he would not be persuaded to do it, but put it by with saying, that in a short time he intended to go to Sir Robert Pye's, and certify him by word of mouth of the true state of the case. But whether he ever did so or no, I know not, for he seemed plainly to be one that would rather carry a charge or accusation against the Quakers, than any thing in favour of them. And it was very apparent, that the said Robert Pye was very much swayed and biassed by some of those people called Presbyterians; of whom he had one, and him none of the least, or least mischievous among them, at his elbow.

For Benjamin Woodbridge, with whom I had formerly had to do controversially, on truth's account, in the year 1673, was at this time at hide and seek for fear of suffering; and having left his great flock at Newbury to shift for themselves as they could, he was fled to shelter himself under the wings of this great man; and took sanctuary for a long time in his house at Farringdon. And I remember, I once in discourse told Robert Pye, that I was jealous Benjamin Woodbridge had incensed him against me, which I had the more reason to suspect, because there had been a controversy formerly between him and me; and I knew him to be no friend to me, nor the truth which I profess; at which words Robert Pye was much moved, and angrily told me I was not worthy to mention him or to name him; whereby may be guessed what a high esteem he had of him. But this justice Pye being by this time no justice, for Hardwick the informer had gotten him struck out of the commission; I had no more to do with him for a long time.

Yet I was not free from exercises and sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience. For it being a stormy day, and a time of hot persecution, and that same Hardwick, not finding the trade of an informer agreeable to himself to carry on, had substituted or at least encouraged two sorry fellows in his stead, whereby I and many other Friends became great sufferers for keeping up our religious meetings at Farringdon.

Of these two new informers, one was named Thomas Welman a broken carrier, and the other, Angel Smith, a wicked, lewd fellow, both of Farringdon. These two being put on, and animated by the said informer Hardwick, took upon them to be informers against us at Farringdon, for our peaceable meeting together to worship the Lord. And when they first set up the trade, they were not so hardy as to be seen at our meetings, but taking up their standing in a house at a distance, and looking out at a window, they took their observations as Friends passed from the meeting; whereby they mistook themselves and gave false informations; and by their false swearing procured fines to be levied on one that was not at the meeting. Whereupon two appeals were entered; and if justice could have been had, they might have been brought to the pillory, as by law they deserved. But of that more hereafter.

Now in the sense and consideration of these evil men's wicked designs, and of the sad recompense they must expect from the Lord in the end, if they persisted in their bad work, I was moved to go to them in the love of God to warn them to repent, and desist from proceeding on in their wicked work, certainly assuring them, that the just God beheld them in all their designs, and would in very deed bring them to judgment, and give them a reward according to their works; this with more to the same purpose I spake to them, being both together at Tho. Welman's house, on the 23rd of the seventh month, 1683.

And not long after, seeing them in the townhall in Newbury, while the court of quarter-sessions was sitting there, on the 2nd of the eighth month following; and observing that they stood lurking behind, as waiting to do some mischief, I went to them again and tenderly advised them, and warned them to forbear going on with their bad designs against their innocent neighbours. For they might assure themselves they could not prosper, neither would their expectations be answered; and if they did get our goods it would be but little benefit to them; for thereby they would the sooner be brought to beggary, and even procure hatred against themselves.

One of them, to wit, Smith, answered, if they did lose the love of their neighbours they should gain the love of others.

Hereupon I reasoned a little with them, asking them why they did oppose us and covet our goods? What harm had we done them? And directing my speech particularly to Welman, who had been a carrier, I said, I have formerly

mployed thee, did I ever do thee any wrong? Did I not pay thee the full of thy demands? What harm dost thou know by me? He had ot a word to say, yet he, as well as the other, eemed much hardened; and it grieved me to ehold that no tenderness at all did appear in hem.

Then I asked them what further business hey had at the court there? seeing no more at resent was like to be done about the appeals, hich were entered but that day.

Smith said, we have to inform against you or being at the meeting last Sunday week. I eplied, I hope to live to go to meetings, when ou may not dare to show your heads.

Then they threatened to inform against me or those words, and they were as good as their ord; for the next day towards the close of he sessions, they did inform the court that I had spoken treasonable words. And truly heir information was readily received, it being he time when informers were rampant, and moderate justices gone off the bench. The clerk, being a very wicked man, drew an order of sessions, signed by himself, to apprehend me and carry me before some justice of the peace; whereupon on the 9th of the eighth month, I was had before Humphrey Hide, where the informers also appeared and swore against me, that I said I would meet and preach, when they should be ashamed to show their faces. When the justice heard the words, he said, the order mentions treasonable words; but for my part I see little in them. But yet for fear of the informers, he engaged me, upon a recognizance, to appear at the next sessions.

Now it is to be noted that the clerk of the peace, whose name was William Grove, had agreed with the informers that he would frustrate our appeals, upon condition that he should have all that could be recovered upon the appellants, for himself. Therefore he, with the informers did what in them lay, to get me into prison; lest if I was at liberty, I should prosecute the appeals so effectually as to bring the informers to the pillory.

On the 15th of the eleventh month, 1683, the quarter-sessions being held at Reading, and I called in court, I appeared; and the informers swore again against me, that I said I would preach in meetings when they should not be able to come at me; adding more words very falsely, and so confusedly, that the bench of justices seemed ashamed to take notice of it, so much as to examine me one word about it. But some that were envious made mention of tendering the oath of allegiance to me; to which another more moderate answered, what shall we tender him the oath for? we know they will not swear. So a division was between the justices on the bench about it.

Then one Charles Parret, or Perrot, stood up and said of me, he is a dangerous person, one that goes about the country preaching and dispersing Quakers' books, for, said he, he sent two books and a letter to me; he is not fit to be suffered, added he, with words to the same purpose.

Then two other of the justices, namely, John Wightwick and Anthony Craven, spake very fiercely against me to the same effect. Whereupon a lawyer stood up, without being desired by me, only I had spoken to him to carry on the appeals; and he told them they ought not to tender me the oath by law. Upon that the statute-book was searched, and a great bustle they made for a while, till at length the persecuting party prevailing, Anthony Craven and John Wightwick went off the bench to the other end of the hall, ordering me to be brought after them that they might tender me oath there.

Being brought thither before them, I said I know your minds, that you would put me in prison; and you had as good send me thither presently, and not trouble yourselves about the oath, which is but only to cover your designs.

They turned the statute book to and again a pretty time to find the oath, but could not find it. Then they called for a clerk, and a young man coming, a bailiff that stood by said, here is a clerk come now; but they were so busy fumbling in the book to find the oath, that they did not heed him. I seeing the clerk standing waiting, said to him, art thou come to make a mittimus to send an innocent man to prison? He hearing that slipped away; and when they called for him afterwards, he was not to be found.

So these two justices, so called, continued tumbling the leaves of the statute book to and fro for a considerable time, till they were weary, and with all their wisdom they could not find the oath; for the Lord had confounded them in this their envious design. Then they called counsellor Dalby to them, and he came and found the oath for them presently. Whereupon calling for a Bible they proceeded to tender me the oath, as followeth:

First, justice Craven, asked me, will you take the oath of allegiance? I answered, I do practice allegiance, I need not swear it.

Come, said he, pull off your glove and lay your right hand on the book. I pulled off both my gloves, and took hold of the book with both my hands, to look in it; at which Craven seemed angry and fiercely plucked it away from me. Whereupon I said to him, if thou wilt not let me have it, that I may see what book it is, thou mayst keep it to thyself.

Then he offered it me again, bidding me lay my hand on it. I laid both my hands on it,

and plucked it away from him, and opening it said, I see it is a Bible, and here in this book is that command of Christ written which expressly forbids all swearing; now answer me, said I, is this book to be believed, and what is written therein to be observed or not?

At that justice Craven was very angry, and catched at the book to get it from me again; but I held it out of his reach.

Then he asked me again, will you take the oath of allegiance? I answered, I have practised allegiance all my life. Come, said Craven, say after me, and began to read the oath: but I said nothing. Which he observing, began again and read the oath through; I standing by the while with the bible in my hand, but saying nothing. Whereupon he said, will you take the oath or not?

I then holding up the Bible in my hand said, Christ Jesus commands not to swear at all. Here it is written in this book, and his spirit in my heart confirms to me that it is my duty to obey him; and now you command me to swear. What shall I do in this case? Shall I obey Christ and the Scriptures? or must I obey you contrary to both? What will you advise me to do herein?

This put Craven to a stand; whereupon the other justice, John Wightwick putting in, said, we advise you to take the oath. What! said I, to break the command of Christ? All the king's subjects, replied Wightwick, are bound to take it.

Before I could answer, Craven interposed and prevented me, by saying, Well! you have refused it; you will not take it.

I am a Christian, replied I; I am willing to obey Christ.

Then said justice Craven to a bailiff that stood by, take him away, and have him to the gaoler, and bid him take care of him; and let him come to me in the evening, and he shall have a mittimus. Accordingly the gaoler, having secured me, went for a mittimus, and had it in these words:

BERKS.—*To the Keeper of His Majesty's Gaol for the County of Berks.*

"THESE are in his majesty's name, to require you to take into your custody the body of Oliver Sansom of Farringdon, for having refused to take the oath of allegiance to his majesty, being lawfully tendered by us; and him safely keep, till he shall be delivered by due course of law. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and seals this 15th day of January, in the 35th year of his majesty's reign, Anno Domini, 1683.

ANTHONY CRAVEN.
JOHN WIGHTWICK."

Now being fixed in prison that I might not prosecute the appeals before-mentioned, which were to be tried that session; I think fit to give a brief account how that matter was managed.

I mentioned before that a couple of lewd, idle fellows, viz. Tho. Welman and Angel Smith, took upon them to be informers against their innocent neighbours at Farringdon. These giving their informations at random, informed against a meeting for a preacher unknown, though in very deed, there was not any one that day who either preached or prayed, but was both well known, and fined also upon their information. Besides this they swore against another Friend, for being present at that meeting, who was not there, but could prove by many witnesses that he was elsewhere; and upon their information this Friend, who was not at the meeting, had part of the fine of twenty pounds laid upon him for the pretended unknown preacher.

Thus these vile informers having so plainly forsworn themselves, that their perjury was apparent to the people; two of the persons who were thus illegally fined for the unknown preacher, whom the informers had feigned, and had their goods taken away for it, whereof one was not at the meeting that day, looked upon themselves as obliged to use their endeavours to detect the villany of the informers, that they might not go on in their wickedness, but be brought to due punishment.

Accordingly they entered their appeals, and at the next session they entered their traverse, and at the following session held at Reading, on the 15th and 16th of the eleventh month, 1683, they came on to trial in this manner:

First, a jury was returned by the sheriff of honest, substantial, indifferent men. But when these were brought to the bar, that the court saw what men they were, they would not suffer them to be empannelled; but illegally put them by lest they should do the Quakers justice.

Then presently was another jury picked up, most of them being biased men, professed enemies to the people called Quakers, and the foreman, one who a little time before, for lucre's sake, had bought some goods that were taken away from some of the people called Quakers, upon the conventicle act; which made it reasonable to suppose, that interest would bias him to promote the informers' wicked practices, that he might get the larger pennyworths by them.

This partial jury was empannelled, and the evidence on both sides heard, wherein three substantial witnesses appearing for the appellants proved upon oath, that one of the appellants, whom the informers had sworn was at that meeting, was not there but at another place, remote from thence, all day.

Now though these three witnesses did clearly overthrow the informers' evidence, and made it manifest that they had sworn falsely against that appellant; yet this wretched jury going together to consult a little, quickly returned, and like men that did not regard either equity, justice, or the oath they had taken, gave in their verdict against the appellants and for the informers.

Oh! it is sad to consider that ever men should be so void of the fear of God, and of regard to their own souls, that to protect such vile informers, and encourage them in their villanies, and save them from the punishment due to perjury, they would not stick to come under the guilt and penalty of perjury themselves; for which their abominable wickedness, they have justly deserved to have their names and memorial exposed to perpetual infamy, and to the detestation and abhorrence of all good men, in all succeeding generations.

But although this jury brought in their verdict as aforesaid, many of the justices being sensible of the wrong done, refused to give judgment at that time; but suspending judgment till the next session, ordered the appellant's counsel to draw up in writing their exceptions against the convictions, and deliver them to serjeant Holt; which was accordingly done on the last day of the term at London. And at the next quarter-sessions holden at Newbury, on the 9th and 10th days of the second month, 1684, when this matter was again moved by the appellant's counsel, and the exceptions to the convictions pleaded and argued in the court, the justices that were lawyers confessed that the exceptions were good. Yet when after some time of debate upon it, they put it to the vote, the greater number of justices, being blinded with enmity against the Quakers, gave it for the informers, and allotted twenty pounds cost; whereupon William Grove, the corrupt clerk of the peace, who had before hand made a bargain with the informers, that if he could get the cause carried for them against the appellants, he should have the costs that should be given for himself, fetched away from Edward Lockey of Farringdon, shop-goods and household goods to the value of one and twenty pounds, for but one half of the said twenty pounds given for costs. And thus was the saying of the prophet fulfilled in our day, that judgment is turned quite backward, and justice stands afar off; truth is fallen in the streets and equity cannot enter.

CHAPTER VII.

His letter with the two books to Justice Parret—Three letters to his wife from the prison—All the goods taken from his house and shop whilst in prison—To the Sessions at Newbury and recommitted for not swearing—Two letters to his wife—His epistle to Friends under suffering — Sessions at Wantage—With other Friend is recommitted for not swearing—The Sessions at Reading—Is still continued in gaol—His letters to Justice Fettiplace.

Mention being made before, that Charles Parret, called a justice, had manifested much envy, in seeking to have the oath tendered to me, to deprive me of my liberty; and among other expressions alleging, that I had sent him two books and a letter: I think fit here since I could not so well do it there, to give the reader briefly an account of the occasion which led me to write to him; which was thus.

He had dealt very hardly with a Friend that lived near him, belonging to Appleton meeting; and I having a concern upon me to seek to moderate him, sent him two little books, whereof one was entitled, A "Dissuasive from persecution;" the other, "Christian religious meetings vindicated." These books I enclosed in a sheet of paper, and wrote therein as followeth:

"JUSTICE PARRET,

Having an understanding of some late rigorous proceedings against some of thy honest neighbours, and the king's peaceable subjects called Quakers, living in and about Appleton, by warrants from thee, only for the exercise of their tender consciences, in sincerity towards God in matters purely spiritual, concerning faith and worship, relating to his kingdom. Wherefore in love and Christian respect to thee, and on the behalf of them, I do herewith in humility present to thy view two little books; hoping to find that nobility and moderation in thee, as to bestow a serious and candid perusal on them. And so at present I do leave them to thy Christian consideration; desiring the Lord to incline thy heart to justice, mercy and truth; that thou mayst be happy eternally. I am,

A friend to all that love righteousness,
O. SANSOM."

Farringdon, the 1st of Sixth month, called August, 1683.

This letter I sent by the post: but could not understand that he had received it, until he, about five months after, spake of it himself in the open sessions; and then charged it as a crime upon me.

[Whilst imprisoned at this period, he wrote the letters which are subjoined, to his wife.]

Reading Gaol, 26th of Twelfth month, 1683.

"MY DEAR WIFE,

The dear and tender salutation of my endeared love truly reaches unto thee, wishing and

praying above all things, for thy preservation and establishment in the precious Truth with my own soul, that we may pass the time of our pilgrimage here according the will of our God, and faithfully finish that testimony which he hath given us to bear, to the laying down of our heads in peace for ever, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest; where the prisoners rest together and hear not the cry of their oppressors. Oh let us be cheerful, for it will not be long ere we come there, as we abide faithful and heed not the rage of the wicked, so as to be cast down at it; for our God, as we wait upon him, will give us more strength to bear afflictions, than they shall be able to inflict upon us. Oh, it is a precious thing to be kept in the patient innocent spirit of Christ Jesus, which enables us to love our enemies and pray for our persecutors; when we are reviled not to revile again, but to commit our souls to him who judgeth righteously, who is our faithful Creator, and mighty preserver, and the sure deliverer of all them that trust in him; who is the only wise omnipotent God, blessed for ever. Amen.

Dear heart, I received thine, and was glad to hear of thine and Friends' welfare. Though hardships do continue yet, they will have an end, and am well satisfied that E. L. stands so singly resigned in his testimony for the Lord, his reward will be sure as he continues so. It seems very strange to me that old T. R. should continue so cruel and be so very wicked—I am sorry for him that he should thus hasten on to his own destruction; let an account be taken and kept of his wicked and cruel doings, and mark and see the end that will come upon him.

I have received the bed, but have not yet opened it, with two cheeses besides, I have been, and am still very busy in drawing up papers to lay the sufferings of Friends before the judges and grand jury at this assizes; what the effects of it may be, I may let thee know the next opportunity.

So desiring my very dear and fervent love may be remembered to all Friends, as if named one by one, and to thy sister Vokins when thou seest her, with all her family, and also to them at Gooses, and to my brother D. B. and sister, at Charney, and to Sarah, and E. B., and E. W., and once more to thyself is my entire love, and rest thy dear husband.

O. S.

When E. Wightwick is out of her Bible, let her read the first book of Chronicles and Nehemiah over again."

Reading Gaol, 4th of First month, 1684.

"DEAR WIFE,

My true and entire love salutes thee, sincerely wishing thy welfare, and breathing to my God for thy preservation and establishing in the truth, as for my own soul; that being founded on the heavenly Rock, no storm may ever be able to shake us or cause us to waver, but may be surely settled for ever, to praise and magnify our tender God, who hath been so good unto us, who is over all blessed and worthy for ever. These may let thee know through the Lord's love I am pretty well, and did expect to have heard from thee yesterday, by Thomas George, to have known how thee and Friends are in your present exercises. There was nothing done more at the assizes about Friends, as to outward appearance, by reason of the printed summonses there were none called, until quite at last, they called them over as they used to do. Our gaoler, by Parret's means, was sorely checked for letting us have liberty.

[Then follow instructions with regard to disposing of part of their business, the pattenmaking, which he appeared to follow in prison, as there are orders to bring him "leather, irons, and rivets." He also wanted "some line to make a cord for a bed."]

So with my dear love once more to thee, and to E. L., G. A., and M. R., and all the rest of Friends as if named, to S. A. and the children whom I desire may take heed and do well.

I remain thy dear husband,

O. S."

11th of First month, 1684.

"DEAR WIFE.

My true and entire love salutes thee, desiring thy prosperity in the precious truth, which is better than all the increase of the fading things of this world. This is to let thee know that I have been, and spoken with John Hankin and his wife, and have agreed with them at a rent for their house and land in Farringdon, and the terms I may let thee know when I see thee. Let Mary Butcher know that her letter was received, and her sister desires that if in case the barn be in danger to fall in a little time, she would get a workman to prop it up until she comes, which may be about the time called Easter, or shortly after, if she be well, and then intends to take course to repair the house and barn.

Mind my love to all Friends; as thy freedom is thou may let them privately know that I cannot come to Charlow, on the first-day to be at the meeting, as I spoke to thee of, but do hope to be there on the second-day at night, after the women's meeting is over, or on the third-day, and to tarry thereabouts to be at the men's meeting, if it be at a place convenient, [line not plain,] where I hope we may settle things in a better method than it is now.

I shall look for the writings of the meeting-house, (with what lacing thou hast to tagg,) next second-day by Thomas George or John Church; send my drawers too, and let me know how you all do, and how your meetings are. My dear love is to thy sister J. V., (Joan Vokins,) and tell her I perused her letter, and was comforted in the sense of the tender love of God in her heart towards me. Mind my kind love to E. L. and his sister, and to G. A. and his wife, and M. R. and his wife, and T. R. and his wife and his brother William, and to my brother and sister, and Thomas Strange at Charney, and also to them at Gooses, and to R. B. and to all the rest of Friends as if named one by one; desiring that grace, mercy and peace, with Christian courage and valour, may continually be increased and renewed in and amongst you all, that the Lord our God always may have the praise, and honour, and glory, in all our doings and sufferings, for unto Him it all belongs, who is blessed and worthy over all for evermore, Amen. In haste, I rest thy dear husband, O. S.

But to proceed, while I was now in prison, these two wicked informers, Thomas Welman and Angel Smith, having before sworn against me, for having been at many meetings, procured warrants from Humphry Hyde, (called a justice) to levy above a hundred pounds on my goods. And these warrants being all in the hands of one Thomas Reynolds, the officer who then swayed all the rest, he made no distress so long as I was at liberty; but still made excuses to save himself. But when I was in prison and within one month after my commitment, he came to my house, having only the said two informers with him to assist him, and seized and carried away all my shop goods, as linen cloth, fustians, tapes, filletings, laces and thread, even all they could light on, with brass, pewter, and other household goods, only when they were carrying it all away, he threw back a small brass kettle, saying he would leave that to boil the children's milk in; for I had then two children in my family, whereof one was a relation's daughter, and the other an orphan that was left to my care, as her guardian.

Besides these goods, they took also out of my stable a mare that was not mine, but borrowed of a Friend, and with her my bridle and saddle. And though the Friend, who was the owner of the mare, endeavoured what he could to recover his mare again, yet he could not: for no justice could then be had; oppression and cruelty were the portion of faithful Friends at that time, while the informers were in power.

The said Thomas Reynolds would not suffer any account to be taken of those goods thus taken away from me. For which, I suppose his reason was, that judging them not sufficient to answer all the fines that were imposed upon me, and mentioned in his warrants, he was not willing the rest of those fines should be levied upon others; fearing perhaps his own son, who was a Friend, might come to suffer thereby. But, as near as could be guessed, the goods then taken away were worth thirty pounds, or upwards; and he took such a time for taking away my goods, that there was nobody in the house but the two small children whom I mentioned before. I myself was in prison at that time, my wife was gone abroad to visit one that was not well, and my maid-servant happened to be then from home.

This Thomas Reynolds, flushed with the booty he had gotten, became afterwards more hardened, and acted more cruelly towards Friends in their meetings; not only shutting them out of their meeting-house, and thereby forcing them to meet abroad in the cold winter; but haling, pushing, and abusing them in a fierce violent manner.

But it was not long before the Lord removed him out of the way by death; and when he was on his dying bed he did somewhat relent; and desired that son of his who was a Friend, and whom he had sorely abused at meetings, to pray by him; and charged another of his sons whom he made his executor, to restore Friends their goods again, in case he did not recover. But that executor son being a chip of the old block, refused to fulfil his father's command for restoring the goods, but kept them from Friends; and within a short time after he also was cut off by death, and the goods thereupon falling into the hands of other mercenary officers, were most of them embezzled and lost.

Having given this brief account of the havoc they made of my goods at home; I proceed to relate how they dealt with me at prison.

When the next quarter sessions after my commitment was come, which was held at Newbury, on the 9th of the second month, 1684, I, with some other Friends who were also prisoners was conveyed thither, and after my brethren had been called and put by till the afternoon, I was called; and Thomas Medlicott being chairman, he said to me, Will you take the oath of allegiance? Whereupon the clerk read the oath; and then the chairman asked me again, Will you take this oath?

I answered, I look upon myself not to be in that capacity, nor under such circumstances, as the statute describes them to be for whom this oath was provided; for the title of the Act is, An Act for the better Discovering and Repressing Popish Recusants; and the preamble of it is to this purpose, that whereas many jesuits'

seminaries and popish priests, the better to hide their treacherous designs, and to cover their false hearts, do sometimes repair to church, &c., and as an instance of their treachery, mentions the gunpowder plot; now we being clear and free from all designs against the king and government, so that we could never yet be charged with plotting or contriving insurrections or the like; therefore it seems improper as well as unequal to impose this oath upon us. But notwithstanding this, the chairman still urged upon me, saying, you must give your answer whether you will take it or not.

I replied, truly it is a great strait that you drive me to; for first, if I refuse this oath, then I know the penalty—which is to lose all my estate and my liberty, and to be as it were buried alive in prison; which may be deemed as bad or worse than death itself. And on the other hand, if to escape this penalty I should take this oath, notwithstanding that I am persuaded in my heart and conscience, and do firmly believe that the Lord hath forbidden me to swear, I should therein sin against God, and thereby bring a wound and terror upon my own conscience; and you know the Scripture says, "a wounded spirit who can bear!" So that in this strait that you force me upon, I must either run the hazard of losing my estate and liberty for refusing the oath; or else fall under that intolerable burthen of a wounded conscience by the taking of it.

Here I was interrupted by many of the justices who speaking all together said, we cannot stand trifling with you in this manner; you must give your answer, whether you will take the oath or not.

To bring them to a better temper and more patience, I said to them, pray be not so hasty, the matter is very weighty; for my estate lies at stake and my liberty too, which is my all in this world, except my life, therefore you should not seek to enforce a hasty answer. But they were in haste to be gone to dinner; wherefore the chairman seeing I delayed them, asked me, if I would have a little time to consider further of it? Whereupon I said, you may if you please give me the same time that you have given the rest of my friends here. You shall have it, said the chairman, and presently bid the crier adjourn the court, which he did, to the third hour in the afternoon.

After dinner there came but four of these justices to the bench, and three of the four, viz., Anthony Craven, John Wightwick and John Smith, were very envious persecutors.

After the other Friends had been called and their refusal to take the oath entered, I was called, and Craven, sitting in the place of chairman, said to me; come Oliver, have you considered of it? What say you? Will you take the oath?

Surely, said I, by right I ought to be excused from having it tendered to me, because, as I told you to-day, it was made for Papists, neither was there any just ground at all to tender it to me at the last sessions; for it was through the false information of two wicked persons that I was brought thither, and the court then finding no matter against me, instead of discharging me, which they ought to have done, tendered me the oath without any cause, but that justice Parret said, it was not fit I should have my liberty; giving for his reason, that I dispersed books and the like, having sent two books and a letter to him. It was no crime I hope, to send him a letter or books either, for if he had aught to object against the books or the letter, he might have produced them in court against me; and have both showed what he accounted amiss in them, and have convicted me of the breach of any law therein if he could. But to tender me the oath for only sending him books and a letter, and that too when you knew beforehand, as one of the justices then on the bench observed to you, that I could not swear at all; it seems to me to be offered for no other reason but merely to ensnare me.

Ay! said justice Smith in a scoffing manner, a mere snare and trap I warrant you!

Then said justice Craven to the crier, hold him the book: and said to me, Will you take the oath or not?

The crier thereupon holding out the book, I took it in my hand, and Craven said, it is a bible Oliver, come will you swear? I answered, I say as I told you before, this oath was not provided for such as I am, therefore it is unfair to tender it to me. And besides, the statute says, it should be tendered at the general quarter sessions before the whole bench of justices, or the greater number of them; and now here are but four, which I know, you cannot say, are the greater number, for here were ten to-day.

To that both Craven and Wightwick answered, here are enough to make a sessions. And then two or three of them speaking together said, You do refuse to take the oath; take him away.

Pray, be not so hasty, said I; the matter is of more weight than you make of it; and therefore you may give me leave and time to answer. And take notice, I have not refused the oath as yet, but I am brought here as an offender; and now, it seems, you want matter out of my mouth to charge me with. Therefore this I say to you, if any one hath anything against me, let him appear and accuse me to my face.

Then justice Wightwick cried out, take the bible from him. But I said, stay a little, I have more to say, I have not yet done with it. Here you give me a bible to swear upon; and the bible itself forbids me to swear at all: now what greater affront can there be given to Christ Jesus the King of kings; and what greater contempt of his laws and government, whose command is "Swear not at all," than for men to take that very book wherein this command is written, and both swear upon it themselves, and force others against their consciences to swear upon it also!

We shall have somewhat to do by and by said justice Wightwick; take him away cried he, take the bible from him, he'll forfeit his twenty pounds if we let him alone.

The crier thereupon sought to get the book from me. But I desired him to let it alone, I would have it a little longer I said, for I had not yet done with it. But he bawled out, you shall not keep my book; and with violence plucked it from me.

Then two or three of them speaking together said, if you will take the oath, say so: but you do refuse it, therefore, gaoler, take him away.

I answered, the Lord Jesus Christ commands me not to swear at all; and the bible testifies the same; yet you command me to swear: now whom shall I obey? God? or man?

Then with one voice they commanded the gaoler to take me away; which he did. And about six weeks after, the clerk of the peace sent an order to the gaoler, to keep me and three other Friends prisoners until the next sessions.

[In the interval he wrote to his wife as follows.]

Reading Gaol, 14th of Second month, 1684.

"Dear Wife,

After the tender salutation of my endeared love, heartily desiring and praying for thy welfare every way, but most especially in the precious unchangeable Truth, which lives and abides for ever; these are to acquaint thee that things are so fallen out, I cannot come forth this week to go to Purton as I intended, but thou mayest do well to go; and remember my dear love to all Friends, and let them know that it is not from want of love, that I do not come from Reading to Purton on foot to visit them; but being in bonds, I cannot go as I would with my body, but as for my mind in the word and spirit of life, it is not bound but free and present with them in the unity and bond of love and peace. And I have hopes that next week I shall not fail, but come to Charlow on second-day if the Lord enable me, and tell M. Shurmer, I shall be glad to see her there, and bring her accounts with her, that we may reckon and set things right between us, and thou mayest bring my books also. My dear love is to thy sister J. V. when thou seest her, and to all their family, and to all Friends at Farringdon, as if named one by one. Several of the wicked justices seek occasion against our jailor, because of his kindness to us, and would put him out of his place, if they could; I may tell thee more when I see thee.

The magistrates of Reading disturbed the meeting in the town last first-day, and twelve men Friends were committed prisoners to the compter, until near night, then had before the mayor and fined five shillings a man, and so dismissed. So having not much more to write at present, but with that love which distance of place cannot separate, nor time wear out, I remain thy dear husband, O. S."

Reading Gaol, 13th of Fourth month, 1684.

"Dear Wife,

My true and entire love doth sincerely reach forth unto thee in tender breathings to the Lord for thy welfare and preservation, and for all tender-hearted Friends thereaway. Oh, the exercise of my spirit and travail of my soul for you all lately have been more, than at present I think expedient to express, but shall leave it to the Lord my God, who sees and knows all things, and from His righteous hand shall every one receive according to their works, and his holy name and truth shall be exalted over all more and more, and they that sincerely seek to do it, shall be preserved through all trials in safety unto the end. So dear heart, trust singly in the Lord, and he will make our way easy that he hath set before us, and cause our path to become pleasant and delightsome more and more, that we may run on in our race cheerfully without weariness or fainting, even unto the end, and to finish and conclude with joy to our immortal souls, and with endless praises, thanksgiving and glory, and hallelujahs in the highest over all, for evermore, Amen.

Dear heart, by this thou mayest know that I intend, if the Lord will, to be at Bothamstead next second-day, and tarry there about two or three days, and if thou art pretty well, I desire thee to meet me there. And I desire thee to mind my dear love to E. L., G. A., M. R., T. R., and all the rest of Friends as if named, and to all thy maids, who I desire may live in the fear of God, and grow up together in the truth as plants of righteousness to the glory of the Lord, that they may be blessed and happy both here and hereafter. So hoping to see thee at Bothamstead, I shall cease to write further at present, but conclude with my very dear love to thy sister, and to all Friends at Char-

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low, and at Charney, and elsewhere, and once more to thyself. I remain thy dear husband,

O. S."

About this time our Friends at Farringdon, and the parts thereabout, were under great sufferings, by means of the wicked informers and persecuting justices; and I being confined in prison could not be with them to comfort and encourage them in those their great and heavy exercises. Yet having a true sympathizing sense and fellow-feeling of their suffering condition, it came upon me to write to them in tenderness of love, to exhort them to hold fast their confidence in the Lord's power; and not to look out at what had happened or might yet further come upon them, for the trial of their faith and patience. What I wrote was directed to the Friends of the monthly meeting of the Vale of White Horse; and was as followeth.

"Dear Friends,

Unto whom is given in mercy from the Lord, not only to believe in and profess his name in the world, but to possess power from him to enable you to suffer on his behalf. O Friends, prize his tender love, and prize your present reproaches and sufferings for his sake, to be as precious to you now as they were to Moses in his day, of whom it is said, that he esteemed the reproaches of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he had an eye to the recompense of reward.

And Friends, I beseech you to be diligent and watchful to keep your minds constantly exercised in that power, which ye have received in your hearts from the Lord; which is given unto you for our safety and preservation, and wherein alone all your strength lies, to bear you up and carry you through all your trials.

And I tenderly entreat you all, to wait for the renewings of that same living power of Christ Jesus in your own bosoms day by day; and dwell low in it in patience; and you shall surely feel and witness the mighty operation of it, even to renew and change you into his own nature. And then you will rejoice that you are accounted worthy to suffer for His sake, and will be glad when you are persecuted, and all manner of evil is spoken falsely by wicked men against you for His name sake; knowing that great is your reward in heaven.

And it is in my heart to advise and warn you, that you enter not into reasoning and disputing with your adversaries, who have sold themselves to work wickedness, and are wilfully given up and hardened in their sin against God, in persecuting you. For by reasoning or disputing with them, you will be far from convincing them or prevailing with them, but may hurt yourselves, if you are not very wary, by letting a wrathful spirit arise in you. And when with that you have strove with your adversaries, and find it to be in vain, then in the same wrath, you will be ready, if you are not watchful, to run against your friends and brethren, and to smite at them; when the very cause hath been in yourselves in not abiding low in your own measures, whereby you would have been enabled to bear all reproaches with patience, and to give a testimony against the spirit of persecution, denouncing the righteous judgments of God against all that are found in it. So avoid reasoning with them, as knowing this, that the triumphing of the wicked is but short; and the rejoicing of the ungodly but for a moment.

And dear Friends, I have something in my heart to write unto you concerning the appeals, wherein a great disappointment seems to have befallen; and that way whereby we hoped to have had redress, and to have stopped the rage of the wicked, hath proved quite the contrary, even to the increasing our sufferings and encouraging our adversaries. I say, although it be thus, yet let us not be offended at it, nor find fault one with another about it; seeing we were all agreed at first in that thing, and we would willingly have obtained redress and have received deliverance in that way, if the Lord had so ordered it; as well as many of our Friends in other places did. But what if our God saw it meet to disappoint our expectations, and for the greater trial of us to cross our desires; for it may be he saw that some would not have given the glory to Him, but to man, if the Lord had wrought our deliverance that way. And so he, in His infinite wisdom, right well knowing what would tend most to his own glory and our greatest good, hath disposed all things accordingly. And shall we not in patience submit to what he brings upon us, and receive it as the best? For hereby he hath given us to see the great wickedness and injustice that lodged in the hearts of men, and is now hereby drawn forth into practice. For we could not have believed that so many men in authority, would have suffered such horrible injustice to have been done, if we had not proved it; there being so much right on our side and such clearness in our case. But truly I am persuaded and do believe in my heart, that in tender love to us, our God hath brought things thus to pass as it is this day; that we may be brought into the more single dependence upon Him. And there is no question, but he will make way for our deliverance in due time; even when the set time is come which he hath appointed for the fulfilling of our sufferings.

Therefore I say, my dear Friends, let us trust perfectly in the Lord our God, and stead-

fastly depend upon him, and we shall all at length obtain our desired and expected end.

And finally, my Friends, in that love wherewith our God hath loved us, let us all live and dwell, that therein we may edify and strengthen one another: praying fervently one for another, that in true tenderness we may always be as epistles written in one another's hearts; always breathing for and desiring the preservation one of another. For we have great cause to love one another, and to watch that we may resist the enemy, who labours daily to beget prejudices and hard thoughts one against another. So in that love which edifies the body, and which thinks no evil, but bears and endures all things, I take my leave and bid you all farewell.

I desire this may be distinctly read in the men's meeting in the Vale of White-horse or elsewhere thereaway, as any Friend finds freedom and a service is seen.*

Your dear brother in bonds,

OLIVER SANSOM.

Reading Goal, the 19th of the Fourth month, 1684.

I mentioned before, that I and three other Friends with me, were by an order of the last sessions continued prisoners till the next. The reason why there were but four then named, seeing we were five in all, was, that Samuel Burgis, who was the fifth, not being well enough in health to be brought to the last sessions was not called or taken notice of there. But vigilant justice Craven was so careful to secure all that he had in hold, that when the sessions at Newbury was ended, he commanded the gaoler to bring Samuel Burgis before him, and some other justices at Speenhamland, where they tendered him the oath to continue his confinement to the next sessions. Which being appointed to be held at Abingdon, the gaoler received an order from Justice Craven to bring us thither at his peril.

Thither accordingly we were all five carried, that is, Samuel Burgis, George White, Edward Swain, John Sansom and myself; but when we came there, we were not called; for they adjourned the sessions to Wantage, to be held on the 29th of the fifth month, 1684. Whither we were had.

When we came there and were called, Tho. Medlicott, being chairman, asked for the mittimus; which the gaoler giving him, he said to us, you are here committed for the second time refusing the oath of allegiance.

Before he could go further, he was interrupted by the clerk of the peace, who having looked over the records of the last sessions, said softly to him, they had it tendered but once. Whereupon beginning again, he said, it seems the oath of allegiance hath been tendered to you by two justices of the peace, and you have refused it. Now if you shall refuse it again, you will be convicted of a præmunire, which is to forfeit all your goods and chattels, and to be kept in prison during life: it being the greatest penalty, next to felony, the law provides. I speak this to show you the danger, that you may not run yourselves unadvisedly into it. Then our names being called over, the clerk spake softly to him again, and told him, Oliver Sansom had the oath tendered twice to him already. Upon which the chairman directing his speech to me said, Mr. Sansom, although you have had the oath tendered twice already, and you have refused it, yet, if you will now take it you shall be acquitted. You shall hear it read; and when the clerk had read it, the chairman said to John Sansom, Mr. Sansom, will you take this oath? and earnestly pressed for his positive answer. And when John Sansom had signified his conscientious refusal to swear at all, because forbidden by Christ, the chairman turning to me said, Mr. Sansom, you have now heard the oath read, will you take it or not?

I stood silent for a while; which justice Hyde observing, said in a kind of flouting way, I'll warrant you, he will have something to say by and by.

After some little pause I said, I look upon it as unfair to tender this oath unto us, because it was not intended for such as we are, who cannot swear in any case; and I am persuaded, that justice Medlicott doth know that this statute was made against papists, or however, that this oath is to be tendered to none but them that in other cases will swear, and was never intended for us who cannot swear at all. For it is a very improper, and altogether unsuitable way to try or prove our allegiance to the king by swearing, when it is well known we dare not swear at all in any case, though it be never so much to our advantage.

The chairman here interposing said, what my judgment is in that case, you must pardon me in that. But I suppose, you stick at that scripture where it is said 'swear not at all.' But here you greatly mistake in taking it in a literal sense; you must interpret one scripture by another, to understand the meaning of it. What say you to that, 'an oath for confirmation shall be an end of strife?'

More he said in his way, to prove the lawfulness of swearing, but desired a short answer; for, said he, we have much business and but little time; we cannot stand long with you. We think it our duty to swear; and we are

* This epistle was written on one large sheet, and the original in O. S's. writing is carefully preserved.

upon our oaths to execute the king's laws; and this oath being lawfully tendered, you must give your answer, whether you will take it or not.

Then said I, it is very apparent that the king and parliament did not look upon us as liable to have this oath tendered to us, and to undergo the penalty provided for the refusal of it, merely for our conscientious refusing to swear at all; because there is an act since made, in the 13th and 14th of this king's reign, purposely against us; wherein are penalties provided for such as refuse to swear in any case. And if the imposing the oath of allegiance had, in the judgment of the lawmakers, being applicable to us, then would the introducing of this latter statute have been altogether superfluous. I do not mention this latter statute as desiring its execution: but would rather it were repealed.

Upon that, justice Hyde, in a reflecting manner, said, what is against you, you would have repealed?

The chairman said, affirmative laws remain still in force; although some are made since of the same tendency, yet they do not abrogate the former, as in the case of conventicles.

I said, we are a peaceable people, and never refused allegiance to the king or government. So that you have no more cause or reason to go about to make us to swear allegiance, than to compel us to swear to eat our food when we are hungry; for we cannot practice contrary to allegiance. Nay, further, if all of you should join together, and do the utmost you can to make us practice contrary, you cannot possibly do it.

Here I was interrupted by justice Hyde, who said, Oh! you talk strangely. Don't you keep up your meetings against the king's laws? Before I could answer him, which I might easily have done, by showing wherein our allegiance to the king was due, viz. not in spiritual or religious things, but in civil or temporal matters; and that therefore, our keeping up our meetings for the worship of God, though forbidden by law, is no breach of our allegiance to the king, any more than the primitive Christians, and the early protestants and martyrs keeping up the irreligious meetings, contrary to law, was a breach of their allegiance to their respective princes; I say, before I could answer, the chairman interposing said, Come, pray let us know, whether you will take the oath of allegiance or not; for we have a great deal to do.

I answered, I do not deny or refuse allegiance, but shall perform it as faithfully as any of you all.

You make comparisons said the chairman; but will you take up arms to aid and assist the king if need should require? We will venture our lives for the king.

If we do not fight, replied I, we may do the king as much good as those that do.

When I had said this they put me by and called Geo. White; and after him Edward Swain; and having asked them severally, if they would take the oath and entered their refusal, they then called Samuel Burgis. And the question being put to him, whether he would take the oath or not, he desired liberty to speak; which being granted, he with an audible voice declared in what manner he had been dealt with. As that at first, he with others were sent for from their own houses, to appear before three justices of the peace, who tendered them the oath of allegiance and sent them all to prison. Then going on, he showed how he and the rest of us had all along been used. And that we were always peaceable, and no manner of evil could be laid to our charge; for which he gave thanks to God. And having in this wise pretty fully and very notably spoken, he ceased.

Then said justice Parrett to the rest, ask him when he received the sacrament, whether or no he hath received it within this twelve-months. To which a Friend answered, we have been in prison above these twelve months. So after some more discourse to the same purpose they recorded all our refusals, being in haste as they said to go upon other business; and the chairman said to the gaoler, I think you must take them home with you again.

Thus we, the before-named five prisoners being remanded back to prison, were by the gaoler kept there until the next sessions, held at Newbury in the eighth month, 1684, whither we were then had and kept in an inn until the session was ended. For neither did the justices call for us, nor did the gaoler bring us forth, but kept us out of their sight; so that it is likely, we being out of sight, were also out of mind.

Then were we had back and continued prisoners, not only without bail or mainprize, but even without warrant or mittimus, until the next sessions. For the gaoler told us, that although he had no warrant to keep us, yet he dare not let us go; for, said he, they will hang me if it be in their power, if I let you go. But the gaoler, to give him his due, did show us what kindness he could.

The next sessions being at Reading, we were all five called to the bar on the 14th of the eleventh month, 1684, and an indictment was then read against us, for obstinately refusing the oath of allegiance, having been twice tendered to us. Whereupon we were severally required to plead to it guilty or not guilty; and serjeant Holt being chairman, began with John

ansom, saying, John Sansom, are you guilty r not guilty?

I desire, said John Sansom, to know what ill follow if I do not plead.

I'll tell you, said the chairman, what will fol-ow. You will be convicted of a præmunire; he penalty whereof is, to endure imprison-ment during life, and forfeit all your goods and hattels.

Then said John Sansom, I am not guilty, as s there expressed.

Then set down, said the chairman to the lerk, that he pleads not guilty as to manner nd form.

In like manner, Edward Swain, George White and Samuel Burgis, were called severally, one after another, and their answers were ll one, in denying the manner and form of the ndictment, and so they were set down.

Then the chairman said to me, Oliver Sanom, are you guilty of this indictment or not uilty?

I said, I desire to be answered one question.

What is that, said the chairman?

Is this, said I, the same indictment we shall ave when we come to trial next sessions, or ill it be altered? or will you have another?

He answered, this is the same indictment ou shall have next sessions at your trial.

I ask, said I, because I did hear it expressed n the beginning of it, that we were charged ith refusing the oath of allegiance, being twice endered; but I do not remember that I heard nentioned the place where, or the time when he first tender was made.

Upon that word, Thomas Staples, one of the ustices on the bench, speaking softly to the est, said, they will get off from this indictment ext sessions.

That made the old chairman angry; and hereupon he said, we will not read it any more now; it was more than we needed to have read it before. But you shall know the time and place, said he to me, when you come to trial. But will you plead guilty or not guilty?

I answered, I did not obstinately refuse the oath of allegiance; but did conscientiously refuse to swear at all.

Then was I as the rest, set down as pleading not guilty; and were all remanded back to prison again. But within about an hour, after we were come from the court, we were sent for to the George Inn, in Reading, where the justices dined. And after dinner, three of the worst of them, viz., Anthony Craven, Thomas Fettiplace and John Smith, ordered the gaoler to bring us before them, and began to tender us the oath afresh; and Thomas Fettiplace, being a forward man, began to read the oath to us. But I, perceiving they were preparing a new snare for us, made bold to interrupt him, and desired to know their intent, and what they did mean in tendering us the oath now.

At that he was angry, and refused to give any reason for their so doing, saying to me, I will not be examined by thee. So he went on and read it through, and then they asked us severally, whether we would take it; and our answers were all one in effect, viz., that inasmuch as we were all required, in open court this day, to plead to an indictment for refusing the oath of allegiance; we therefore desired to know whether we were clear from that indictment, before we give answer to this question. They would not speak to clear us from that indictment, but still urged upon us, will you take the oath now read? and we still severally replied to this effect, that we do not look upon ourselves obliged to answer to, or take any notice of this new tender, until we are cleared from the former indictment. Whereupon they appeared very fierce and angry, and caused a mittimus to be presently made for sending us to goal again; of which the copy here follows:—

"BERKS.

We send you herewith the bodies of Samuel Burgis, John Sansom, Oliver Sansom, George White and Edward Swain, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, being the first time tendered to them, upon this 14th day of January instant; there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until the next session of the peace, to be holden for this county. Dated under our hands and seals, the 14th day of January, Anno. Dom. 1684. R. R. Car. Secund. XXXVI.

ANTHONY CRAVEN.
THO. FETTIPLACE.
JOHN SMITH."

To the keeper of his Majesty's gaol in Reading, for the said county.

Between this time of our new commitment and the next sessions, I had occasion to expostulate our case with one of those three justices that committed us; namely, Thomas Fettiplace, of whom, and his dealings with us I think fit, before I proceed further, to give the reader some short account.

He having been in commission for the peace formerly, and put out, by the procurement of Hardwick the informer, when afterwards he got in again, became a cruel persecutor; and being a man of an eager, busy, restless spirit, he would take great pains to bring to pass his envious designs against dissenters.

He somewhat appeared at the sessions at Wantage, showing his teeth in what he could, and thereby discovering what lodged in his heart against us, but what he said there was but little heeded by any; he being inferior to all or most of the rest.

Shortly after that, I sent him a book, entituled, 'A Treatise on Oaths and Swearing,' for his better information, hoping he might come to be of a better mind by the next sessions; but he, on the contrary, appeared much worse than ever before; which I observing, a concern came upon me to write to him as followeth:—

"THOMAS FETTIPLACE,

In a serious consideration of thy late severe and rigorous deportment at the sessions at Reading, towards us, who have been long detained prisoners contrary both to law and justice, it came in my heart thus to query concerning thee. What doth this man mean, that he takes upon him to prosecute this cruelty against us? Would he outdo those that dealt with us before? Didst thou, thought I, but understand what thou wast about to do, surely then, thou wouldst desist and forbear to proceed any further, and not endeavour to drive and force us, whom thou canst not charge with evil doing, under the penalty of a præmunire. Oh! thought I, wilt thou go on directly in the way of Cain, in envy against us; that for want of power to kill thou wouldst bury us alive in prison, and become as an executor to our estates for the king. Surely this, considering our innocency, is an extremely hard measure, and very great cruelty. Then I pondered in my mind what thou couldst propose, of advantage to thyself by this undertaking; that thou shouldst thus strain thyself beyond thy usual natural temper, in appearing so fierce against us; and I did question whether it was not to please Anthony Craven and some others; that so by setting thy foot to tread upon us, thou mightest lift up thyself and endeavour to raise thy reputation, which lately seemed at an ebb, to that degree of greatness and worldly glory which ambitious minds aspire after. Now whether this be thy state, and that it is so really with thee, I shall leave to God's witness in thy own conscience to declare. But this I am certain of, thy end in this business cannot be good. And as sure as ever thou hast set thy heart, and lifted up thy hand against us, so surely will the just God in whom we trust, plead our cause, and visit thee for it, even with his righteous judgments, except thou repent.

It is foretold, and stands upon record in the Holy Scriptures, John xvi. ii., that the true believers in Christ should be haled before magistrates and rulers for keeping his commands, and some should be put to death; and their persecutors would be so greatly blinded, by the envy of the devil, that they would think they did God service in so doing. Again, it is also written and signified by the Spirit of God, that for trial of the members of Christ's church, the devil should cast some of them into prison, Rev. ii. 10.

Now this I have to say to thee, that these Scriptures are fulfilling as really now in our day and age, as in any time before us. And in tender love, I advise and warn thee to cease from persecuting of us, as thou dost desire thy own welfare. For it is certain and true that they are actually in the devil's work, who are persecuting and imprisoning people for obeying Christ's commands and worshipping God as he requires.

Therefore look to it; for it is but a little time and the separation will be made to the right hand or to the left; and the righteous Judge will account what is done against his people as done against himself. And when that dreadful sentence, Go ye cursed, shall be pronounced, the pretence of laws or human authority, can neither reverse it nor excuse from it.

Therefore I entreat thee to consider, and be advised in time, and as thou art sharp and dexterous in worldly matters, let thy abilities be employed to break the bonds of wickedness, and let the oppressed go free; and be merciful that thou mayest be blessed, and mayest obtain mercy; for it is said, 'he shall have judgment without mercy that doth not show mercy.' So in being kind and merciful, the greatest gain will be to thyself, for no man can have so much need of mercy from thee as thou hast of mercy from God.

In true love is this written, by him who desires thy welfare both in soul and body,

OLIVER SANSOM.

Reading Gaol, the 13th of Twelfth month, 1684.

P. S. I desire thee to return that book which I sent thee in love to peruse, for thy information concerning oaths and swearing; which I did hope might have satisfied and have convinced thee, that for sufficient reasons and approved grounds, we have refused to swear at all. But seeing thou wast pleased to say at the George Inn, at Reading, that it was a seditious book, I desire thee to manifest in writing, thy ground and reason as proof for thy so saying, and send it with the said book unto my wife in Farringdon. O. S."

The foregoing letter not working the desired effect upon him, but I still hearing by several hands, of the continued cruelty, violence and spoil, that was made upon our Friends, by and through the occasion of this Thomas Fettiplace, I was moved to write a second letter to him, to lay the weight of Friends sufferings upon him. And after this manner I wrote to him.

"THOMAS FETTIPLACE,

Forasmuch as I had lately a sight of an account of thy actions and proceedings against

our Friends in and about Farringdon, which was drawn up to be registered to after ages, I am indeed truly sorry for thee that thou shouldst do so badly as it appears thou hast done; for thy acts of cruelty being recorded, thy name among persecutors will be enrolled, and will be of an evil savour unto succeeding generations. Wherefore I once more desire and entreat thee to read in moderation, and consider seriously these following lines: that if thou wilt be advised to desist from cruelty, and exercise thyself in justice and mercy, we shall take notice of thy change, and more willingly record thy clemency than thy cruelty.

Now I place this persecution upon thee, because thou, as I am certified, art the most busybody in this bad business. For although thy brother Hide, and sometimes one justice more, may be present at your petty sessions, yet it is thou that takest upon thee to be speaker, and the rest being passive, thou carriest on matters according to thy own will; so that we can do no other than give every one his due, and lay the propagating and managing of these bad proceedings at thy door.

The two main matters objected as crimes against our Friends, and for which they suffer, are these. First, their conscientious absenting from that worship, which they believe is not the true worship of God. And secondly, their practising that which they believe to be true worship in obedience to God. And seeing that faith is the gift of God, who is both the author and finisher of it in the hearts of his people—and it is written, whatsoever is not of faith is sin—how darest thou endeavour to compel people to sin against God by acting contrary to their faith as aforesaid?

And besides, your practice in compelling by corporal and pecuniary punishments about religion and worship, is utterly contrary to the gospel of Christ and true Christianity; as by the testimony of the Holy Scriptures and other ecclesiastical histories, it evidently appears. For it is clearly manifest, that Christ himself and his faithful followers were hated and persecuted, but never did persecute any for not conforming to them in the practice of the true religion. So that it is clearly evident, that the church or people that persecutes about religion, is not of Christ, but of antichrist. For consider, if Christ and his apostles had done like you, to have gone with a company of magistrates, having warrants and mittimusses ready, to fine and imprison all that would not receive the gospel, what a pitiful parcel of proselytes dost thou think would then have been gathered? Nay, verily, it is far below the nobility of a true Christian spirit, to meddle with such tools as these, or to wrestle with flesh and blood to make members of the true church. We read, that Christ himself did whip some out of the temple, but never that he went to whip any in.

Truly I have been concerned for thee, because of thy going on in persecution against God and his people; knowing that a bitter cup thou must come to drink from the Lord's hand for the same, unless thou repent; and I have often considered, in pity to thee, poor man! that it would have been far better for thee, if, when thy commission was taken away, thou hadst never obtained it again, to do as thou hast done.

Also it is apparent to me, that thou hast acted quite beside thy proper business, as thou standest authorized both by God and man. For first the Lord requires that thou shouldst not bear the sword in vain; but shouldst be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well. Consider now, whether thou hast ruled for God in punishing and terrifying evil-doers, as drunkards, swearers, and profane persons, that they might not go on in their evil-doing, to the dishonour of God and the grief of sober people; or have not such been rather, by connivance at least, encouraged, and the godly sober people discouraged and punished. Secondly, thy commission from man is to keep the outward peace; consider whether thou dost not cause the peace to be frequently broken, by forcing one neighbour to rifle and distrain the goods of another, and sometimes haling to prison those whom thou canst in no wise charge with doing any man wrong, but must acknowledge they have lived peaceably in godliness and honesty; yet are made to suffer by thee only because, for conscience sake, they cannot go along with the hypocrites, drunkards and swearers to say after the hirelings, that they have left undone that which they ought to have done, and have done that which they ought not to have done; and that there is no health in them: whereas the Lord, in mercy hath given them, who are thus made to suffer, to know that he is their saving health, the physician of their souls, and hope of eternal glory revealed in them. For which let endless praises, thanksgiving and glory be given to the Lord our God, and to his Christ the heavenly Immanuel, over all for evermore, Amen.

And now in tender love to thy poor immortal soul, I advise and warn thee to cease from disturbing and troubling thy honest peaceable neighbours. For why should it be said that it is now become a crime, and brings us more in danger of punishment, now that thou art in authority, to worship God aright, as He by His spirit gives to believe; and to live a godly life, than to be drunkards, swearers or debauched profane persons? Hath not sad experience given too clear an evidence of these things in

this our age? which to them that have power in their hands to redress it, and do not endeavour to do it, is a reproach, and a shame to their profession of Christianity.

But be thou assured of this, that the Lord who searcheth the heart, hath thy life and breath in his hand, and will not be mocked by thee; but will give thee to reap according as thou sowest, and render thee a just reward according to thy works; and in his fear is this written for thy everlasting good,

By him who hath learned to love and pray for enemies and persecutors, called

OLIVER SANSOM.

Written in Reading Gaol, where I suffer for believing and obeying him, who said 'swear not at all,' 6th of Second month, 1685.

P. S.—Truly as the state of things now stands, thy doings seem very strange. What if he that now sits at the helm, should permit or encourage thee and others of thy mind, on purpose to try you, and to see what ye would do, to prosecute other protestants that dissent from you even unto blood? Which if the Lord should suffer, thou seemest too likely to be an instrument for the carrying on such a tragedy, in whose heart the old enemy who was a murderer from the beginning hath ruled and doth. And when you have done the worst you can against us, may not the Lord then in his justice, cause you to drink of the same cup, and to receive the same measure from others that you have meted to us?

I hear thou art very liberal to thy clerk, in giving him what thou hast no right unto, for writing thy warrants, viz: Twelve-pence a warrant, and if I mistake not, sometimes more; to be paid out of the spoil of the poor Quakers' goods, for all the warrants and mittimusses that thy cruel hand hath signed against them, besides the penalties imposed. May we not well question whether thou allowest him any other wages than this, which is thus oppressively extorted, because of the multitude of thy warrants. Let it be plainly understood by what law thou thus proceedest; for these doings of thine give a general dissatisfaction. One formerly said, there was nothing worse than legal tyranny. Take heed that thou art not found in it.

And furthermore consider, dost thou not think that other justices, who are more moderate and tender to their neighbours, are as good subjects to the king as thyself, and keep as clear a conscience in discharging their duty, expressed in their commission, as thou dost? who yet never had a hand in persecution, and do scorn to make a spoil upon sober people, as thou hast done. And as their tenderness will be for their honour here and peace hereafter; so thy rigour will be both to thy shame here and torment hereafter, without timely repentance.

But although I do write thus sharply, yet I can truly say it is not in wrath or enmity against thee; but in a fervent zeal for God against unrighteousness, and in love and good will to thee; that thou mightest not go on in that way which will end in misery. And as a testimony of my love I have an intent, and some hopes, to visit thee at thy house before many months more be expired, if the Lord enable and make way for me; and then I think to speak with thee about my book which I lent thee, and thou hast neglected to return. I am,

A lover of truth and just government,

O. S."

Underneath I wrote these Scriptures.

"He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." 2 Samuel xxiii. 3.

"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." Matt. vii. 12;—Saith the only judge and lawgiver who is to be heard in all things; and He and His sayings ought to have the pre-eminence above all men and their laws.

CHAPTER VIII.

With other Friends to the Quarter Sessions at Newbury—Are recommitted—Quarter Sessions at Abingdon—Again to prison—Sessions at Newbury—Back to prison—Letter to Fettiplace—Are liberated by a moderate Justice—Persecution at Farringdon—Petty Sessions there—For meeting O. S. is committed to Reading Gaol until delivered 'by due course of law'—Goes to prison carrying his own 'mittimus'—Letter to his wife.

IT was not long after this, that the quarter sessions came on again, and were held at Newbury on the 28th and 29th of the second month, 1685, to which we were brought and called in court, on the last day of the sessions, when but three of the justices, viz., Tho. Staples, Anthony Craven and Henry Fane, were on the bench. And after the oath was read to us, Staples being chairman, began with Samuel Burgis, asking him whether he would take the oath.

Samuel desired liberty to speak, and began a little; but Staples and Craven soon interrupted, and were very rugged and bad, fiercely pressing upon him and urging him to give a direct answer, whether he would take the oath or not?

Then the clerk called all five of us by our names, and being willing to make short work

with us, demanded whether all or either of us would take the oath. Whereupon I desired leave to ask the court one question, which was this; whether if the chairman in the court did promise us, the prisoners, anything touching your proceedings with us, we may not have ground to have such promises performed accordingly?

The chairman answered, we know not what you mean.

This, said I, is the plain case. At the last sessions at Reading, an indictment was brought against us for refusing the oath of allegiance; to which we, being required to plead, did all plead not guilty. I myself asked Sir Thomas Holt, who was then chairman, whether that was the same indictment which we should be tried by at the next sessions at Newbury? Or whether they intended to have another? and he promised plainly we should have the very same indictment without any alteration; I am persuaded justice Staples cannot but remember it. But he would not own that he remembered it, neither would they give any direct answer to it, but endeavoured to put us by it. Yet several of us spake to this effect. That seeing there was an indictment framed against us at the last sessions, and we were then compelled to plead to it, we looked upon it to be very unreasonable and unfair in them, now to seek new matter against us, but either to discharge us, or else go on to trial upon that indictment.

After some more such like discourse, which they seemed little to regard, the chairman proceeding, said,—

Gentlemen, This is the second tender of this oath, and if you refuse, I'll tell you the penalty is great; for you will incur a præmunire, which is to forfeit all your goods and chattels, and to be prisoners whilst you live. Therefore if you have any love to your liberties or regard to your families, I do advise you not to stand it out thus obstinately against the king's laws, in disobedience as you do; for the Scripture says, that he that will not provide for his family is worse than an infidel.

I presently replied, seeing the penalty is so great, and justice Staples said this day to the jury, in a case of felony, that the laws are very tender of the lives, liberties and limbs of the king's subject; and since this seems the last opportunity we are like to have to speak in our own defence; and our liberties and estates, which, except our lives, is our all in this world, lie at stake, and the Lord knows that we would gladly enjoy our liberties as well as other men, and do honestly endeavour to provide for our families according to our capacities, but we dare not disobey the Lord by breaking the commands of Christ, and so hazard the salvation of our souls, whatever we suffer in this world. And seeing we are a peaceable people, against whom no just ground, so much as of suspicion of disloyalty to the king, or of any attempt to subvert the government, can be justly charged; our conversations having been manifest to be peaceable towards our neighbours, amongst whom we have lived in this country, almost all our time. And as justice Staples said very well to the jury of this day, in a case of felony, that a man's reputation amongst his neighbours was very much to be observed, and would go a great way towards the finding of a prisoner guilty or acquitting him; so I hope our innocent deportment hitherto ought also in equity, to be regarded for the clearing of us from any suspicion of being dangerous to the king and government. And since there is no law that compels you to tender us this oath, who are persons you have no cause to suspect, for it is not the substance or matter contained in the oath, that we stick at, but because it is an oath, and we dare not swear at all, because Christ hath forbidden us; therefore it must needs be a very hard measure for you to impose this oath upon us, which is attended with so great a penalty, whereby to ruin us and our families absolutely as to this world. I desire you to consider of it, and to do by us as you yourselves, in the like case, would be done by. For the Lord knows our innocency, and will surely reward both you and us in due time, according to our doings.

Upon hearing this the justices seemed, for the present, somewhat more mild and calm; which made way for Samuel Burgis to speak something also, tending to the same purpose, which they patiently heard.

But then the clerk intimating that we were præmunired because we refused to plead; I thereupon answered, What! præmunire us without being indicted! We know of no indictment there was to plead to.

The chairman thereupon said, it is the judgment of able lawyers, that refusing the oath a second time incurreth a præmunire.

What! said I, without any jury! This is a strange and a new way to proceed without indictment or jury.

The clerk thereupon said, here is an indictment.

I replied, let us hear it then read up in English. Whereupon he filled up the blanks in an indictment he had ready drawn and did read it; and then they called us to plead to it, guilty or not guilty. And we all pleaded not guilty in manner and form. Which done we desired our liberty until the next sessions, which the chairman told us we should have, if we could get some to be bound in recognizance for our appearance. We told him we could not enter into bond in this case, because we were innocent, and suffered wrongfully; but if, said we,

you please to take our words we will promise, that if the Lord enable us, that we have health and liberty, we will not fail, but as certainly appear as if we were ever so much bound.

Much was spoken in good will to us by Henry Fane, one of the justices, to persuade us to give bail, but we still desired our words might be taken; which being refused, we were remanded to prison again, where we lay till the next quarter sessions, held at Abingdon, on the 21st of the Fifth month, 1685, whither we were all brought.

But before we were called in court, a great exercise and travail of spirit came upon me, under which I cried and breathed to the Lord in secret, that he would undertake for us, and strengthen us to stand faithful in the testimony he hath given us to bear, for His name and truth before men, that He might be glorified in us in the sight of our persecutors. And as I was thus inwardly exercised in praying to the Lord, and craving help from him, a Friend acquainted me privately that Thomas Medlicott did offer himself to be counsel on our behalf, and that some of our Friends were inclined to accept of it. But I showed my dislike of it, and told the Friends that inasmuch as the cause for which we suffered was the Lord's, I did believe the Lord himself would plead it for us, if we depended and relied upon him; so that we need not be beholden to any of the corrupt lawyers to take our parts, and my companions seeing me so bent, resolved against it also and spake no further of it.

This Thomas Medlicott was a counsellor at law, and had been a justice of the peace, and often chairman at sessions; but at this time was out of the commission, and some said he was put out for favouring dissenters. But to proceed.

We were all called in court, and the gaoler delivered in the order by which he kept us. But justice Craven demanded the former order upon the first tender of the oath, which the gaoler it seems had left behind him at Reading. Then Craven charged him to send for it at his peril; whereupon the gaoler was fain to send a messenger presently on purpose, who returning early next morning brought it.

Then were we all again called in court, Charles Parrett being chairman, a jury was empannelled, and sworn well and truly to try the issue between the king as they worded it, and the prisoners; but they might more truly have said, between the envious justices and the prisoners at the bar.

An indictment was then produced and read against us; and counsellor Medlicott, whom we had refused to accept of to plead for us, being now retained by our adversaries to plead against us, stood up and said he was counsel for the king.

Then Anthony Craven and Thomas Fettiplace, two of the justices on the bench, took their oaths as witnesses against us, that we had refused the first tender of the oath at Reading; and William Grove, the clerk of the peace, was sworn to witness our refusal on the second tender. After which counsellor Medlicott pleaded much, as did also some of the justices, in vindication of the indictment, setting forth the weight of the evidence, and how clear and plain a case it was, and out of all question that we had refused the oath as the indictment said; and much pains he took in pleading to satisfy the jury of the truth of the indictment and to incense them against us that they might find us guilty. But we stood all of us silent, and they never so much as asked us whether we had anything to say for ourselves.

I let them alone as long as I durst, to see what they would do; but when I saw the jury was, as I thought, just ready to withdraw, I asked the court this question, May we have liberty to speak to the jury?

Yes, said the chairman, you may if you have any thing to say.

Then addressing myself to the jury, I said;

Neighbours and Countrymen:

We might speak largely touching the innocency of our cause and the severity we have met with, but I shall pass by that at present, and speak only to this indictment, which you are to consider of, as well as my memory will serve. For it is to be noted, that the clerk would not let us have a copy of it, unless we would give him an excessive price for it; so that we had no further knowledge what was in it, than we could remember by hearing it once read.

In the first place said I, it is there expressed that the first tender of the oath to us was on the 14th of January so called, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Charles the second, and in the form of words there set down, which are to this effect, that we should acknowledge king James the second to be the true and rightful king of this realm, &c. Now you must note, that this oath could not be tendered to us in these words at that time, while king Charles reigned, for it would have been treason in them to have done it.

Upon that the chairman with the counsel, snatching up the indictment began to look upon Thomas Fettiplace and Anthony Craven, and to whisper together between themselves with the other justices.

Which I observing said, Thomas Fettiplace

and Sir Anthony Craven, insomuch as you are our accusers and witnesses against us, the law doth not allow you to be our judges too; therefore pray come down from the bench, or else be silent there. Whereupon justice Fettiplace went off from the bench.

Then stood up the counsel and to smooth over the matter said, this objection you make against the indictment relates only to matter of law, which the bench is to judge of; but the jury is to judge only of the matter of fact, whether or no the oath was twice tendered, and you refused it. Have you anything more to object against the indictment?

I answered, we have more to object: but we would have this well weighed by the jury, which of itself sufficiently proves the indictment false. Yet we have, I say, something to offer touching the second tender.

Let us hear said the chairman, what you have to say to that.

Thereupon I went on thus, this indictment says that the oath was tendered to us at the last quarter sessions at Newbury, before Sir Humphry Foster, Sir Thomas Holt, and the rest on the 28th day of April, &c. Now to this I object, that there was no oath tendered to us on that day, neither were we so much as called in court that day.

Here is Mr. Grove, who hath sworn it, said the chairman, shall we believe him upon his oath or you?

I do appeal said I to Sir Humphry Foster himself here present, seeing his name is mentioned in the indictment; and I do desire him to speak, whether he saw us called there, and the oath tendered to us or not.

Upon that Sir Humphry Foster said, I must needs say I did not see the oath tendered to them, nor was I present when they were called, although I was at the last sessions and took my oath there.

We desire, said I, the jury may take notice of this.

To wipe this off, the chairman and clerk both spake and said, there is but little weight in this objection, because the quarter sessions began on the 28th of April, therefore what was done at that sessions might bear date from that day, as in other cases of law at the terms held at London. And as for Sir Humphry Foster's not being present when the oath was tendered, that argues little seeing he was at the sessions.

Then said Edward Swain, one of the prisoners, do not go about to gloss over a false matter.

At that word the chairman angrily said, if there be any jesuit among you, let him read the indictment; and in a fume threw it on the table.

I not liking his expression said, if we were jesuits or that way inclined, it is probable we might find more favour from you.

Whereupon Sir Humphry Foster said, you do not well thus to reflect upon the bench as if we favoured papists.

Truly said I, the measure we have met with gives us just ground so to speak. For this oath was provided against papists; and we have been brought to seven or eight quarter sessions upon it, but do not know that in all this time one of them hath been proceeded against for this oath; though it is well known they don't scruple swearing; I speak not this that I desire their suffering, but to show that they have more favour than we. To the same purpose spake another Friend also.

Then began the chairman to sum up the matter to the jury, to inform them what we objected against the indictment, and to give them his answer thereunto; but he mentioned our objections but mincingly; wherefore I made bold to interrupt him by saying, pray let us state our own objections ourselves to the jury; and not staying for his answer went on thus.

In the first place I desire the jury to take notice, that the indictment says expressly, that the oath was tendered to us on the 14th day of January, in the thirty-sixth year of king Charles the second, in these very words: "that we should acknowledge king James the second to be the lawful and rightful king of this realm, &c." And to this Sir Anthony Craven and Thomas Fettiplace have both sworn. Now if this be true they are guilty of treason for so doing; but if it be false then they are guilty of perjury. This I repeated over again to their shame, and with great boldness openly showed in the face of the country, that through their envy against us, they had brought themselves under the guilt of either treason or perjury; from which they could in no wise escape or excuse themselves.

When I had done, much was said by the chairman and the counsel to salve the matter, but they never so much as went about to contradict the conclusion I had drawn; and when they had said all they could, they were fain to confess it was an error. And then the chairman proceeded to give the sum of the whole debate unto the jury; which to give him his due, finding himself well watched, he did pretty fairly.

So the jury went forth, and after a while returning gave in their verdict, not guilty.

Whereupon the chairman called out aloud, gaoler, look to the prisoners; for by and by they shall be called again. And in a little time we were all brought up again to the bar, and they began to tender us the oath afresh. But I objected against their doing so, saying:

We being acquitted by the jury, we desire

you to discharge us, and not seek further against us, but let us have our liberty, which is our right, and which in justice you should not refuse. Another of the prisoners said, we being cleared by the jury you will deal worse with us than with felons, if you deny us our liberty. And to the same purpose spoke another of us also. But the chairman bid us hearken to the oath. And the clerk began to read it, but he being interrupted, I took the opportunity to say:

We have been prisoners a long time already and no evil doing can be charged upon us; we are well known in this country, having lived nearly all our time in this county; let any man come forth and accuse us if he can of doing wrong to any man, or of plotting against the government; and as our deportment hath been peaceable hitherto, so you have no ground to suspect us for the future: therefore our liberty being our right, which by the laws of God and man we can justly claim, we desire you not to bar us of it.

The chairman then told us it is a dangerous time, there hath been a great rebellion lately by the dissenters, and you are dissenters from the church, and are likely enough to rebel if you had liberty.

I said, I am persuaded that thou thyself dost not believe that we would plot or rebel if we had our liberty.

Then the clerk read the oath, and they proceeded to tender it, beginning with Samuel Burgis.

Samuel Burgis, said the chairman, will you take the oath of allegiance?

Samuel answered, we have lived honestly and peaceably, and no rebellion or plotting can be laid to our charge, nor is there any cause wherefore this oath should be tendered to us. This with some more words of like import they took for his refusal. And then tendered it to John Sansom; who objected against the tendering it, and that was taken for his refusal.

Then said the chairman to me, Oliver Sansom, will you take the oath of allegiance?

I answered, if I could swear at all I should as soon swear allegiance to the king, as take any other oath whatsoever. But we are persons you cannot accuse of evil doing; yet your dealing hath been with rigour and cruelty, towards us, by confining us in prisons and haling us from one sessions to another these seven or eight times. But for my part I must needs say, that in this respect it is no grief at all to me, in that you have given me so many opportunities to confess Christ my Lord before men, whose command is "swear not all." And it is He that will be your judge, before whom ye must appear and receive according to your doings.

The chairman thereupon said, think not that the often tendering the oath will excuse you, we must continue it still until you take it.

It seems strange to me said I, that wise men should thus trouble themselves to seek to ensnare and oppress honest innocent men. Do you think that lying in prison can be without charge? And do you not believe that our families want us in our business at home? And besides it is not only a loss and hindrance to us in particular, but also a damage to the commonwealth; for several of us are known to be industrious, and have employed many at work. And further, this oath was made for papists, as the preamble of the statute plainly shows.

Then they read a branch of the statute of the third of James, to show that the oath might be tendered to any person above the age of twenty-one years, endeavouring thereby to convince us, that the oath might be legally tendered to us.

But pray take notice said I, what the statute says, viz. that upon presentment or indictment, the oath might be tendered. Now I would gladly know where the presentment or indictment is, that was the first ground of tendering the oath to us; for unless you can show that, you ought by this statute to forbear, and not proceed to tender it until some presentment or indictment be first brought against us.

But though we had at that time a good authority over them, and dominion in the truth to our satisfaction; yet they entered all our answers or objections against their tendering the oath, for our refusal. And then the chairman said to the gaoler, you are to take these men back and secure them, and come to Mr. Grove when the court is over, and take an order for them home with you, and see that you keep them close; for you let one out to dwell in Oxfordshire, and another to go about and keep conventicles, I must take a course with you: adding more such threatening words.

But he, poor man! was soon after secured himself and kept close in his coffin, for he died in a short time.

At parting I left these few words with them; the Lord knows, and our neighbours are witnesses, that we are innocent, and have given you no just cause wherefore you should deal thus hardly by us; but alas! for you, you will have the worst of it in the end, I say you will have the worst of it in the end if you, repent not.

So the gaoler went to the clerk of the peace and received from him an order of sessions, to continue us prisoners for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, being the first time of tender; when we had had it tendered over and over before.

We were committed now, not as sometimes before, to remain prisoners till the next sessions, but till we should be delivered by due course of law, yet we lay there till the next sessions. Which being held at Newbury on the 6th of the eighth month, 1685, we were had thither and all called by name in court. And when the clerk had read the oath of allegiance to us, Thomas Staples, being then chairman, asked Samuel Burgis, will you take this oath?

Samuel answered, I am satisfied that I should break the command of Christ if I should take it.

Then said the chairman to John Sansom, will you take this oath? and withal the crier holding the book to him said it is a good book.

Is it a Bible, said John Sansom.

Yes, said the crier.

Then I will do, said John Sansom, as that book commands.

The chairman then speaking to me said, Oliver Sansom will you take this oath?

I answered, I do believe and am fully persuaded that it is not lawful for Christians to swear in any case.

Then it seems we are all heathens, said the chairman.

If, said I, you could convince me by plain scripture that a Christian might take an oath, then if I should refuse this oath, it would be time enough to punish me for my refusal.

The chairman slightingly replied, I do not know that anybody will trouble himself so far with you.

Then had George White, and after him Edward Swain, the oath in like manner tendered to them, and their answers taken for refusals; for indeed they heeded not at all what any of us said, further than to ensnare us by it if they could.

Then having given the gaoler a fresh order to keep us still in prison, (and me close, upon an information of justice Fettiplace against me, that he had seen me abroad,) they adjourned the sessions for a little time to Wantage, and we were had back to our old place of confinement; where I had not long been, before a concern came upon me to write once more to Thomas Fettiplace, who had very illy behaved himself, both at the late sessions at Newbury, and in the country where he dwelt. Wherefore that I might clear my conscience in the sight of God and leave him wholly inexcusable, I wrote thus to him.

"THOMAS FETTIPLACE.

In the fear of God and in true love to thy immortal soul, I do once more visit thee with a letter, this third time, with desire if it may be, to dissuade thee from proceeding on in cruelty and persecution against innocent people for their tender consciences towards God, who cannot believe that church and worship to be of God, which thou wouldst force them to conform to. What, dost thou and others think that your cruelty will convince them that you are in the right? Oh imprudent men! will it not rather the more confirm them in their belief that you are certainly wrong? Because persecution is an undeniable proof, and a manifest mark of a false church; and whatsoever church or society shall imprison others or spoil their goods, merely for their conscientious dissenting from, or not joining with them in their worship, can never be accounted the Church of Christ, but of antichrist. And according to the scripture testimony, this false church hath been carried and borne up in the acts of cruelty and persecution by wilful merciless men, whose rage is so unreasonable and brutish, that they are termed the beast on which she rides. From whence proceeds the forcing and compelling about worship, and imposing upon the consciences of tender peaceable people, and fining and imprisoning them for their righteous dissenting; which is absolutely contrary and utterly repugnant to the precepts and doctrine of Christ Jesus, who foretold that his followers should suffer such things from their persecutors, as we do at this day suffer from you; which to you is a certain token of perdition, if ye repent not; but to us of salvation, and that from the Lord, if we persevere in patience and well-doing.

Indeed the cry of oppression hath been great, so far as thy authority hath reached, for many months past. And many accounts have come to my hands of abundance of distresses, made on harmless people for no evil doing; but I may truly say for well doing. I entreat thee consider what profit or benefit dost thou see arise by all this great ado and trouble, that by thy means is made in the country? Doth it not the more render your worship odious and your church loathsome, even to those that are at all religious, though as yet conforming to it? Let me persuade thee to be serious, and ponder well what the end of these things will be. For the Lord God, who searches thy heart seeth thy rage against him; and thy life and breath being in his hand, he can take it from thee when he pleaseth. And thou hast great cause to fear it, for indeed these thy doings have highly provoked his Divine Majesty, and greatly grieved his Holy Spirit, and his controversy is against thee for it, and the stroke of his fury shalt thou surely feel, unless thou repent.

And whereas at the late sessions at Newbury, thou didst inform against me, that thou didst meet me in Tubiny wood—if thou hadst asked me the occasion of my being

abroad I should readily have told thee the naked truth; which was that of necessity. I was in conscience concerned in a Christian care for the performance of a trust left upon me by deceased parents for their orphan children, during their minority. But let me in meekness ask thee, what have I done? I say, what evil canst thou lay to my charge, that I must be so closely confined, and that thou shouldst go about to punish the keeper for giving me a little liberty in so needful a concern? Truly it doth manifest a merciless mind in thee that is ready to take all advantages to act in cruelty towards me. And now if thou hast thy will to shut the prison doors with all straitness upon me, and seal me up in close confinement, what wilt thou gain to thyself by it? For my God is with me to comfort and preserve me still, and my innocent cause will he plead by his witness in thy conscience, which will be a terror to thy soul, from which thou canst not fly. And now thou wilt show thyself to be the cause of my close confinement, and the weight of my suffering will lie at thy door, and of thee will the Lord require it and requite thee for it, in the day when he shall visit thee.

And further, know this that my end and hearty desire is, that thou mayest know repentance, and obtain salvation for thy poor soul, and so escape that approaching misery and destruction which thou art hastening to inherit.

This is sent for a warning to thee from thy closely confined prisoner, only for keeping Christ's commands. OLIVER SANSOM.

Reading Gaol the 9th of Eighth month, 1685.

P. S. One thing more I may remind thee of, which is this. The poor man of Bourton and his wife, when thou didst dance after Hardwick the informer's pipe, had their goods taken away, even their very bed they lay on, and their covering that should keep them warm, by warrants from thee. And now that, as it is said, there are no more goods to be distrained, thou with others to complete your cruelty, and as much as in you lies their misery, have sent them to prison, not regarding if they perish by hunger and cold. Oh! consider of it. Is this the charity of your church ye would force us unto? and the mercy of you the chief members thereof? Be ashamed and blush for these doings, which with many more that might be mentioned will stand upon record unto future generations to the infamy of the actors of them.

O. S."

When the next quarter sessions came, which were held at Reading on the 12th of the eleventh month, 1685, we expected a trial, and two of us went with the gaoler to the court, where we waited until the court broke up, for the justices to go to dinner, and then delivered two papers to a moderate justice named Humphry Foster, desiring him to communicate them to his fellow-justices at dinner. He did so, and when they had dined, they sent to the gaoler to bring us all five to the Bear-inn, where they were, and when we were come thither, Humphry Foster came to us and said, we have perused your papers, what way do you resolve to take?

We answered we are not resolved on any way, but do hope the king is inclined to show us some favour.

What would you have me do for you, said he? Are ye willing to be called in court or not? We answered, we rather desire to be passed by and not called. What will follow then? said he. We shall be quiet, of course, replied we; at which he smiled and said, I can do nothing of myself; but do you stay here and I will come to you again.

So he went into the room where the other justices were, and consulted with them, and after awhile came to us again and said, you shall not be called in court, ye may be sure of it. Then turning to the gaoler he said, you need not be strict in keeping them close, but let them go about their business until the next sessions. So we were dismissed, and the rest of my Friends did all go to their respective habitations.

But as for me, I had not been at my outward habitation above two years; wherefore I desired the gaoler to let me have the liberty allowed us by the justices at the sessions. He said I had a bad neighbour, naming justice Fettiplace, who he feared would be displeased if he should let me go home. Yet the gaoler, bearing good will to me, and willing to show me what kindness he could, wrote a few lines to this angry justice to pacify him, and to let him know, inasmuch as he was not at the last sessions, what liberty was then granted; and what he had written he read to me, and then gave it me to carry and deliver as I thought fit. But indeed, when I had considered of it, I had not clearness to deliver it, because it seemed a cringing under the said Thomas Fettiplace, who was an envious, cruel, perjured or forsworn persecutor, as is plainly proved before, so as to ask his consent for my liberty, or in case of his dislike to return immediately back to prison again.

However, soon after I came home, I went to this persecutor's house to visit him, as I had formerly written him word I did intend to do. But when I came to him he looked very big upon me, and appeared in his words and carriage very fierce and churlish. And when I began to relate to him how kindly the justices at the late sessions had dealt with us, he would

ot have patience to hear me, but brake forth
opprobrious words, and bitter railing against
e gaoler for letting me go. Wherefore see-
g him in such a rage and passion, I came
way and left him.

This Thomas Fettiplace was a cruel perse-
utor of our Friends, and of other dissenters
lso when he could catch them, at Farringdon
d there-away, in fining and taking away
oods for not going to the worship he did; and
so for their meeting together to worship God.
is inveterate envy and malice he exercised
gainst them with all his might. The doors of
ir meeting-house at Farringdon were by his
ommand shut up and fastened in an extraor-
nary manner with locks and chains, and the
indows nailed up. And thus his wilful tyr-
nny was exercised against us for a long time.

But when our Friends heard that I was likely
come home, and to have some liberty again,
ey got open the doors of our meeting-house a
eek or ten days before I came out of prison;
hich they did in kindness to me, that this
ging persecutor might not lay the blame upon
e for the opening of them.

Now when I was come home, he soon be-
n to play his pranks again, and that he might
revent our meeting together, he commanded
e parish officers not to suffer the Quakers to
ave their meetings; threatening to fine them
ve pounds a-piece, if he found them negligent
erein.

He had an instrument or tool very fit for his
and, one John Edmundson, an envious man
nd an informer, one who was very officious to
ke away goods from our Friends, to answer
e fines unjustly imposed by our persecutor
ettiplace, and was therefore by him styled
udas that carried the bag. And this Judas or
dmundson, being then one of the church-
ardens, so called, sent and got together the
st of the officers, viz., Henry Burden, the
her warden, John Knight and Henry Guess,
thingmen, with other assistants, and on the
st day of the twelfth month, 1685, being the
rst-day of the week, came to our meeting
ouse in Farringdon, where we were assem-
led to the number of about thirty or forty, sit-
ng in silence waiting upon the Lord. And
hen they had pulled and haled till they had
ot us all out of the meeting house, the said
udas, Edmundson, plucking a key out of his
ocket, locked the door and so shut us out of
ur own house.

Then on the third-day following, which was
e 2nd of the first month, 1686, a petty ses-
ons was held at Farringdon, by the said
homas Fettiplace and two justices more,
amely, Humphry Hyde and Henry Purefoy,
ho especially the latter, did little more than
t like cyphers to fill up the number and make
Fettiplace the bigger figure. And Edmundson having, informer like, drawn up a list of all our names who were at that meeting, and set his hand to it, would have had all the other officers sign it too, but some of them refusing he complained of them to Fettiplace, who sending for them, threatened to send them to gaol unless they would set their hands to it.

That done, he commanded the constable of the hundred to fetch me forthwith before them, charging him to search the town for me, and if he could not find me in the town to search the hundred. The constable thereupon came to my house, and when he saw me he wished I had been out of his way that he had not lighted on me. I bid him not be troubled, for I did not fear what they could do against me, and readily went with him to the sessions.

But as soon as ever I came in sight of them, Fettiplace thus saluted me.

Oliver, I must send thee to gaol. Why didst thou not deliver the letter that Thorp sent by thee? or was there any letter? I cannot tell.

Yes, said I, there was a letter. Why didst thou not deliver it then? said he.

Because, said I, thou didst fall into such a passion, calling him knave and such like bad expressions, that I knew not how to speak to thee.

He said, thou camest to my house to affront me; and it seems had a letter for me and wouldst not deliver it.

I answered, I marvel thou wilt offer to speak so, whenas I gave thee no manner of provocation at all, and yet thou wast so extremely angry.

Then his brother Hyde to help him said, you should first have delivered the letter, which might probably have prevented his anger. Why did you not deliver it first?

I answered, the letter was written for my sake and about my concern, and I intended in the first place to relate the matter more fully than the letter did express, touching the original cause of the justices' kindness to us at the late sessions. Yet I never said I was discharged.

Thou art discharged said Fettiplace, I'll justify it, thou art discharged. But I don't know, added he, that I called Thorp a knave; but yet he being an officer under me, if he do play the knave, and not do his duty he may be told of it.

Thou oughtest then, replied I, to have told him his fault to his face, and not have railed against him behind his back. But as for me, I am sure I gave thee no kind of affront when I was at thy house.

Then said Thomas Fettiplace, here is an account that thou and many more had a meeting at the meeting house last Sunday. And looking about him he said, where is one of the officers? call him. And when the officer came

he said to him, was not this man, pointing to me, teaching or preaching, or speaking at the meeting?

The officer said when we came to disturb them, he asked us whether we had any warrant.

Was he not speaking, said justice Hyde, when you came in?

The officer answered, I heard him say nothing else.

Then said Fettiplace, either it must be a riotous meeting or a conventicle; if a riotous meeting we must fine them and send them all to gaol; but if a conventicle we must proceed to levy fines according to the act.

I said, you cannot conclude it a riotous meeting by law, unless we had met with weapons or the like to the terror of the people.

We know, said justice Hyde, that they do always meet there for worship.

Fettiplace added, and there the meeting-house doors have lately been broken open, and we will lay that upon thee said he, pointing to me. Constable, have him away said he.

I desire, said I, to know what law I have transgressed.

You are not so ignorant, said justice Hyde, but you know the law against conventicles. And with that he bid the clerk read part of the act against conventicles; the beginning, said he, which shows the reason of the statute; whereupon the clerk read the preamble of the act. And when he had done,

I said, if our meetings were indeed such as are here described, then you might justly proceed against us; but we are no such people; our meetings are not nor ever were seditious, nor our practices any way dangerous. Produce an instance either in former or latter times that can fasten any such thing upon us.

Upon that Fettiplace maliciously said, what was Monmouth's rebellion? and all the plots and conspiracies that have been? have they not been all contrived at such meetings? And that I might not have time to answer, he angrily commanded the constable to take me away. So that I had only time to say, I am an innocent man. The Lord forgive you all.

So the constable had me away to the tithing-man, and in a little time the following mittimus was sent after me.

"Berks.—To the tithing-man of the port of the parish of Farringdon: and to the keeper of his Majesty's gaol in Reading.

These are in his majesty's name to will and require you, that upon sight hereof you convey the body of Oliver Sansom to his majesty's gaol at Reading, for being taken at a public Quakers' meeting-house with several others at Farringdon aforesaid, upon Sunday last. Which said Quakers' meeting-house was above a year ago locked up by command of the justices of the peace of this county, and did so continue until the said Oliver Sansom was let out of prison by Mr. Thorp, keeper of the same. And these are likewise to command the keeper of the said gaol to receive him into his custody, and him safely to keep until he shall be delivered by due course of law. Hereof fail not at your perils. Given under our hands and seals at Farringdon aforesaid, the 2nd day of March, Anno Dom. 1686.

Henry Purefoy.
Humphry Hyde.
Tho. Fettiplace."

When the tithing-man had received this mittimus, being at that time full of business, he desired me to take it myself, and go to prison by myself, and excuse him from going with me. So I willing to ease the officer went twenty-five miles by myself to prison, and carried the mittimus along with me in my pocket.

[From the prison he wrote the following letter to his wife.]

Dear Wife,

My true and entire love salutes thee in the life which is divine, wherein our unity is and from whence all our refreshments flow, desiring and breathing that the God of our lives through his Son Christ Jesus, who is become a quickening spirit giving life unto us, may more and more fill our treasures that we through believing, may come to witness the flowing rivers of living waters even in our own bowels, to the glory and renown of our Heavenly Father and fountain of living mercies, to whom be endless praises over all for evermore. Amen.

By this thou mayest know that I am through the mercy and favour of my God well in health, and do desire to hear how thou dost, and how Friends do, and how it is with you as to persecutions. My dear love is to E. L. and his wife; I would have him be diligent to get Friends' sufferings together by the monthly men's meeting, that they may be brought to the quarterly meeting. And mind my dear love to thy sister J. V., and let the business be minded about settling the men's and women's meeting both on a day that it may be concluded, which I hope will be for the better. And if thou and Friends think fit, you may speak to Jane Turner, and encourage her to come to the men's meeting, and also send word to R. E. to be there, to the end that they may be appointed a hearing, that true judgment may go forth according to equity. I hope to write once more before the men's meeting. So with true and unfeigned love to all Friends, thy brother D. at Charney and his wife, my sister E. W. and to them at

Gooses, Charlow, and Farringdon and elsewhere, as if named.

In haste rest thy dear husband,

O. S.

Reading Gaol, 10th of First month, 1686.

Samuel Burgis is ill, he sent for me and I am just going to see him at the mill."

CHAPTER IX.

After lying in prison three years, is with other Friends liberated by the King's proclamation—The end of some of his persecutors—Visits some meetings—Travels in the ministry in Ireland—His epistle to Friends of Reading meeting—Continued labours in Ireland—His return home.

I lay in prison till the next general quarter sessions which were held at Newbury in the second month, 1686. Before which time king James had published a proclamation of liberty to prisoners on religious accounts. Whereupon the gaoler made a calender of all our names, who by this time were come to be fourteen in number, and of the causes of our commitments, and delivered it to the justices on the first day of the sessions, Thomas Staples being then chairman; and the next day being the fourteenth of the second month, we the prisoners drew up a short paper to be presented to the justices; of which this is a copy.

"Berks.—To the king's justices at the quarter sessions for the said county, held at Newbury the 14th day of the month called April, 1686.

These humbly show,

That whereas the king by his late proclamation bearing date the 10th of the month called March last, hath been pleased to grant a free and general pardon, release and discharge, unto such of his subjects as are convicted of a præmunire or indicted thereunto, or prosecuted for not coming to church, &c. And we being persons under such prosecutions, most of us now near three years, do hereby desire you also to commiserate our sufferings and grant us the benefit of the said proclamation, so as to be discharged of our imprisonment to follow our lawful callings as the king's subjects fearing God ought to do; who desire and pray for the peace and welfare of all men.

From the prisoners called Quakers, who are now attending the court to know your pleasure concerning us."

This paper was given into the hand of lord Sterling, and soon after was read by the clerk in open court; whereupon we were called for, and the gaoler was commanded to show the warrants for our commitments. And Thomas Fettiplace bid him bring forth the last mittimus for me, which being read, the chairman said, this is also before the date of the proclamation.

I observed upon it to the court, that my last mittimus did exceed the severity of the statute that was mentioned to be proceeded by, which was 22 Car. 2, against conventicles; which if I had been found a transgressor of it, extended no further than to fining, not to imprisoning.

The chairman answered, 'tis true, that act extends but to pecuniary punishments. But you were not discharged from the former. Justice Fettiplace when he committed me, said I was discharged, and he would justify it; but what can justify him for saying such a false thing? Therefore, said the chairman, you might be committed again if a justice of the peace saw meet, without any other crime objected. But now, added he, you should have brought your plea to exemplify your case to be within the proclamation. What can you plead for yourselves?

I know no need, replied I, that there is to plead or say so much in this case, for the proclamation is plain, and our case is clearly included in it, and we ought to be discharged according to the true intent thereof.

Justice Fettiplace taking hold of the chairman's words, viz., that we should have brought our plea to exemplify our case, and grudging us the king's favour, said, were it to me they should exemplify it.

But he was taken down by justice Whitfield, who said, I spoke lately with the attorney-general, and he certified me that the king's pleasure was that such people should have the full benefit of the proclamation; and that he had a peculiar favour for that sort of people for their quiet and peaceable demeanour.

Fettiplace hearing that said, is it so? I did not know so much.

The chairman, then speaking to us the prisoners, said, if you are discharged to-day and you keep meetings again, you will quickly be in the same condition, if you will still break the king's laws, unless the king will extend mercy to you every day. And by your keeping conventicles, you show yourselves to be some of the greatest enemies to the church.

While he took breath, I interposed and said, we worship God in sincerity, according as he hath given us to believe in our consciences; and herein I cannot see how we can be enemies to the true church.

When I had so said, the chairman went on with many words, and admonishing us to be subject to the laws, now that the king had show-

ed us so much mercy as to pass by what is past; and then pronounced us cleared, and discharged by the king's proclamation, yet added, if you will not take warning, you will quickly be in trouble again.

I will assure you, said Fettiplace, I will not be afraid to commit you again, if I find you transgressing the laws, while the same laws are in being.

Then stood up the clerk of the peace, and asked us for fees; and the chairman seconding him said, although the king discharge you from your imprisonment, yet he doth not discharge you from paying your fees.

I asked the clerk what should we pay thee fees for? Is it for drawing up indictments against us, and swearing against us, and that falsely too, as thou hast done? But, added I, if there be any laws that allow thee fees, I question not, but the same laws prescribe a way to recover them; and if we, being at liberty, do not fulfil the law, when we know it, thou mayest take thy course against us.

The chairman thereupon said, inasmuch as he is our officer, if you refuse to pay him what is his due, we must commit you to prison until you do pay it; that is the remedy the law provides for him. But if he demands more than his due we will take a course with him.

I answered, if we must be committed to prison again, I hope the Lord will give us patience to bear it.

Then a friendly man that stood near, asked the clerk how much he demanded. And he, after some little pause, answered, that it came to nearly three pounds a man; for said he, I have had nothing from them all along.

I over-hearing that, said, before I shall consent to this, I shall choose to lie in prison as long as I live.

The clerk, fearing he should get nothing began to sink, and said, I do but mention it, I shall leave it to yourselves to give me what you will; give me anything what you please, but come to my chamber, or one of you at least.

I seeing him come down, and that he rather asked something of us as a gift, than demanded it as his due, asked him, why may it not be as well to come to thy house, at any other time, when thou mayest be more at leisure? he answered, I would have you rather come to my chamber, when the court breaks up.

I replied, if we should, it is like thou wilt be very busy then. At which some of the justices smiled, as if they thought we sought to avoid speaking with him. Which I observing, said to them, William Grove the clerk, hath some knowledge of us; he knows we are no shirkers; if we engage or promise anything, he knows we don't fail in performing it.

The clerk owned it, saying, I know you very well that you may be trusted.

The chairman added, I must needs say this for them, they are a sort of people, that when they say the word, they do look upon themselves bound to perform it. Thus at length were we all discharged, after we had been prisoners, most of us near three years, and some above.

Now as touching the clerk, we considered together about him, and calling to mind that he had formerly showed some kindness when our Friends were presented and indicted as popish recusants; we found freedom, seeing he now left it freely to us, to make up a small sum; and towards the evening two or three of us went and gave it him at his chamber, and he was thankful for it. But as to the man himself, though he carried himself atop towards us; yet in the main, he was in himself a wretched wicked man. He had joined with Welman and Smith, those two perjured informers, to frustrate us in our appeals that we could not have justice done us; whereby they escaped the pillory, and he got twenty pounds costs from us to himself, as is before related. And as he lived a wicked life, so he made a wretched end; for soon after we were set at liberty, he died very miserably, being in great horror of mind, and fearing, as was confidently reported, that the devil would fetch him away. And in that terror death fetched him away.

As for those perjured informers; Welman became miserably poor, and within four years after was taken with a sore disease, of which in a few days he died. His wife fell sick also about the same time, and died soon after him. His eldest daughter, who was a lusty maid and at service, was about the same time taken with a grievous lameness, so that she became a cripple; and with the rest of his children became a great charge to the parish of Farringdon.

Angel Smith, the other informer, grew very poor also; and ran so far in debt, that not daring to show his face, as I foretold it would be with him, he was fain to fly the country, leaving his wife and children in a poor condition.

Now when I was got home, I settled to my business with my wife and family as before. And when I felt the drawings of the love of God in my heart, to visit Friends in their public meetings abroad, I went often forth, both in our own county of Berks, and the adjacent counties, as Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, to Bristol and other places. And after a year was thus spent, I had a pressure upon my spirit to visit my dear Friends once more in Ireland; and it pleased the Lord to provide me a fellow-traveller for that journey. For while I was preparing for it, it was so ordered that I did

meet with my dear friend and brother in the truth, John Beard,* of Nailsworth, in Gloucestershire; and when he understood how my spirit was engaged, he was made free to be my companion in that service. And thus we set forward.

On the 18th day of the second month, 1687, I left my own habitation in Farringdon, and having visited Friends in my way at Cirencester, I went to Nailsworth at night.

Early next morning, John Beard and I set forward on our journey, and coming to Painswick, tarried a while with Friends there, and then passed on to Gloucester; where also we made a little stay with Friends, and passed to Tewkesbury that night; but had not a meeting there though we saw most of the Friends.

The next day we went to the weekly meeting at Parshur, where the Lord was good to us, which greatly comforted and encouraged us in our journey; blessed be his name for ever.

The day following we went to Worcester, and had a good meeting with Friends there; wherein the faithful were refreshed and strengthened; and the Lord, in whom all our fresh springs are, was glorified; who is worthy to be blessed and praised for ever.

From thence we went next day to Bewdley, where, through the Lord's continued love, we had also a good meeting with Friends to our mutual satisfaction.

We came next day to Shrewsbury, where was a Friend of Broseley buried that day, which was the 23rd of the second month. And although we could not get thither early enough for the meeting at the burial, yet we came in before the Friends that accompanied the corpse were gone out of the town. Whereupon they all, save one or two, tarried there that night, that they might be at the meeting next day, which was the first-day of the week; and by that means the two meetings of Shrewsbury and Brosely were mostly joined together that day. And the living God who doth never fail them that trust in him, did graciously appear to refresh and strengthen the tender-hearted to their great joy and encouragement; for which let the praise and glory over all, be ascribed to him for ever.

Next day we went to Welch-Pool, and visited Friends there; and the day following, being the 26th of the second month, we came to Dolobran, where Charles Lloyd lived.

At this place was the yearly meeting for all Wales held that day, and the blessed presence of the Lord was wonderfully manifested among Friends, to the tendering of many hearts. And his overcoming love did so prevail, that many precious testimonies were given forth through many vessels, as well in the Welsh tongue as in the English, to the praise and glory of the Lord, and to the edifying of the assembly, which at that time was exceeding great, and held about seven hours.

We tarried there also the next day at their weekly meeting; where also, as before, the Lord was pleased to renew a precious sense of the continuation of his love and goodness to his waiting ones; blessed and praised be his worthy name for evermore.

From thence we passed next day to Llanoothin, where we had a good meeting amongst the Welsh people. And the same day we went to Thoingally near Baffa, where we had a little meeting the day following in the evening; in which the Lord according to his wonted kindness rewarded them that diligently waited on him, answering the sincere desire of their souls.

There we stayed till the first-day following, which was the first day also of the third month, and then had a pretty large meeting there in the meeting-house, that was near to the Friend's house where we lodged; and a precious meeting it was, for the Lord's power and presence was over all, blessed be his name for evermore.

Then early next morning we set forward for Holy-head, being by Friends accommodated with a guide, and we got thither in two days; it being fifty long miles, and most of it mountainous, rough, and very bad way.

* At this early period of our Society, it is probable that few of its faithful members escaped the rage of persecution, then so prevalent. In very many instances when no other particulars respecting a Friend are to be met with, his name may be found on record as having been in some way or other a sufferer for the cause of Truth. Such is the case, as far as the editor has been able to discover, with respect to John Beard.

A few years before the journey was undertaken, viz., in 1677, he, with some others, was accustomed to meet for divine worship at the house of a poor blind man, named Thomas Holborrow, who afterwards died a prisoner for his testimony to the Truth. On one of these occasions, the informers took J. B. by the hair, beat his head against a post, and threatened to cut off his ears; they followed him half a mile, beating, kicking and pinching him in a barbarous manner. At another time they put a rope about his neck, and so led him up the street. In the year 1683, he and two others, having come to the Sessions to hear the trial of one of their Friends, had the oath of allegiance tendered them, and [on refusing to take it] were sent to prison, where they lay fourteen months. After this, he and another Friend were recommitted to prison for refusing the oath, then again tendered to them in court. He was also one of fifty-six Friends who were discharged from prison in Gloucestershire, in the year 1686, by virtue of King James the second's Proclamation, the same by which O. Sansom and others were liberated in Berkshire.

There we parted with both our guide and our horses, giving him money to bear his charges, and to have back the horses to the Friends to whom we had sold them; for we had sold them some days before, only agreed to have them to carry us to Holy-head.

Here we tarried waiting for a passage, until the eighth of the third month. And that day about four in the morning we went on board a vessel, some call it a packet-boat, which commonly carries post-letters and packets between England and Ireland. They hoisted sails, but had much ado to get forth of the harbour, but when once they were got clear of the land, the ship sailed mighty swiftly, the wind blowing very stiff from the south. And it being a misty rainy day, the seamen fearing to fall to the leeward of the haven of Dublin, bore up hard towards the wind, so that when we came to discern the land, we found ourselves just right against Wicklow, twenty-four miles south of Dublin. But they soon tacked, and sailing before the wind, got safe into the haven; and the tide serving, went clear over the bar, and getting ashore were in the streets in Dublin about the sixth hour at night, just as Friends were going from their afternoon meeting. It was the first-day of the week, and abundance of Friends were there, it being the time of the national half-yearly meeting, which drew Friends thither from all parts of that nation.

Next morning the national meeting began at the great meeting-house, at the ninth hour. And the glorious presence of the Lord was manifested to the great refreshment and confirmation of his people; unto which several testimonies were borne for the space of about three hours, and concluded in prayer and praises to Lord.

Then the women withdrawing into an upper room, the men continued their meeting in the same place, and entered upon their business; and in great unity, love and sweetness things were proposed, debated, managed and concluded, to the mutual comfort and satisfaction of all faithful Friends; and then between the fifth and sixth hour in the afternoon, the meeting broke up.

And so sweet and pleasing was this meeting of our Friends, that they agreed to meet again the next day at the same time and place, and to have the meeting as near as might be in the same manner as the other was; which was accordingly performed in all points. And the presence of the Lord and his living power seemed more plentifully to overflow the meeting, and break forth through many vessels, even in the time of business, which did pleasantly obstruct it for a time; and so in great sweetness the meeting concluded at that time. But another was appointed to be held next day as a parting-meeting to conclude the national half-year's meeting.

Accordingly Friends came together at the ninth hour in the morning, and an heavenly openness and tenderness by the Lord's power, was over the meeting; and therein many living testimonies of the love and goodness of the Lord, were borne to the great satisfaction of faithful Friends. And about the second hour the meeting concluded, and Friends parted with comfort; rejoicing in the Lord, who had been so exceedingly good unto us, in our solemn assemblies, even all the time of this half year's meeting.

We were next day at the weekly meeting in Dublin, where also we had renewed cause to bless and praise the Lord our God; who never fails to refresh and strengthen them that sincerely wait upon him.

But my dear companion and I, not being yet clear of that city, we tarried there the next first-day also, and had two very large meetings; in which we found very great openness, through the Lord's heart tendering power, and refreshing presence which was over all; blessed be his worthy name for ever.

The next day we left Dublin and travelled northward, several Friends accompanying us to Drogheda, and lodged at Killeneer; and on the morrow had a meeting at the town of Drogheda, where much people came in; whereof many were said to be papists; and five or six, as we were informed, were friars if not jesuits. But whatever they were, the word of Truth was preached in the authority of God's power amongst them; and most of them demeaned themselves soberly, and tarried a considerable time; and many of them stayed until the meeting ended. And the Lord was pleased in tender mercy to manifest his precious presence, to the comfort and refreshment of his breathing people; unto whom he gave dominion in his own life over the dark unclean spirits; to the glory of his holy name and precious power, to whom it belongs for evermore.

After this meeting we went to Garlandstown, being accompanied by Friends; and the next day about forty miles to Leggekory; and on the day following were at the burial of a Friend, where was abundance of people; among whom we had a good opportunity at the grave; and afterwards the same day, we went to the weekly meeting at Ballihagan; and still the Lord's power did support us to the great comfort of the faithful.

Thence next day we went to a meeting at Charlow Mount, and the day following, which was the 21st of the third month, to a six weeks' meeting, held at Ballihagan, for the province of Ulster, which lasted two days; and the sweet and heavenly sense of the power and presence

of the Lord was blessedly felt, to the refreshing and confirming of his heritage, who never sought his face in vain; wherefore let honour, glory, and thanksgiving be offered up to him for evermore.

From hence, after meeting we went to John Robson's, at a place called Tunificarbet; and were next day at a meeting with Lurgan Friends; it being a particular six weeks' meeting; where the Lord's overcoming love was again renewed; to the refreshing of his people, and to the glory of his ever blessed name.

Next day we went to Ballinderry, where was a precious meeting and heavenly openness among Friends; through the lively operation of the power of the Lord; to whom be all living praises ascribed for evermore.

We went from thence to Lisnegarvy, on the 26th of the third month, where was also a very precious open meeting, especially towards the latter end; for the Lord's heart-tendering power was revealed to the great satisfaction of the faithful, and reproof of the slothful.

Then early the next morning we set forth for Carrickfergus; where was also a good meeting; Friends were well refreshed, and the name of the Lord praised and glorified, who is worthy and blessed for evermore.

From thence we travelled next day to Antrim; and on the morrow, being the first-day of the week, were at the meeting there; and the Lord in his wonted goodness refreshed the souls of his waiting ones.

Next day we took our journey to James More's, nigh to Ballymony; and on the morrow had a meeting there among Friends; which the Lord made good and precious to us, to the glory of His own name and to the mutual comfort of the upright in heart.

After the meeting, we came the same day to Grange; and the next day, being the first of the fourth month, went over the band to a weekly meeting at Toberhead; where a precious sense was again renewed of the love and goodness of our tender God; blessed be His name for ever.

We returned back to Grange at night, and were next day at the weekly meeting there. And the day following we went to a meeting appointed at Glanavy; to which many Friends came from about Ballinderry: and at both these meetings, the Lord gave us good cause to acknowledge his great goodness, in answering the sincere desires of his tender waiting people; blessed and praised be His holy name for ever.

Next day we went to Killmore; and on the morrow, being the first-day of the week, we were at Ballihagan meeting; and a large, good and precious meeting, through the goodness of the Lord, we had with his people; to our mutual satisfaction, and to the honour of his glorious name.

We went next day to Armagh, and there in the afternoon had a meeting; wherein the Lord's power was eminently manifested, to bear up our spirits in our testimony to his truth and way of life, among many brutish people and soldiers that thronged in. And after the meeting broke up, there was one more wicked than the rest broke out in a clamorous manner, villifying Friends and our principles, and our meetings; but the more sober of the soldiers appeared against him on behalf of Friends.

We took a long journey next day to Belturbet, in order to be at the weekly meeting there on the morrow; and a very tender open meeting it was, to the glory of our gracious God, whose overshadowing power and refreshing presence was blessedly enjoyed, to the satisfaction of his waiting people.

After the meeting we went that night to Cavan, and were next day at a weekly-meeting there; where the Lord in his wonted kindness crowned our assembly with his refreshing presence; blessed be His worthy name for ever. And after that meeting, we went to Old-Castle at night, and were at a weekly meeting there next day; and the Lord's mercy and goodness was still continued to us; blessed and praised be his name for evermore, Amen.

The next day we travelled on to the Moat of Grange. And the day following, being the first-day of the week, there was a large and precious meeting.

From thence next day we went to Edenderry, and had a meeting there on the morrow, where many soldiers came in and sat soberly to the end; and the Lord's heavenly power was over all to the comfort of the upright in heart.

Next day we went to Mount-mellick to the weekly meeting there; where again the Lord's tender love was renewed, and his living refreshing presence witnessed in the midst of his gathered ones; blessed be his worthy name for ever.

Here we made a little stop, and having no opportunity for any meeting, we spent three days in visiting Friends at Athy, Castle-Dermot and Philips-Town. And in this vacancy I wrote several letters for England; whereof one was directed to Friends of Reading meeting, and elsewhere in the county of Berks; and it was thus worded:—

"Dear Friends,

To whom my entire love sincerely reaches in our Lord Jesus Christ, and salutes you all, my dear Friends and faithful brethren and sisters who are concerned in your souls for God's cause, and engaged for the Truth as it is in Jesus our Lord; against him that is out of

Truth, whatsoever likeness he transforms himself into. I can truly say you are often in my mind, and my soul is concerned for you in sincere breathings to my God and your God; that he would give you, in the riches of his goodness, power and patience, in his meek and lowly spirit, to stand steadfast and to travel on in the pure leadings and guidance of him who is the Lamb, that perfect victory through his life, in the end may be obtained. When I consider the greatness of the power of darkness which gradually in many vessels hath prevailed, and in that deep subtilty and deceiveableness of unrighteousness, whereby many unwary souls have been beguiled and ensnared; and so through affection or by-ends giving up themselves to obey the transformed enemy, they have come by degrees to lose their tenderness; and jealousies and prejudices have entered; and hardness and darkness have grown upon them insensibly. So it is, even as when the good is embraced by believing and heartily joined unto, then a growing, and being leavened into the good is known; so likewise on the contrary, when the love of the Truth is not received and watchfully lived in, then the enemy beguiles with a likeness, and a little of his evil leaven given way to, leavens the whole lump.

O my dear Friends, what great need of watchfulness is there, and of Christian circumspection by every one of you, in an especial manner to be constant in! that a double portion of heavenly wisdom that is pure and peaceable, gentle, &c., may be breathed after and waited for; that in all your practices your lights may shine, and your conversations may preach and prevail where words can have no place. For the time is come that a serious inspection will be made into the lives and deportment of disagreeing parties, whose words may be alike, and conclusions will be drawn therefrom, that where the power and spirit of Christ doth indeed rule within; there the fruits of it may be discerned without. And so on the contrary where the evil root of bitterness is embraced, the fruits thereof cannot be hid; but will manifest themselves to that eye which God opens in his people to try and prove all things by.

O my Friends, my soul's desire is, that we all may quit ourselves like men and women really concerned for God; and cast off every weight and burden, or whatever would encumber our minds, or any ways hinder us from making full proof of our faithfulness to our God, for his glory, and for the good of all people, in this our day and time. And that we take great heed lest the cares of this present life, do choke the precious seed, or hinder the spreading of it in our hearts, and the appearances of it in all our practices. For this is certain, we cannot serve God and mammon. If the mind be hurried and encumbered with the concerns of this world, the heart will soon be overcharged and surfeited; and then the soul is distempered, hurt and oppressed; and at length comes to be taken prisoner, captivated and enslaved, and so rendered wholly incapable of serving the Lord while in that state.

Wherefore let all who through the knowledge of the Truth, have obtained freedom in any measure; O let every such an one stand fast in that liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free; and take great heed lest in heart there be a drawing back, and a coming to be entangled, and so brought into bondage again.

And Friends, I desire that a tender regard may still be had to those that are gone into opposition and separation, that no occasion may be given, which may be any obstruction to their returning; for while any of the sheep's nature, or lamb's innocent life is abiding in them, there is some hope of their returning to the fold. And now our Christian skill is with all diligence to be employed in a continued care, that not only all occasions of stumbling may be avoided, but that all holy endeavours may be used to recover and bring them back again to the fold; even in that love which would take up the strayed sheep upon the shoulder, that cannot be got to go, and cheerfully bring it to the fold with joy.

Oh! my Friends, in this exercise it is not words will reach, nor verbal reasonings or disputings prevail; it must be deeds and daily practice which will be effectual, either to clear ourselves, or recover any of them. And for this end, Friends, let our moderation be known to all men; give open evidence, that we are not immoderate in our desires, not excessive in our exercises in matters relating to this world; and let our daily doings declare that we are seeking a kingdom that is not of this world, and are laying up treasures in heaven, and are coveting to grow rich towards God. And if we do not exceed them in our deportment, and give open evidence of our moderation in our management of earthly matters, that our hearts are redeemed from the earth, and our love and affections fixed on heavenly things; I say, if this do not openly appear, we cannot be excusable before the Lord, but guilt will lie at our doors, of unfaithfulness towards our God, and of being short in our duty towards others as aforesaid.

So dear Friends, I, knowing in some measure the enemy's snares and workings, and how many this way have been beguiled, in giving way, to let their minds be drawn out in an eager pursuit, and earnest reaching after earthly riches, whereby a discomposure of

mind hath unawares been run into, and deep sorrow brought upon the soul as the reward of it; wherefore in true, tender brotherly love, I could not be clear without sending these lines as a token of that love and Christian care, that is in my heart for you all; sincerely desiring your welfare and preservation. And in that love and life, wherein we may feel one another present in spirit, though absent in body, I do dearly salute and greet you all, desiring your prayers to the Lord for me, who am your dear brother, OLIVER SANSOM.

Written at Mountmellick in Ireland, the 16th of Fourth month, 1687.

P. S. Mind my love very dearly to Friends at the next quarterly meeting, if this comes timely to hand, and let this epistle be made public among Friends, as in the wisdom of God, a service is seen. Things here in Ireland are quiet, meetings large and full, and Friends are lively, and zealously concerned for the interest of Truth."

Having despatched this with other letters for England, we left Mountmellick on the 19th day of the fourth month, being the first-day of the week, and went to a meeting at New Garden, where notice beforehand had been given. It was a very large meeting; and through the Lord's living presence and power manifested among us, it was a good time and a season of refreshment, and of comfort unto the breathing obedient ones, and of reproof to the slothful and disobedient.

On the 21st we had a meeting at Ballinakill, and the next day another at Mountrath; and the day following at Knockballymaher (James Richardson's castle,) we had a meeting, where many others besides Friends came in. And at all these the Lord our God was exceeding good unto his people in their assembling to wait upon Him; for which let the glory and praise be ascribed to Him for evermore.

From thence we travelled the next day thirty-two long Irish miles to the city of Limerick; and went the day after to their six-weeks' meeting, where we had good service for the Lord, to the comfort of faithful Friends. Here we tarried the next day also, which was the first-day of the week, and had two meetings, in which the Lord's tender love was still continued to us, blessed be His name, to the great encouragement and comfort of His people.

Next day we travelled to Charlowfield, and had a meeting there on the morrow; and another the day following at Mallow, in both which the Lord our God still attended us with his goodness and mercy to our soul's satisfaction; blessed and praised be his holy name.

After the meeting, we rode that evening twelve miles to the city of Cork, in extremely wet weather; and passed thence next morning to Bandon, to a meeting before appointed there; where also our tender God was very good unto us, in refreshing our souls together with his people; glory over all and endless praises be given to Him for evermore.

Next day, being the 1st of the fifth month, we returned to the city of Cork to the weekly meeting there, and it being the time of the general six-weeks' meeting for the province of Munster, we tarried there three days.

On the first-day of the week there were two meetings, in both which the blessed refreshing presence of the Lord, was sweetly and comfortably enjoyed in the midst of his gathered people, to their great satisfaction.

Next morning the meeting began about the ninth hour, and continued in worship until the twelfth; in which time many testimonies were borne of the Lord's great goodness to his people; and divers exhortations were given to Friends to stir them up to faithfulness in obeying and serving the Lord, and to be diligent in doing their duty in all points wherein they are concerned; especially in educating and training up their children carefully in the Truth. And the Lord's blessed power was witnessed to be over all, to the tendering many hearts, and convincing and reproving for remissness in that matter, and so concluded in prayer. And then Friends sat down again and applied themselves to consider of their business relating to Truth and the affairs of the church; which was proposed, managed and concluded in much calmness, love and unity; and about the fourth hour the meeting ended; and all along the Lord was exceedingly good unto His people, in vouchsafing His living refreshing presence in the midst, to their great comfort and encouragement, for which let all the honour and glory, and pure living praises, be ascribed unto Him who is the God of life over all blessed for ever. Amen.

Next day being 5th of the fifth month, we left the city of Cork, and my dear companion John Beard and I, finding it convenient for the service of Truth, agreed to travel apart for two or three days; so he went to a meeting at John Fennel's house, at Kilcommonbig; and I went to Youghal. And the same evening there was a little meeting at Deborah Sandhams', which was lively, fresh and comfortable to the upright in heart.

The day following a meeting being appointed at the meeting house in Youghal, many of the world's people came in as well as Friends; and the enjoyment of the good presence of our tender God was known in the midst, which made it a good time to the sincere hearted.

The same day I went to Tullow, and having

staid there a short time, went afterwards to Cuppoquin to lodge; and from thence next morning went to a meeting at Clonmell. Where, according to agreement, I met again with my dear companion; and the living, opening power of our tender God was sweetly enjoyed, to the refreshment and satisfaction of his breathing people, and to the honour and glory of His everlasting name.

That evening and again next morning we visited a Friend that was kept a close prisoner in Clonmell, for refusing to pay tithes; his name was Gershom Boate, a tender sensible Friend. And after we had been refreshed together, taking leave of him, we went forward to Waterford; where on the 10th of the fifth month, being the first-day of the week, we had two large precious meetings, at which many people besides Friends came in to hear; and the heart-tendering power and overcoming love of our God was over all, blessed be His name for ever.

From thence we went next day to Ross, and so to Wexford; and on the morrow had a meeting in that town, wherein our tender God was pleased as at other times to renew his refreshing love and life to the satisfaction of his hungry and thirsty ones, who in the sense thereof did praise His holy name together.

The same evening we went about four miles to Francis Randall's, at the Deeps; and the next day to a meeting at Lamb's-town, at the widow Cuppage's; and the Lord our God, who never fails them that fear him, did also make this a time of refreshment to his waiting people.

The next day we had a meeting at Edward Goddin's house near Enniscorthy, which was very large and precious. And the same day after the meeting, we travelled thirteen miles to Kilconner, where John Watson lives.

Then early next morning we went with many Friends in company towards the six-weeks' meeting for the province of Leinster. And as we went by Carlow, we visited a Friend that lay sick, with whom we spent some time in waiting on the Lord, and I was moved to supplicate the Lord on the Friend's behalf. Which done we passed on to Athy. Where also we spent some time with Friends, and there my companion was free to tarry that night; but I passed on with the Friends to Mountmellick.

Next morning, being the 16th day of the fifth month, we met together again at Rosenallis, at William Edmundson's house, where the province meeting was to be held that day.

About the tenth hour it began, and continued about three hours in testimonies to the mercy and goodness of God; and also in doctrine, exhortation, reproof and admonition, tending to the building up one another in the most holy faith, and so concluded in prayer. Then Friends went to consider of the business relating to the affairs of the church, which being despatched about the sixth hour in the evening, the meeting comfortably concluded.

Next day being the first of the week, the meeting began there again at the tenth hour, and was very large, for Friends came thither from all parts of the province, and it lasted near five hours, and the Lord was exceedingly good unto us, his people, beyond expression, in crowning his assemblies with his refreshing presence, and the over-shadowing of His glorious power was sensibly witnessed; endless praises and thanksgivings be offered up and ascribed unto Him over all, for evermore, Amen.

After this province meeting was ended and we were clear at that place, we passed away the same evening in company with many Friends, to Mountmellick, and had a meeting there that evening; to which many people came in, and some so late that the meeting lasted until the tenth hour at night or after; and the Lord's precious presence was still enjoyed in great love and favour, according to the sincere desires of his tender ones; blessed be His name for ever.

Next morning we went to a meeting appointed at Athy, where many of the world's people came. Among the rest there were two Friars, who desired the Friend of the house to let them in a back way, that they might not be seen, because they saw several papists about the door. So they stood in a by-room privately where they might hear and not be seen. And the Lord's goodness was extended in the clear openings of his life and power, so that the testimony of truth went forth very convincingly for the informing the inquirers and answering the opposers, and discovering and detecting the erroneous doctrines and principles, and superstitious practices of that dark generation of the Romish sect. And the meeting concluded quietly and well.

The next day we had a meeting at Kilconner, at John Watson's house; and the Lord did still graciously accompany us with his presence and power, to our comfort and encouragement amongst his people; blessed be His worthy name for ever.

Here at John Watson's we rested one day, most part of which we spent in writing letters to several Friends.

And having sent to appoint a meeting at Bellinacarge, in the county of Wicklow, we had a meeting there the next day; another on the morrow at Kilmurry, at John Wickham's house; where still we had great cause to acknowlege that God is good to his Israel, and

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glory over all and pure eternal praises be
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King eternal, the only wise God, blessed for ever and for evermore, Amen.

The next day there was a meeting to which I went, but my dear companion not being well did not go. I found it a refreshing meeting, and was encouraged in my service in the sense of the love and goodness of the Lord among His waiting ones.

The men's meeting for that city was on the next day, to which we both went, and were truly comforted and refreshed among them who were concerned in good earnest, for the glory of God and the prosperity of his holy Truth, and the good and welfare of his people.

The last meeting we were at there was on the 11th of the sixth month, 1687, and there was a marriage solemnized there that day. And the Lord our God, whose mercy endures for ever, and his loving-kindness never fails them that trust in him, was exceedingly good unto his people there; so that we were mutually refreshed together, and made joyful in his house of prayer. And indeed, all along throughout our whole journey, although with continual and hard travel we much spent ourselves, yet did our tender God still give us fresh encouragement by renewing our strength from day to day; and made his way, wherein he led us, pleasant, and his yoke we did indeed find to be easy; for which let the glory over all, and eternal praises be ascribed unto Him, who is God over all, blessed for ever, Amen.

And now, feeling our spirits clear of any further service in that nation, and an opportunity presenting for a passage to England, by a ship called the Dolphin, bound for Chester, we went on board the very same evening, after the meeting; many Friends accompanying us to the ship; and in endeared love and unity in the Truth, even in much tenderness of brotherly affection we parted there with them.

But the tide being much spent before the ship was ready, we could not get out of the haven, but were fain to cast anchor and tarry there all night.

Next morning we weighed anchor and got over the bar about the ninth hour, and with a fresh gale of southerly wind sailing on, we came near Holyhead about sunset.

But in the night the winds rose and the weather was stormy and tempestuous, and the ship tossed extremely; insomuch, that many were in fear of being cast away; for sometimes the ship did seem as if she were plunged quite under water; which made many of the passengers often cry out, and fall to their prayers, and a great noise they made of various notes, according to the diversity of their humours, for about two hours.

But as for us (my dear companion and me,)

through the love of our God we found an anchor for our souls, both sure and steadfast; so that we sat quietly trusting in the Lord with our souls resigned up to Him.

And in this time of great distress, we spake to the passengers, who were about sixty in number, concerning the condition of their souls. And they were willing to give ear then, being low in their minds, and, as they thought, in great danger: some of them promised that if the Lord would deliver them this time, they would live a new life; and many such like expressions they had. But the Lord, in his own time, was pleased to abate the winds and the swelling of the waves; and in his great mercy brought us all safe to land on the 13th day of the sixth month, about the twelfth hour of the day; and we went to Chester that afternoon, which was twelve miles.

The next day, being the first of the week, we were at the meeting in Chester, and notice having been given over night, it was pretty large; and the tender love of our God was preciously renewed amongst us, to the comforting and refreshing the sincere travailing ones.

From thence we passed next day to Shrewsbury, and on the morrow, we had a meeting with Friends there; and the next day another at Broseley, and so went to Bewdley at night; and from thence next day to the weekly meeting at Worcester. In all which meetings since we arrived in England, the Lord was exceedingly good to us, even as He had been in Ireland. So that, to his glory, we have good cause to acknowledge; that as He was pleased to lead us forth from our outward habitations, so he preserved and supported us by his power and conducted us all along by the hand of his love, in all our exercises, travels and services that he had led us into; and also by the same heavenly hand brought us back again safe to our outward habitations; after we had travelled in this journey more than eleven hundred miles.

CHAPTER X.

Religious liberty extended—The poll-tax; O. S.'s goods seized for not paying the tax as a priest—Removes to Abingdon—Goods twice seized for the poll-tax—Goods distrained for "Easter offerings"—Again for tithes—His address to the mayor and justice—Another to the priest—Further persecution—Conclusion.

After my return home, I laboured in the strength of the grace which the Lord had given me, in his work and service, visiting the meetings of Friends in our own county and other adjacent counties, and sometimes at London and Bristol, and other remote places; of which to give a particular narrative here would be too tedious.

It was now a time of settled liberty and toleration from the government, brought about by the providence of our God, that the weak and feeble ones might be strengthened and built up; and such as had been scattered in the late stormy times of persecution might be gathered again into the fold.

But though general sufferings were for the present removed, yet particular suffering still remained, as for tithes and other ecclesiastical demands, which lay heavy where they fell. Besides which, occasional sufferings sometimes fell on some, of which some part fell to my share on the following occasion.

In the year 1690, there came forth a poll-tax, by act of Parliament; in which all priests and ministers, so called, having a benefice of fifty pounds per year, were taxed to pay twenty shillings. And all preachers or teachers belonging to any dissenting meetings were ranked with them to be taxed. And hereupon I, though very unjustly, was numbered amongst the hirelings that had fifty pounds per annum for preaching, and as they, so I was taxed twenty shillings, although I never received a penny for preaching in my life. And because I refused to pay the said tax, and thereby to own myself a hireling, which I never was, my goods were distrained by Philip Farmer, one of the collectors of the said tax, who, with James Mills, tithingman, came to my house on the 14th day of the sixth month, 1690, and carried away one end of dyed cotton fustian, being twenty yards; which, at the lowest price, was worth twenty shillings.

Some little time after this, it pleased the Lord, in whose hand are the hearts of all men, to bring a close exercise upon me, for the removing of my outward habitation from Farringdon to Abingdon. I had had some little touches on my mind about it at certain seasons, for some years before. But now in the tenth month of the year, 1690, the concern came upon me with greater weight, and was backed with these considerations,—that three of the men Friends of Abingdon, had lately been removed by death; that the meeting there was very small, and hardly likely to be continued, without some additional assistance. Whereupon a travail of spirit came upon me, and a secret cry was often in me on this wise. O that the Lord would be pleased to make me an instrument in his hand, to reach to some of the professors in that place! For there were abundance of professors, Baptists and others, and many of them I was sensible, had tender breathings after the Lord, but were greatly clouded under their forms, and too many of them prejudiced against the Truth,

rough the false insinuations of their preachrs and teachers.

After I had thus been exercised for a while, t length in a yearning of bowels for the good f souls, and for the interest and advancement f Truth, I did with the unity of faithful Friends, efore whom I had timely laid the matter, reove from Farringdon in true self-denial, and to ny outward detriment for Truth sake, as I had one before in coming to Farringdon, and beran to settle in Abingdon in the seventh month, 691.

But I was scarce fully settled there, before nother poll-tax came forth, granted by act of 'arliament; by which, among other matters, it vas enacted, that all ministers, so called, havng a benefice of sixty pounds per year or upvards, and all preachers and teachers in any ongregation whatsoever, should be taxed, and nade to pay twenty shillings quarterly for one ear. Upon this I was taxed by the assessors nd set down in their rate to pay twenty shilngs quarterly. But when the collectors came nd demanded it, I refused to pay it, for conience sake towards God; because I had never eceived a penny for preaching, and therefore could not be clear to agree to pay anyhing for it. For as what I preached, I received freely from the Lord, so I freely communiated the same unto others. Wherefore I could ot consent to be numbered with the hirelings, r ranked among them who took sixty pounds er year, or upwards for preaching.

There were then several Baptist preachers in Abingdon, who were also taxed for preaching; nd some of them spake big, pretending they ould not pay it, whatever they suffered, but at ength to escape suffering they did comply.

But for my refusing to pay the said tax, the fficers, namely, Robert West, John Bowles, Thomas May, William King, Harim Pledell nd Nathaniel Hart, the six collectors of the oll-tax, with two constables, two tithingmen, nd the bellman, came to my house on the 14th ay of the third month, and distrained and carried away, as follows, viz:—

Seventeen yards and a quarter of cotton-fusan, worth seventeen shillings and threepence; n dozen of best laces two yards long, worth ight shillings and fourpence; five dozen and hree laces more, worth three shillings and tenence; total, one pound nine shillings and fiveence.

When the officers had sold these goods, they ame and brought one shilling, and throwing it nto the house went away.

The commissioners that signed the warrant or this distress, were Robt. Selwood, John ayn, Robt. Blackaller, James Corderoy.

When the time came for the second quarter- payment, two of the before-named collectors, Robert West and John Bowles, with Robert Pumphry, constable, came to my house and distrained, and carried away a new furnace, which cost one pound two shillings; a new quarto Bible, worth ten shillings; total, one pound twelve.

Awhile after, these three officers came again, hectoring and raging, and there being nobody at home but my maid-servant only, they searched my house from room to room, and at last took off from one of the beds a pair of blankets and a coverlet or rug, well worth together one pound two shillings; and with them they took also six yards of fustian, six shillings and ninepence; total, one pound eight shillings and ninepence: but they brought the furnace again; so that what they took for this quarter was one pound eighteen shillings and ninepence, without returning anything. And thus I was welcomed to Abingdon.

But to do the commissioners right, they afterwards took my case into consideration, and excused me from the other two quarterly payments.

In the twelfth month of this year, 1692, we lost a very honest Friend, and serviceable man among Friends in our county, William Austell of Oare. He was an honest, faithful man to the last, and died a prisoner for his testimony to the Truth.

I continued in the work of the Lord in my measure, sincerely seeking the advancement of Truth, and the welfare of Friends therein; and from the time of the last poll-tax, in 1692, no outward suffering came upon me until the year 1696.

Then one James Canaries, called a doctor of Divinity, and the chief priest of Abingdon, sent Ambrose Seeney his clerk, on the first-day of the sixth month, to demand of me tenpence per year, for five years, for Easter offerings; and I not answering his demand, the said priest complained of me to John Payn the then mayor, and James Curtain, that year justice of the peace. They sent a warrant to summon me to appear before them, which I did on the 26th of the seventh month, 1696, and called for the priest to prove his charge. He was not there, but they showed me the paper of his complaint, and said that was his proof. I told them that was only his say-so, which I denied, and it ought to be plainly proved before them to my face, else they should take no notice of it.

I heard very little more of this matter, until near a year after. About which time the priest prevailed with the then mayor, whose name was Robert Blackaller, and John Payn, who having been mayor the year before was then a justice in the borough, to summon me afresh to appear before them at the council-chamber, ad-

joining to the town-hall, where I accordingly appeared on the 31st of the sixth month, 1697.

When I came in, the mayor said, how do you do, neighbour? What is the reason you don't pay the vicar his dues? I answered, I never read in the Holy Scriptures of any vicars among the ministers of Christ, but the vicars are all of the Pope's making, and both them and their maker I utterly deny; and no dues from me belong to any of them.

So there was nothing further done against me at that time, by reason that the mayor only was there, and not the justice.

But on the 14th of the seventh month following, the mayor and justice being together, and the priest with them, they sent for me to come before them at the town-hall. And when I appeared, the mayor said to me, neighbour, I would have you pay the doctor, meaning the priest, his dues. Thereupon the priest said, he did not claim it upon a spiritual account, but by the law of the land; and but what is his due by act of Parliament, which, said he, all subjects of what persuasion soever ought to submit to.

I answered, thou canst not claim by that act merely as a subject; but only as a vicar; for as a subject, any other man that is a subject hath as much right to claim as thou. But thou being in place and office termed a vicar, which the Pope was the author of, on that score it must needs be that thou claimest; for if thou shouldest cease from and not perform thy pretended office, thou wouldest have no law whereby to make any claim at all.

Then the priest used many words to set forth his right by law for five years past. But I told him his law, that he pretended to claim by, had not been made one year as yet; and surely no law can punish a man for an offence committed before such law had its being; for the scripture says, where no law is, there is no transgression.

Then I showed him the judgment of the Attorney-General, which expressly says, none could justly be sued by that act, for any refusal of paying tithes or offerings, &c., which were due before the sessions of Parliament in which that act was passed.

The priest thereupon said, if I should claim but for the time since the act was made, what will you say to that?

I answered, if thou wouldst excuse me for one penny, and say, if I would pay that willingly, it should satisfy for all, I tell thee I cannot do it for conscience sake; for indeed, though law hath been occasionally mentioned, I came not here to plead law, but to plead conscience towards God, in what I refuse and testify against.

The priest said, he did marvel that any man should make conscience of that which was a right by law, and further he said, if the priests under the law had a right, he had the like now, or to that effect.

I told him the priests under the law had a right, by the express command of God to receive tithes, &c., which he had not; and yet they had no authority to take them by force.

He said he could prove by scripture that which was equivalent thereunto.

But I told him he could not: and that those then that took it by force were sons of Belial; as were the sons of Eli, though they were priests. I thought indeed, said I, and I have said it to some, that I took thee to be a wiser man than to stain thy coat for such trifles.

He said he was bound by his oath to maintain the accustomed dues; and began to plead that it was matter of conscience to him for his oath's sake, to prosecute me if I did not pay. And many more words he spake to the same purpose; which they would not give me liberty to reply to; for they had determined before hand what to do, and had prepared a warrant in readiness, which lay then on the table before I came there; and the mayor and justice afterwards signed it, to make distress on my goods.

The priest before reported asserted, that dissenters had their liberty by law, on the condition of paying their dues, &c., and said he, if they refuse to pay their dues, they have no right by law to enjoy their liberty in the exercise of their religion.

I said thou dost much mistake: for though the act doth not exempt them from paying such things as are unduly called dues; yet if they do refuse to pay them, they cannot therefore be deprived of the liberty granted them by that law.

Then as we were all passing away together, I said to the priest, such doings as these will be a blot in thy escutcheon, and remain to thy shame when thou art in thy grave.

About fourteen days after came Francis Giles, the tithingman, with the warrant before mentioned, and with him Ambrose Seeney, the priest's clerk, and Richard Painter the bellman, and for five years pretended dues unjustly claimed by the priest for Easter offerings for me and my wife, which he computed to be *4s. 2d.*, they distrained and took from me two gross of laces, worth at the lowest price nine shillings, and returned nothing. But in about half a year after, this high priest and doctor, James Canaries, died.

Sometime after this, I had a particular exercise on an unusual occasion, which thus happened.

There was a man who had lived long in Abingdon, whose name was Robert Payn, by trade a woollen draper, and by religious profession a baptist: but his wife was one of our Friends and frequented our meetings. It came

to pass that this man fell sick and died, and on the 12th of the tenth month, 1697, his body being to be laid in the ground, his wife invited me with many other of her neighbours to her husband's funeral: and I feeling some drawings thither, went. When I came to the house there were two large rooms nearly full and mostly of the baptist people. And having sat a little time, the word of the Lord came weightily upon me; whereby I was moved to go into the middle of the largest room; and the people being all silent, I declared the truth, in a short testimony to the light or manifestation of the spirit of Christ, which all people are visited by and lighted withal; with more to the same effect, which I spake for about a quarter of an hour. And when I ceased, one John Tompkins, an old Baptist Teacher, made some opposition. But I not having then opportunity to reply, I wrote him a letter in vindication of my testimony, to which I never received an answer.

I mentioned before, that Dr. James Canaries, the chief priest of Abingdon, who caused my goods to be taken away for his Easter offerings, as they call them, died about half a year after. And as the proverb says, seldom come a better; so bad as he was, a worse succeeded him. His name was Anthony Addesson, and he, as the former, was priest of the Parish called St. Helen's in Abingdon.

This man prosecuted me for wages, though very unjustly, because I not only never employed him, but always denied his work. He proceeded upon the act for the more easy recovery of small tithes, &c., and made his complaint to John Spinnage, the then mayor, and John Selwood, the town justice, in the year 1702, not against me only, but some others also, for not paying him tithes and offerings. Whereupon they gave forth a summons, for me to appear to answer the priest's complaint, but there was neither time nor place mentioned in the summons. I therefore told the officer that served it, that that summons signified nothing, which perhaps they might tell the mayor; for the same evening, the mayor sent one of his officers to me after the ninth hour, to have me come before him then to answer the priest's complaint. I told the officer it was an unseasonable time, and I was going to bed, being partly undressed, and I thought the priest's business was not of so great haste, but he might stay for a more convenient time; and I desired him to tell the mayor, that I should be willing to come to him at any seasonable time.

And to prevent any misunderstanding, I went next morning to the mayor, and let him know, that it was not in contempt of his authority that I did not come at his verbal command; but only because it was so late in the night, and he confessed it was an unseasonable time. Then I told him I would willingly have an hearing, to give my answer to the priest's complaint face to face. And after some more discourse he promised me fair dealings, and so we parted fairly.

After this I heard no more of it for several weeks. But about two months after, one of the officers came and acquainted me, that a warrant was granted to make distress upon my goods for the priest. And the same day, happening to meet with John Selwood the justice, I asked him if there was a warrant against me? He said there was. I asked him how they could grant a warrant without letting me have a summons to appear, that I might be heard in what I had to offer, in answer to the priest's complaint? Why! said he, had you no summons? I told him there was something called a summons, but neither time nor place mentioned in it for appearance. But said he, had you not a summons to appear last Tuesday at the Guild-hall? I told him I had none at all. Then he said, he would advise me to pay the minister, and make an end of it. And so he passed away, and we had no more discourse.

Now when this warrant had lain in the officers' hands some time, the priest went to them, and, as they reported, did threaten them; that seeing the warrant had been so long in their hands, and they had neglected the execution of it: if they did not forthwith execute the warrant, within three hours time, and help him to his money, he would put them, every man into the crown-office.

Upon this high menace, the parish-officers, viz., John Linsie, Flora Read, Thomas Bedwell, constables, and William Wells and Edward Baseley, called churchwardens, came in all haste to my house, on the 31st of the fifth month 1702, to make distress upon my goods, and showed me their warrant; which when I had read, I desired them to let me take a copy of it, and they with one consent granted it.

So I went to writing, and they went on to take what goods they pleased the meanwhile; but when I had just wrote out the copy, John Linsie came and took hold of the paper I had written, and tore it away from me, saying, they were advised that it was not safe for them to let me have a copy of their warrant. So they seized and carried away of my goods as followeth:

Seventy three yards and a half of flat silk lacing, which cost twelve shilling and threepence, one gross and a half of round thread laces, worth at lowest, six shillings and ninepence; five dozen and a half of flat penny laces, worth four shilling and three half-pence: three dozen of bobbin laces, two yards long, worth two shillings and sixpence; these goods

at the lowest price came to five shillings and sevenpence halfpenny.

The priest's claim, according to the custom used in Abingdon, for two year's offering for me and my wife, could be but twenty pence. But there was ten shillings set down in the warrant; for which they took the value of one pound five shillings and sevenpence halfpenny, and returned nothing again then. But about a year and a half after, part of the goods, to the value of nine shillings were sent back to my house, with two and fourpence in money. The goods, being my own, I received, but the money I refused, and the messenger that brought it carried it back again.

Soon after they had taken my goods away, in the consideration of their unjust and illegal proceedings, I wrote a letter to the mayor and the justice thus directed.

"To the Mayor of Abingdon, and John Selwood, justice for the same borough, these:

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS,

If the oppressed may have leave to complain, then I hope you will not blame me for these ensuing lines, in relation to the case depending between the greedy hireling and me, whom he persecutes for wages, though I never hired him.

First, as touching his complaint against me, the law directs it should be made in writing twenty days after demand; but this priest never made any lawful demand of me, not so much as to let me know what or how much he did claim.

And as to your summons, which was indeed but a mock summons, having neither time nor place mentioned in it, for appearance; I think no man can judge this to be a lawful summons. Which defect I thought at first to be an oversight of the clerk; but since considering what hath followed, I rather conclude it to be a design to hide the hireling, lest by appearing face to face, he should be made manifest.

And as for sending for me at ten at night without any warning; it was both unseasonable and unlawful, for the law allows reasonable warning. And although I did not come at that unseasonabe time, yet on the morrow I went, and told the mayor that my neglect of coming was not in any contempt of his authority, but only because it was so late at night; and the mayor knows that he confessed it was an unseasonable time. And then I requested the mayor to let me have an opportunity to meet with the priest face to face, that I might hear him prove his charge. And the mayor said he would have me and the priest speak together, and agree between ourselves. To which I replied, that seeing he had openly complained against me, therefore I thought it reasonable he should as openly prove, if he could, before my face, what he had complained against me behind my back, or to that effect I then spake, as the mayor well knows. And I further said, that I desired and expected to meet my adversary, when and where the mayor should appoint. To which the mayor answered and said, he hoped I should have no cause to call him, meaning the priest, my adversary. So he promising I should have fair dealing, I parted with him. But he knows, there was not one word of what the priest demanded, or of my refusing to pay, that passed between us.

So I waited long, expecting a summons to appear, that I might give in my answer to the priest's charge or accusation as the act allows. But instead thereof, after some weeks time, I was informed there was a warrant granted to make distress upon my goods for what the priest demanded, and what that was, I did not know, before I saw it in the warrant.

The iniquity of this priest's covetousness is much greater than was his predecessor's, whose demand was only tenpence a year; but this man's demand is five shillings a year, for I know not what.

Pray consider, is this fair or just; to give judgment without hearing the accused as well as the accuser. It hath been laid down as a maxim, that he who gives judgment in a case, upon hearing only one party, though the judgment may be just, yet he is an unjust judge.

And how could you say in your warrant that Oliver Sansom did appear, but refused to pay, &c.? I desire you to consider, when did I appear, and before whom that anything was demanded of me? Can anything be more untrue? You know an appearance in this case ought to be before two justices, for the law doth not empower one to act alone in it.

And whereas your officers having given me leave to take a copy of your warrant, just as I had wrote it, one of them tore it away and would not let me have it, that the shame of your doings might not appear: I do claim it as my common right, being a subject, to have copies, I being at the cost, of all proceedings against me that are under colour of law, both of the priest's complaint and of your summons, and warrant for distress: you know you ought not to carry things on clandestinely. Moreover, the act allows the liberty of appeal, in case I am grieved with your judgment; and ten days after notice given of what is adjudged, before any procedure to distrain; pray consider how illegally you have dealt with me.

And for the priest to threaten the officers as they say he did, that if they did not execute your warrant within three hours, he would put them every man into the crown-office. Doth not such language clearly discover that he is

not in the meek spirit of Christ, or practice of his ministers; but in the persecuting spirit of antichrist, and in the steps of popish hirelings; and that he serves not the Lord Jesus Christ, but his own belly, and his reward will be according to his works.

You are my neighbours, and because I love you, I am thus plain with you, and would not have you have a hand in gratifying the avarice of evil-minded men. So committing my case to the righteous judge of heaven and earth, to whom you as well as I must give an account, and receive a reward according to our deeds, I remain, your well-wishing friend,

OLIVER SANSOM.

Abingdon, the 3rd of Sixth month, 1702.

The priest was highly displeased with me for the foregoing letter; and meeting me in the street, he threatened to sue me at law for it. Whereupon, after some time, it came upon me to write to the priest thus:—

"ANTHONY ADDESSON,

I have had for sometime a concern upon my mind to write to thee, and in the love and fear of God to deal plainly with thee, because thou dost profess thyself to be a minister of Christ: but thy fruits declare thee to be false, and of antichrist, like to the false prophets and hirelings, which the true prophets, Christ and his apostles testified against; as by the Holy Scriptures is apparent. For Isaiah cried against them in his day, and called them greedy dumb dogs, that could never have enough, that sought for their gain from their quarter. Consider and see if thou art not in the same steps. And Jeremiah said, a wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land, viz. "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and the people love to have it so, &c." Jer. iv. 30. and chap. xxiii. throughout. See if thou hast not the very same marks. And Micah declared against such in his days that did preach for hire, and would cry peace, peace, to them that fed them; but them that would not put into their mouths, they prepared war against. Mic. iii. Now see if this be not thy practice. Many other places of the prophets' writings might be mentioned, which mark thee out plainly: and Christ himself said, beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves; but by their fruits, he said they should be known. So that it was not by their clothing, or their words, but their works or fruits should betray them, what spirit they were of. And he also pronounced woes against those who walked in long robes, and loved greeting in the markets, and the uppermost rooms at feasts, and to be called of men rabbi or master. Consider whether thou art not exactly pointed out here by Christ Jesus himself. Also the apostles in several of their epistles declared against such as taught for filthy lucre sake, and through covetousness, with feigned words, made merchandize of the people; and pronounced a woe against them that went in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam, who loved the wages of unrighteousness. Now see if thou art not as bad or worse than these: let thy doings speak, which do evidently manifest thee to be worse than thy father Balaam: for although he loved the wages of unrighteousness, yet he durst not take it: but thou wilt have it, and take it by force; and barest such rule by thy means, making the magistrates do thy drudgery, and compelling the parish officers by severe threats to be thy executioners, for thy dishonest gain, to make a spoil upon those thou didst never preach to. Oh! be ashamed, and blush for thy wickedness; and do not presume any longer to make a trade of the prophets' words, and Christ's and the apostles' words, written in the Holy Scriptures: when as the Holy Spirit, which was in them, hath given forth, in the same Scriptures, such large and repeated testimonies against thee and thy doings, and all such as thou art; who have run, but the Lord never sent you, and so have not at all profited, but deceived the people. So these things I lay before thee, which by the Holy Scriptures (thou callest thy rule,) are justly charged upon thee: and to the witness of God in thy own conscience, I do appeal for judgment, which will one day answer to the truth herein testified. And whether thou wilt hear or forbear, I have cleared my conscience of what lay upon me from the Lord to warn thee of: desiring thou mayest seek, and find a place of repentance before it be too late. And if ever thou dost obtain repentance unto life thou wilt know that I am thy friend, that desires thy soul's eternal welfare,

OLIVER SANSOM."

Abingdon, the 29th of Ninth month, 1702.

It was about two years after this before I heard of this priest again. And then in the tenth month, 1704, he made another complaint against me for more tithes and offerings. Whereupon the mayor (whose name was John Spinnage,) and John Selwood the justice, sent a verbal summons for me to appear before them. I appeared accordingly, and the priest was present to charge; but had no evidence to what he claimed, so the matter was for that time deferred.

But so subtle was this greedy priest, that awhile after he wrote a paper, containing on the one side his complaint against me and many others; and on the other side our names,

with the several sums he charged on us. And under his complaint there was drawn up a warrant bearing date the 14th of the month called January, 1705, for levying those sums by distress, which the priest had so charged in case payment was refused.

To this warrant the priest prevailed with the mayor and justice to set their hands and seals, against at least forty persons, without giving us any summons, or hearing what any of us had to say in our defence.

This warrant was kept private for near half a year; so that neither I nor any of our friends concerned in it knew anything of it. But about two months after the date of it, the mayor pretended that I and two more of our Friends should have a fair hearing, to give our answer to the priest's complaint. Whereupon according to his appointment, we went to his house; and found the priest at the mayor's door when we came; but when he saw us, he would not go in but slunk away, so that nothing could then be done. Yet the mayor then promised us, we should have a fair hearing, before any further proceedings should be against us. So we heard no more of it until the 5th day of the seventh month following, at which time the parish officers came to my house, and showed me the warrant, and withal gave me notice that they must shortly make distress upon my goods, by that warrant, unless I would pay the priest's demand.

Thereupon I went to the mayor, and reminded him of his promise which he acknowledged, and said he would speak with the priest again about it, which I suppose he did, for after two or three days, he sent me a note to desire me and another Friend to come to his house. We went accordingly on the 11th day of the seventh month, 1705, and the priest came also. And there had I a good opportunity, in the strength of the Lord to clear my conscience to the priest's face, in bearing my testimony against his unchristian practices, showing by plain scripture, that he was in the very way and steps of the false prophets, hirelings and false ministers; which the true prophets, Christ and his apostles testified against.

But the mayor, though a moderate man, being loath to displease the priest, took his affirmation without other proof, and granted his demand, which was twice as much as he could by law claim. And the priest having written a new copy of his old complaint, and writ a copy of the old warrant under, got the mayor and justice to set their hands and seals to this transcript of his, wherein were the names of abundance of persons of the parish, with a certain sum of money set to every man's name, what the priest was pleased to tax them at for his pretended dues. And his paper of names, filling near a side of a whole sheet of paper, was tacked to the warrant; which bore date the 14th of January as before.

With this warrant the two constables, William Lewis and William Hutt, with John Linsie and Henry Hall, called church-wardens, came to my house on the 21st of the said seventh month, 1705, and for five shillings and eightpence unjustly demanded, distrained and carried away a brass kettle and a pot. The kettle, which was worth fourteen shillings, they sold for eleven shillings and sixpence, and brought the pot home again, with four shillings and tenpence in money, which they said was the overplus. The pot I received, but refused to take the money; whereat they seemed displeased, and as they went away, threw it on the table, and there left it.

By what is above related, it may clearly be seen how the priests make the magistrates their servants, to do their drudgery for them, though against equity and justice.

Again in like manner, the said priest Anthony Addesson, in the year 1708, made his complaint against me to the then mayor, John Selwood; and Richard Ely, justice for the borough of Abingdon, for not paying his pretended dues, viz. tithes and offerings. The said complaint was in writing, and a warrant close to it on the same piece of paper, and all one handwriting, which the priest prevailed with the said mayor and justice to set their hands and seals unto, in which warrant was liberty granted for the priest to endorse on the backside thereof the names of all in the parish that were behind in paying what he claimed, and to charge them with what sums he pleased, and to make distress on their goods in case of non-payment. And I was charged six shillings and eightpence, which was more than twice as much as by law he could claim.

The said warrant was dated the 17th of the first month, 1708, and I heard nothing of it until the eighth month following, and on the 29th of the eighth month, 1708, the parish officers, namely Richard Sanders, constable, Edmund Bowel, church-warden, John Hawkins, serjeant and Edward Snow, the priest's clerk, came to my house with the said warrant, which they let me see, but would not suffer me to take a copy of it, though I much desired it, they seized and carried away two hundred and thirty-four yards of clock line, worth eighteen shillings and upwards.

The said Richard Ely, called a justice of the peace, whose hand and seal was to the warrant aforesaid, who had as to outward appearance carried himself smooth and loving towards me, but because he did so unjustly, in signing this illegal warrant, I could not be clear but to write a letter to him; a copy whereof here followeth.

Neighbour Ely,

Yesterday some of the parish officers came to my house with a warrant, bearing date the 17th of the month called March last, signed by John Selwood and thee; whereby I was charged with six shillings and eightpence, pretended to be due from me to your vicar: and for the said sum of six shillings and eightpence, they seized and carried away of my goods to the value of eighteen shillings.

Truly I do wonder that reputed wise men should be thus imposed upon by a false accuser, as to grant his accusation without proof; for of the said six shillings and eightpence, there must be five shillings of it charged upon the tithe of the fruit of the orchard at our burying ground for two years; and the fruit that I had thence at that time should be worth fifty shillings. But I can truly say from a certain assurance, that the fruit that I had at that time was not worth fifteen shillings, and I challenge your vicar and all his agents, to prove that it was worth more if they can: now thou knowest it is unjust to charge a man for tithe of fifty shillings when not worth fifteen shillings. I desire thee to consider of it, whether thy leader hath not caused thee to err greatly in this matter, and in love I advise thee to take heed in time how thou followest such leaders, lest thou fallest before thou art aware into the ditch of eternal misery. I am concerned to be more plain with thee, because I desired thee when thou wast mayor, not to grant the aforesaid vicar a warrant, unless he brought good evidence to prove what he demanded, according to the act you pretend to proceed by; though I must acknowledge, that your laws for forced maintenance, I cannot own, so as actively to obey them, because not agreeable to the law of God and the Holy Scriptures, yet I always submit passively by patient suffering without resistance, according to our peaceable Christian principle, what the Lord permits to be exercised upon us.

But if you had proceeded according to the direction and intention of the aforesaid act, as to cause the complainant to prove his charge, by substantial witnesses before my face; then you had not made yourselves guilty of so great injustice in this matter. I do not complain as being grieved for the loss of my goods, because it is for the testimony of my conscience against false teachers, who are such as the prophet called dogs, Isaiah lvi. 10—12. Yea, greedy dogs, that could never have enough, who sought for their gain from their quarter; surely it will not be easy to find a man more greedy than my accuser, whose fruits make him manifest to be but one of them, that Christ said, would come in the sheep's clothing, but are inwardly ravening wolves.

I can truly say, that in love and good will to thee, and for the clearing of my conscience, I have written and sent these lines; desiring thou mayest repent before it is too late, of what thou hast done amiss; that it may be well with thee both here and hereafter.

And know this, that I am not troubled for the loss of my goods, nor angry with thee though unjustly deprived of them, for I can say, through the Lord's goodness to me, that I have a treasure which the thief or robber cannot reach; yet I am somewhat concerned for thy sake, that thou shouldest be so drawn aside to do injustice, as is before expressed; which may bring a blemish upon thy name, and be of an ill savour when thy body is in the dust; so in that love of God, which can forgive injuries, and do good for evil, I take my leave and remain,

Thy well-wishing friend,

Oliver Sansom.

P. S. If thou please, thou mayest let John Selwood see this letter, he hath dealt unjustly by me in the like case formerly. But I did clear my conscience to him in writing then; and to John Spinnage also, the then mayor; but I did hope for better dealing from thee, though I have missed of my expectation.

O. S."

Abingdon, 30th of Eighth month, 1708.

Some time after, the said Richard Ely meeting me in the street, said to me, he had received a letter from me, and was sorry for what was done, but he did not think any harm of it; for the warrant was brought to him with the mayor's hand and seal to it; and he was desired to set his hand and seal, which he did, not designing any hurt to me, with more such words.

I told him, he ought to have done justice, and not to condemn a man without hearing or evidence; so we parted.

And it was a month or so, before the officers could sell the goods, but at length they sold them at a very low price, twelve shillings and sixpence. But when they had the money in their hands, the greedy priest being not content with the six shillings and eightpence charged upon the warrant, caused them to give four shillings, as one of them informed me, upon pretence that something was due to him for former arrears. In consideration of this priest's unjust and illegal proceedings, I could not be clear without writing a letter once more to him.

Which letter was delivered to his own hand, but he returned no answer.

And about the same time, two of the officers that took away my goods, came to my house and said, they had brought me some money, which they said, was the over-plus after the priest was paid. I then said, as I never em-

ployed them to sell any goods of mine, so I should not concern myself with their account; and when they saw I would not take it, they left tenpence on the table and went away.

[This concludes the narrative of this faithful minister of the gospel, and patient sufferer for the Truth, as recorded by himself. It appears from the date of the last letter, the transactions subsequent thereto, and the date of Oliver Sansom's decease, that he brought down his account to within a few months of the time when that event occurred. That which follows is from the pen of John Field, the compiler of three volumes of that valuable work, "Piety Promoted," and author of several short pieces.]

"NOTWITHSTANDING the aforegoing account of the Labours, Travels and Sufferings, as also the Testimonies concerning that ancient and innocent servant of Christ, Oliver Sansom, I am willing briefly to add what follows. He was a man sound in doctrine, of a savory and exemplary conversation, careful to observe Christian discipline, and for promoting good order in the church of Christ; faithful in his testimony for the blessed Truth, diligent in attending meetings at the appointed times, not only on first-days, but other days of the week, and to wait upon the Lord therein. And as the Lord was pleased to make him a minister of the word of life, so as he was opened by the power of it, he would therein exhort Friends to faithfulness and perseverance, in the work and service of the Lord, and to keep up their testimonies for Him, and to watchfulness pursuant to our Lord's general command to all, that none by the enemy of the soul's peace, might be drawn into that which would chill their love, cool their zeal, and cause them to decline therein: but that they might all go on in faithfulness, by knowing their strength renewed in a diligent waiting upon the Lord, might hold on their way to death that they might have the crown of life.

I have long known the sincerity of my deceased friend and brother, being acquainted with him above thirty years, and loved him for the Truth's sake, and his diligent service therein, and readiness to help, assist, and counsel the poor widow and the fatherless, and such that did apply to him for the same.

I held a correspondence with him for many years, upon the affairs of Truth and the sufferings of Friends for its sake; and his letters were grave and seasoned with that which made them savory, and showed that he wrote in a sense of the holy truth he possessed and suffered for.

What I thus write is principally to commend that holy life and power, and those virtues, that by the work thereof he was endued withal; and my friend, so far as he was worthy of commendation, as he was by being endowed therewith.

And it is my desire, that those that are yet on this side of the grave, may be excited more and more to love and obedience to the Lord, and thereby come to possess the like Christian virtues. And through faithfulness be fruitful in holiness, and therein continue unto death, and be a follower of our deceased friend as he followed Christ.

Then though we continue here many days or few, we all shall be blessed, for the righteous are blessed in their death, and their souls are in the hand of God, and shall be in peace with him for ever.

So with what our friend and brother said, a little before his departure, I shall conclude; viz. 'By reason of age, it is not likely I should continue long with Friends here. But, said he, be you faithful as I have been, and you will have the same reward as I am like to have, and be you followers of Christ, as you have had me for an example, for I have been true to what the Lord committed to my charge.

He departed this life the 23rd of the second month, 1710, and was buried at Abingdon on the 26th.

JOHN FIELD."

London, 15th of Fifth month, 1710.

A TESTIMONY

From the monthly meeting at Charlow in the Vale, in Berkshire, the 12th of the Third month, 1710, concerning our ancient and beloved brother, and servant of Christ, OLIVER SANSOM.

IT lives in our hearts to give forth the following Testimony, from an experimental knowledge of him and his faithful labours of love, that his ministry was plain and prevalent, and in the power and demonstration of the spirit; and he was not only a preacher up of love and good works, but practised them; and was one of whom it may be truly said, with respect to his readiness freely to impart of his outward substance to the poor and needy, as it was said of the merciful man, "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor, his righteousness endureth for ever." Psalm cxii. 9.

And his testimony was against all the pollutions of the world, against all pride, and the vain fashions and customs thereof, and he laboured that Truth might be in dominion amongst us, and that such who professed it might prosper and grow therein, according to the gift and grace of God bestowed upon them; and we can truly say, he was very serviceable both in his ministry and the other services of the Church,

and was preserved even to a good old age, in a holy life and exemplary conversation unto death.

He was a good husband, master, and neighbour, and a serviceable instrument in the hand of the Lord, for turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, and for the convincing, converting and confirming them in the faith of the gospel; and his memorial lives, and he is gathered as a shock of wheat in its season.

He was mindful to entertain strangers, to visit the prisoners, that suffered for Christ's sake, sympathized with the afflicted, and was careful over the widows and fatherless.

He admonished the disorderly walkers, and laboured with them and backsliders, to bring them to repentance and amendment of life.

And although it is our loss to part with him, it is to his gain; and the full persuasion thereof mixeth our sorrow with joy, being fully satisfied he hath his part in the kingdom of God, and is crowned with immortality and eternal life, and hath left us a good example, which we hope will not be forgotten by us, to keep to that power that wrought so effectually in him, that we, who are left behind, may trust in the Lord, and faithfully obey Him who is the Fountain of all our mercies, that we may answer his great love in visiting us both immediately and instrumentally, to persevere in well-doing, and be followers of our deceased friend, as he was a follower of Christ unto the end.

Thus we have given this short testimony for the glory of God, the magnifying of his living power, which through Christ Jesus was revealed and manifested in this our friend, elder, and brother in the Truth, who departed this life, the 23rd of the second month, 1710, and was buried the 26th following, in Friends' burying-ground at Abingdon; being accompanied with many Friends, and faithful testimonies were then borne to the Truth.

Signed on behalf of the said meeting, by us,

Thomas Withers.	William Orpwood.
Robert Withers.	Daniel Bunce, Jun.
Adam Lawrence.	Jeremiah Harman.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, have unity with our Friends of the monthly meeting of Charlow in the foregoing testimony, concerning our dear and well-beloved friend and brother, Oliver Sansom; and because it is very well and particularly set forth, we need here say no more for brevity sake concerning him.

From our monthly meeting at Reading, in the county of Berks, the 1st of the sixth month, 1710.

John Buy, Sen.	William Penn.
William Lamboll, Sen.	William Lawrence.
Daniel Bullock,	Richard Hoskin.
John Thorn.	Joshua Chesterman.
John Reason.	

N. B.—William Cooper, Mary Cooper, Sarah Withers, and Elizabeth Vokins, Daniel Flaxney, and Oliver Sansom, junior, having given distinct testimonies concerning the said Oliver Sansom, the substance whereof being included in the foregoing, the said particular testimonies therefore are not thought needful to be printed.

The testimony of Oxford Friends concerning Oliver Sansom.

In the remembrance of our dear friend deceased, whose memory remains sweet to us, we have this to say of him, our meeting being often visited by him. He had a tender care for the prosperity of truth in this place as well as in Abingdon, the place of his abode; where, with his testimony for the truth, his life and conversation was altogether consistent; which gave him an acceptable character, not only amongst Friends, but other sober people also; and when he was concerned to visit us at our meeting in Oxford, and had anything given him from the Lord to declare, he was supported to clear himself, and in his testimony took little notice of the rude behaviour of the scholars; but after the meeting would say, he had not seen the like in any place, especially at our burials, and bemoaned our exercise, yet he would often sit down with us to wait on the Lord; and we cannot forget his labours of love among us, and in our county, and have great satisfaction of his well-being with the Lord; and though our loss be his gain, yet the loss of holy men, sound in doctrine and clean in example is very great; and except the succeeding generation have a sense of the loss of such men, as fear and serve God in their age, it cannot be expected their services should be supplied by them; which, that it may be so, is, and shall be our desires to the Lord.

Signed on behalf of the meeting at Oxford, the 21st of the third month, 1710.

Thomas Nickolls, Jun.

Thomas Ellwood's *testimony concerning* Oliver Sansom.

That the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, we are assured by the royal Psalmist; and that the memory of the just is blessed, we are told by his wise son; the truth

of which is confirmed to us by our own experience: for from the beginning of the world, so far as the holy records reach, the righteous of all ages, whose names are therein mentioned, are to this day had in remembrance, and their memory is still sweet and blessed among us, though but briefly touched in the holy text. Enoch, it is said, walked with God, Gen. v. 24. That is a short but full remembrance of him. The like we read of Noah, Gen. vi. 9. "He was a just man and perfect in his generation; and walked with God." "Job was a perfect and upright man; one that feared God, and eschewed evil," Job i. 1, for which he is still had in remembrance by the righteous, and his memory is precious to this day.

The like, without drawing any comparison, may be truly said of our deceased friend and brother, Oliver Sansom;—that he was a just and upright man, one that feared God and eschewed evil: whose life, labours, travels, and sufferings are briefly recited in the foregoing sheets.

Though he came later into the Lord's vineyard than many others, yet from the time he did come in, he came not behind many others for painful diligence and watchful industry in the work he was called to.

For the last twenty years or more of his life, I knew him well, and conversed with him often, either personally or by writing. And from the knowledge I thus had of him, and the sense which dwells upon my spirit concerning him, I have this testimony to bear, in a few words of him, as to his honest and innocent life:—that he was a good steward of his Master's treasures; a faithful dispenser of the divine mysteries committed to him; an inward and heavenly-minded man, more in substance than in show; greater in power than in expression; a man meek and quiet in spirit, yet full in zeal; but that so well tempered with and governed by knowledge, that it tended to the good of all, not the hurt of any. Adorned he was with humility, temperance, and self-denial, valiant in the Lamb's war, and bold in defence of the truth; patient in suffering for the truth, through which he obtained the victory; so addicted he was, and wholly given up to the service and promotion of the Truth, that he spared not on all good occasions to spend as well as to be spent therein; contracting his own private expenses, and rather straitening himself, that (his outward estate not being great) he might be able the more freely to lay forth himself and it in public services for Truth and Friends.

The Lord send forth more such faithful labourers into his vineyard, and support and bless them in their labours therein till their work be finished, as he did him; of whom in a word it may be truly said—he lived and died a servant of the Lord.

THOMAS ELLWOOD.

The testimony of JANE SANSOM, *concerning her dearly beloved husband,* OLIVER SANSOM.

THIS testimony I have to give forth concerning my dear husband, whom the Lord in his great mercy was pleased to give me, which I can truly say was a great blessing from the Lord to me, for he was convinced of the blessed truth before me, and very helpful to me in my convincement, and always very careful for my prosperity in it; so that the loss of him is very great, and a trying exercise to me. But having had such a pattern before me as my dear husband was in meekness and humility, engages me to submit to the will of the Lord, which I find is most acceptable to him, and profitable to me; for the Lord gives and he takes away, and I may say with one of old, blessed be His name, in that he was pleased to spare my dear husband so long with me, as he did, to be a comfort to me, and to be serviceable in that work which the Lord in his mercy had called him to. I can truly say, that I never saw him cast down at any suffering that he met with for the testimony of Jesus, but was borne up in the heavenly patience, which is a great comfort to me now, yet his tender counsel and good example lives with me.

So having given forth this short testimony for the glory of God, and for the encouragement of the faithful to trust in the Lord alone, who raiseth up instruments for his own work and takes them away in his own time; this I can say to the praise of the Lord, that my dear husband was preserved to the last, in all his illness, in the heavenly patience.

JANE SANSOM.

THE CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES, GOSPEL LABOURS AND WRITINGS,

OF

THAT ANCIENT SERVANT OF CHRIST,

STEPHEN CRISP.

God giveth to man that is good in his sight, wisdom, and knowledge, and joy.—*Eccl.* ii. 26.

A PREFACE

y way of testimony concerning STEPHEN CRISP, *and his following works.*

ALTHOUGH my intimacy with our deceased iend was but of later years, yet I find some- ing in my mind to write concerning him, and commemoration of God's blessed power, and ord of life that reached him, and made him rough faith and obedience unto the Lord Je- s Christ, what he was; for that it is which is ost worthy of praise, and without it we are othing, nor able to do anything that tends to ur own peace, or the benefit of others.

It was by this, the Lord in the morning f this blessed day that he hath caused to spring om on high, visited his soul in this latter age f the world; wherein, after a night of dark- ess and time of apostacy, he was graciously leased, by that divine and heavenly light, hich he, in the beginning caused to shine out f darkness, to shine into the hearts of many, nd gave unto them the light of the knowledge f his glory, in the face of Christ Jesus, and ade them possessors of this treasure in their arthen vessels, that were poor and despicable struments in the eyes of the worldly wise and eir own, yet fitted and raised up by the power f him that raised up our Lord Jesus from the ead, commissioned and sent forth by the ord in the evidence and demonstration of his ternal Spirit, to publish the glad tidings of ence, to preach the gospel of life and salvation, nd to turn people from darkness to light, from e power of satan to God; that they might now remission of sin, and an inheritance mong them that are sanctified through faith in e Lord Jesus Christ, the true Light that light- th every man that cometh into the world.

This ministry, as it was of God, and these struments being raised, and sent by him, he blessed their labours, and made them success- ful for the good of many. By the ministry of one of these, though but a stripling, and young in years, viz., that servant of God, James Par- nell, who finished his testimony with his blood, and left many seals of his ministry in and about that very town of Colchester, where our dear deceased friend, Stephen Crisp was born, lived, was reached, and convinced of the bless- ed truth; and by the same word that he preach- ed and was an able minister of, was our worthy friend quickened, and made a serviceable min- ister of the gospel of Christ, and freely preach- ed the same about thirty-five years. He tra- velled for that end, in many parts of England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, and the Low countries, endured many hardships, was in several perils, and suffered imprisonment for his faithful testimony, for the precious truth, (as by his own journal of his life may more largely appear,) and through his exercise in the same, became capable to counsel and advise those that were under sufferings, and was ready to help them therein. He exhorted to, and practised charity, and was mindful to do good and communicate, a sacrifice well pleasing unto God; and also to assist many in their temporal affairs and settlement thereof; often pressing Friends thereto, and to do it timely, that no dif- ferences, discontents, or trouble might arise af- ter their decease. And was very serviceable in his advice to many widows, and helpful to fatherless children in divers respects; being en- dued with a good understanding both as a man and a Christian.

And he that endued him therewith, and gave him wisdom, preserved him in it, and blessed his labours in the gospel, and made his testi- mony serviceable to many, it being delivered in soundness of speech, with good demonstration, and accompanied with life and power. The consciences of many were so far reached, that

they have been made to confess to the soundness thereof, and to the power and truth it came from; and have been brought to be made witnesses, and partakers thereof, and the life and virtue therein, through faith and obedience to the same.

He was also a man that was zealous for truth, and the several testimonies it led us into, against the corrupt world, their ways, worship, vain fashions, and evil customs, and often exhorted Friends to mind the Lord's Spirit, and therein to do his business, and not in their own; nor to boggle or decline their testimony for truth, in any respect, either against the men-made ministers, forced maintenance, or their joining people together in marriage for filthy lucre's sake; or contributing to the repair of their worship houses; or against wars and fighting; and greatly disliked that any indirect way should be complied with by any, to shift or evade their testimony for the truth, in any respect.

Although, in the latter part of his time, he was through infirmity of body, unable to travel much, yet was he very diligent in frequenting meetings, and preaching the gospel therein, and to exhort Friends to brotherly love, provoking them to good works, and pressing them to diligence, and an exemplary conversation, and to train up their youth and children in that way, plainness and simplicity that became the truth, and the humble disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord incline the hearts of all that have them, so to do, that none may contribute of that substance God hath blessed them with, and made them stewards of, to gratify anything in their children, which may be to their hurt, or tend to impede them from succeeding their honest and tender parents, in that precious truth, and the plainness, humility, self-denial, love and tenderness it hath led them into, that the blessing of God may be continued on our offspring; and from age to age, and by one generation unto another, the Lord's worthy name may be praised, his truth exalted, and he renowned, who is worthy for ever. Amen.

In this holy truth, to our comfort, and his great joy, am I well satisfied, did this faithful servant of God finish his testimony and course in this world. And on the twenty-fourth of the sixth month, 1692, being under much bodily weakness and pain, he was visited by his ancient friend and brother, George Whitehead, who gave this account of the same, as the substance of some words spoken by S. Crisp, the twenty-fourth of the sixth month, 1692, viz. "I see an end of mortality, yet cannot come at it. I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this troublesome or painful body. If he will but say the word, it is done. Yet there is no cloud in my way. I have a full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus. My integrity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord, and I have peace and justification in Jesus Christ, who made me so, (that is, upright to God.) Dear George, I can live and die with thee; and my dear love is with thee, and to all the faithful in the church of God."

On the twenty-seventh, being the day before his departure, he said, "I hope I am gathering, (as his expression was understood,) I hope, I hope;" being then scarcely able to speak out his words. G. W. near parting from him asked him; "Dear Stephen, wouldst thou anything to Friends?" After some pause, S. C. gave his answer, viz. "Remember my dear love in Jesus Christ to all Friends."

On the twenty-eighth of the said month, he departed this life, and died in the Lord at Wansworth in Surrey, about four miles from London, to which place he was carried for the sake of the air, from the house of William Crouch in London, in a litter, to W. C.'s house there. Being very weak, he was accompanied by several Friends on foot with the litter, lest there should be any want of assistance.

After his decease, his body was brought to Grace-church street meeting house in London, where on the one-and-thirtieth, a great number of Friends and others met to accompany his corpse to the ground, and many living testimonies were borne there, by faithful brethren unto the truth. And then his body was borne on the shoulders of his friends and brethren that loved him for truth's sake, unto the burying ground at Bunhill Fields, and there interred. Several testimonies were also borne there at the grave, to the truth, for the sake of those that yet remain; and that all might love and live in that which makes lovely and living unto God and in his sight; and persevere in diligence and faithfulness in the Lord's work and service, and keep to that Power, and under the government of that Spirit which only is sufficient to enable us to follow the steps of them that followed Christ, and that we might run our race with cheerfulness, finish our course with joy, lay down our heads in peace, rest with the Lord for ever, and have a place in that kingdom that will never fade away.

That it may be so with all us that yet remain, is my sincere desire and earnest supplication unto the Lord; and that we may always abide in that love, which is the badge or mark of our discipleship, in that Spirit which is the bond of our peace, in that Life by which we have been redeemed, in that grace and faith by which we are saved, and be armed with the whole armour of light, and walk therein; that fellowship with God and one another we may know, and the cleansing virtue of his blood that died for us we may experience, to cleanse us

from all unrighteousness. Being so cleansed, may we possess our vessels in sanctification, and continue in the life of righteousness, and in holy fear wait upon the Lord, to be filled with that wisdom that is from above, and clothed with the righteousness of Christ, and covered with zeal as with a cloak, and endued with a good understanding, and guided by his counsel, and be received into glory, and have the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls; is the sincere breathing, and tender supplication of him who wisheth the good of all men, and prayeth Sion's prosperity, and the peace of Jerusalem, that God would make her an eternal excellency, and the praise of the whole earth.

And now having hinted at the author, commemorated the Lord's power, and commended his Spirit, Grace and Truth, by whom grace and Truth came, I shall, courteous reader, recommend thee thereto, and earnestly beseech thee to apply thy heart to it. Let thy mind in the perusal of the following writings, be uprightly exercised therein towards the Lord, that thou mayest truly savour from what spirit they came, for what end they were written; and so come to make a right use of them. By thy daily exercise and waiting upon the Lord therein, and living obedience thereunto, thou mayest be fitted and enabled to succeed in that life, spirit, and wisdom, which he was endued with. Dear Friends, it is our great encouragement that yet remain, to be faithful to the Lord, diligent in his work and service, zealous for his name, and our respective testimonies for the sake thereof, because that blessed Power, Spirit, Life and Wisdom, that raised up, fitted, furnished and endued this, and many more of our ancient, worthy, and honourable brethren, and made them so, blessed be his holy name, is still with us, and as sufficient as ever. The Lord is as willing to fill up the places of them he hath taken to himself, into the mansions of eternal glory, as he was in tender mercy favourably pleased to furnish them for his work and service, that it may be carried on to his praise, and the honour of his worthy name, from age to age, and from one generation to another.

And therefore let us that yet remain, be faithful unto the Lord, freely given up to follow him, and to manifest our love and respect unto our deceased friend and his works, by following that wholesome counsel and Christian advice, he hath by word and writing freely and frequently given us; that so we may by the same spirit and power, be enabled to follow and succeed him in his work and service, for the precious Truth.

So with the words of our Lord Jesus, the Way and Truth, I may conclude, viz.: "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." And in that love I desire always to remain,

Courteous reader,

Thy sincere friend and well-wisher,

JOHN FIELD.

George-Yard, London, the 14th of the Third month, 1694.

A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE OF STEPHEN CRISP,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CONVINCEMENT, TRAVELS, LABOURS AND SUFFERINGS, IN AND FOR THE TRUTH.

OH! all ye saints, and all ye inhabitants of the earth, let the name of Jehovah be famous among you, for there is no God like unto him; and let his mercies and judgments be remembered and recorded from generation to generation; for infinite is his goodness, and his loving kindness unspeakable. And although no man can fully recount his loving kindness to him reached out, yet let all men testify of his goodness, and declare of his mercies by which he is engaging the sons of men to himself, and winning and gathering again the scattered to the true rest. Therefore, well said David, "I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High; I will remember the works of the Lord: surely I will remember his wonders of old. I will meditate of all thy works, I will talk of thy doings." Psal. lxxvii. 10, 11, 12. Who can feel his goodness, and partake of his love, but it will constrain a testimony to him? In the sweet remembrance of his manifold innumerable mercies, I am even overcome. For my whole life hath been as a continued series of mercy and goodness, and all my days hath he been my upholder. When I knew him not he was nigh unto me; yea when I rebelled against him, he ceased not to be gracious; his covenant stood with his seed Christ; and for his sake he spared me. His long-suffering and patience were extended towards me, else I had been cut off in the days of my gainsaying. But oh! well may I say he is a God gracious and merciful, long-suffering, patient and full of compassion. Oh! let this his name be proclaimed to the ends of

the earth, and let the ears of the heathen be opened to hear the sound of his praise.

Surely the Lord hath had an eye of tender compassion upon me, from the day that he formed me, and hath appointed me to his praise, and to witness forth his goodness. For so soon as I can remember, and so soon as I was capable of understanding, he made me to understand that which consented not to any evil, but stood in my soul as a witness against all evil; and manifested that I should not lie, nor steal, or be stubborn, or be disobedient, but should behave myself in meekness and quietness, and set truth before me, as that which was better than falsehood. This same witness, even in the days of my childhood, ministered peace and boldness to me, when I hearkened to the counsel of it; but there was a contrary nature and seed in me that was of this world, and not of God, which inclined unto evil, and unto the way and manner of this evil world, as most of all suiting the carnal mind; and an eye began to open in me that saw what was acceptable with man, rather than what was well-pleasing to God.

And that eye being daily ministered unto by the various objects, and examples of vanity, a delight sprung up in that which was evil, and my senses became exercised with vanity, by which the pure seed became oppressed and grieved from day to day, and began to cry out against me; and condemnation began to be stirred up in me, and fear entered, where before, no fear was, and the pure innocency was lost. And then, having at any time done or spoken any evil, the [divine] Light, or pure principle in me, would manifest it to me, and show me that I ought not so to have done. I felt condemnation, which how to escape I knew not. But then the evil spirit that led to transgress, would always stand ready to help in this need. Sometimes it stirred up the subtilty in me, to plead a reason for what I had done, or a provocation, or a good intent, or else to deny, or at least to mitigate, the evil of my deed, and so to stop the mouth of the witness of God, and to see if I could escape the condemnation of the witness of God and procure my own peace.

But alas! this was a miserable help, for the light would often shine through all this, and quell my reasonings; and showed me, when I was but a child, that in a pure reason that is from God, there is no reason for any evil, let provocations, temptations, or examples be what they can, or will. So was I often stripped naked from all my reasoning and coverings; and then I learned another way to get ease from the judgment.

When I was very young, about seven or eight years old, I would use when judgment overtook me for evil, to yield that it was so; and therefore thought that I must do something to please God again, and so hereupon I learned to pray, and to weep in secret, and to covenant with God for more watchfulness, and so I thought for a season I was as one unburthened from my weight. Yet this best state was accompanied with many doubtings and questionings, whether my evils were blotted out, or no: especially when I saw that I was again overtaken by the evil spirit, and led into evil thoughts, words or actions. For the [divine] witness cried even then to have my whole mind given up to the Lord, and that in thought, word and deed, I should serve him, but I knew not that it was from God; but this I knew, that I wanted power to answer the requirings of that in me, which witnesseth against evil in me, and this I lamented day and night.

When I was about nine or ten years old, I sought the power of God with great diligence and earnestness, with strong cries and tears; and if I had had the whole world, I would have given it, to have known how to obtain power over my corruptions. And when I saw the carelessness of other children, and their profaneness, and that they did not, (that I could discern,) think of God, nor were in trouble, though they were far more wicked than I, in their speech and actions; ah, Lord! thought I, what will become of these? Seeing so heavy a hand is upon me, I can find neither peace, nor assurance of thy love.

Then the enemy would tempt me to rest, and be quiet, in that it was better with me than with others, and my reason wrought strongly to make up a peace to myself herein. But the pure witness followed me, and left me not, but pursued me night and day, and broke my peace faster than I could make it up, for my mind was in my own works, and I could see no further. I heard talk of a Christ and Saviour, but oh! thought I, that I knew him.

My ear was lent to the discourses and disputations of the times, which were very many; and one while I let in one thing, and another while another. Sometimes I heard men dispute that God sees no sin in his people; then I said, surely I am none of them; for he marketh all my transgressions. Otherwhile, men talked of an election and a reprobation of persons before time. I considered that diligently, and thought, if that were so, and I could but get so many signs and marks of an elect soul, as might bring me to quiet, then I would keep it; and not be so tossed as I had been. I grew a very diligent hearer and regarder of the best ministers, as they were reputed; and went with as much diligence and cheerfulness to reading, and to hearing sermons, as other children went to their play and sportings.

And when I heard any one treat upon that

int of election; and how a man might know he were elect, and would in their dark wis- n lay down signs of a true believer, and ns of an elect soul, then would I try myself heir measure, and weigh myself in their bal- ce, and so gather up a little peace to myself, ding such things in me as they spoke of for ns; as, a desire against sin, a loathing my- f for sin, a love to them that were counted best people, a longing to be rid of sin, &c. But alas! here was yet but the blind leading poor blind soul. This was not the bal- ce of the sanctuary; and when I had gotten ittle peace and quietness, and thought to hold alas, it would soon be shattered and broken. hen God's pure witness arose in me, that I ist be weighed in the true balance, oh then I ind I was much too light; then anguish uld again kindle in me, and a cry was in ; Oh whither shall I go? and what shall I ? that I may come to a settled state, before I hence and be seen no more.

In this woeful condition, the thoughts of ath would bring a dread over soul and body; d trembling and horror were often upon me, iring that I was set apart for a vessel of ath, and must bear the fiery indignation of od for ever. And oh, that word, 'for-ever,' uld often be terrible to me, but how to pre- nt it I knew not.

Now I began to perceive my own insuffi- ncy, and my want of God's power, and at it was not in my own power to keep my- lf out of sin, and the wages of it was death, that I was in a great strait, sometimes inking I had better give over seeking, and metimes thinking, if I perish I had better per- seeking. Here the good got the upper hand r a season, and I became a diligent seeker, d prayer, and mourner, and would often find t the most secret fields and unusual places, ere to pour out my complaints to the Lord.

When I was but about twelve years old, my neral and constant cry was after the power which I might overcome corruptions, and though I heard the teachers of those times, ily saying, none could live without sin, and e doctrine of perfection holden as a danger- s error, yet that did not abate my cry; ough indeed it did often weaken my belief of taining; and so made my prayer almost faith- ss, and without success. But I knew that ithout the power of God I must perish, let em say what they would, and I could not ckon myself saved while I was captivated ith a corrupt and rebellious nature, let them I say what they could. I remembered the ords of Christ, He that committeth sin is the rvant of sin, and that I knew was I.

In this iron furnace I toiled and laboured, d none knew my sorrows and griefs, which at times were almost intolerable, so that I wished I had never been born, or that my end might be like the beasts of the field, for I counted them happy, for they had no such bitter combat here as I had, nor should endure that hereafter, that I feared I must endure after all, for I did see my misery, but I saw no way to escape.

Then I thought I had best not keep my misery so close, but disclose it to some that may be might help me. But well might I say, miserable comforters I found them all to be; for they would bid me apply the promises by faith, and suck comfort out of the scriptures; and tell of the apostle's state, mentioned in the viith of the Romans, and tell me it was so with him, and yet he was a servant of Jesus Christ, and such like deceitful daubings as they had daubed themselves with, in like manner dealt they with me; not considering how the apostle called that a wretched and an undelivered state, as I might well do mine. But all these things took but little place in me; my wound remained unhealed, and he that wounded me and was able to have healed me, was nigh me, and I knew him not.

I went groping in that dark and dismal night of darkness, seeking the living among the dead, as many more did, but it was so dark that we that did so could not see one another. As for the priests and professors of those times, the most of them would boast of experiences, and of zeal, and of assurances of the love of God, and what comfort they enjoyed by thinking or meditating of the suffering of Christ for their sins, &c. Alas! thought I, I could think of these things as well you, but my wound still remains fresh, and I see that I am as one of the crucifiers, while I live in sin, for which he died.

My soul longed after some other kind of knowledge of him, than that which was to be attained by reading, for I saw that the worst, as well as the best, could attain to that. I durst not lean upon them so much as I had done, but then I began to be somewhat more loosened in my mind from the priests, (though I left them not wholly,) but now began to find out the meetings of those then called Separatists, and to hear their gifted men so called, whose doctrine, I took notice, savoured more of zeal and fervency, than most of the priests did, neither did I see them so covetous to make a gain of preaching, not yet being come to see how they coveted greatness and applause of men.

I was often affected with their preachings, but still the former bond was upon me, and they yet strengthened it: to wit, that if I were not elected, I could not be saved, and how I might know, no man could tell me to my satisfaction. The fear of this would often dash my comfort, and then I began to take notice of the loose walking of such Separatists, yea, even of the teachers among them, how that they

were not yet redeemed from foolish jesting, from idle words, from anger and passion, and sometimes it broke out brother against brother, and so ran out to parties, and to breaches and schisms, and rending their churches, which they often both built and pulled down with their own hands. I also saw how unconstant they were, sometimes letting in one doctrine, sometimes another, tossed with winds: but not a word could I hear how I might obtain power over sin. Over some sins and some lusts I had, but over all I had not; and nothing else would satisfy me.

I began when I was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, to seek yet further, and hearing of a people that held forth the death of Christ for all men, I went to hear them, and after some time I came to see that there was more light, and a clearer understanding of the Scriptures among them, than among the former. So I began to be conversant with them, and frequent in their meetings, and came to be established in that belief, that there was a dear Son of hope, and way or means of salvation prepared for all people, and none positively by any eternal decree excluded, as by name or person, but as unbelievers and disobedient.

This ministered comfort a while, and I set myself to believe, and to get faith in Christ, and to reckon myself a believer, and found it a hard work, even too hard for me, though I cried aloud many times to have my unbelief helped. When I saw sin prevail over me, alas! said I, where is that faith that purifies the heart, and giveth victory; mine is not such. Then would the pure witness of God arise and testify against me for my sin, and the more my understanding was enlarged, the sharper was my judgment. Now it grew so sharp, that I knew not how to endure it so well as I had done in my childhood. The rough and rebellious nature being now grown strong, and I in the prime and strength of my youth, and seeing how others spent their time in pleasure and vanity, a secret lust and desire kindled in me to partake of their cup.

Yet for a time I was kept in as with a bit; and rather took delight to take notice of the varieties of wits and inventions, that had been in foretime, which I found by books, being much given to reading, and so gathered many sayings and sentences of wise philosophers and sages, and in part obtained the knowledge of many ages gone before me; and these things I thought were as an ornament fitting me for discourse, and for the company of wise men. And alas! all this while self stood uncrucified, and all that was gotten was but sacrificed and offered up for the obtaining a reputation to self, which should have been kept in the cross. Yet this served me a while to feed that unwearied searching, seeking soul of mine withal; and many things I met with, became as a life unto it for a season, and I began to bless myself, that my time was no worse spent.

In this time I found two drawings, one strong drawing and enticement was into the world, wholly to give myself up to the pleasures, delights, and vanities of it: and another drawing was unto godliness, watchfulness, seriousness, &c. I, poor man, knew not what to do, as to religion. I saw divers, and felt a religious inclination in me, as I had done from a child, and could have been well content to have taken up some form of religion, but was sorely discouraged, because I could see none of them hold forth that which I wanted, either in their life or doctrine, to wit, power over corruptions, without which I knew religion would be in vain, and not answer the end for which I should take it up.

So I desisted taking up any form, and kept in the wild field of this world, and wandered up and down, sometimes to one sort of people, sometimes to another; taking a sharp inspection into their lives and doctrines, though I confess, I left my own garden undressed, until many noisome weeds overgrew it.

I began to lose my tenderness of conscience, which I had had, and began to take pleasure in the company of the wicked, and in many things to become like them, and came to be captivated more than ever with mirth and jollity. I oft would sing when I had cause to howl and mourn, and fell to gaming and pastime, and presumed upon the mercy of God, and had a secret belief, that God would one day manifest his power, and bring me out of this state. I therefore had often a dread upon me, of running so far into wickedness, as some others did, and was kept from many gross evils that my companions ran into; and herein was the infinite goodness of the Lord manifest, which when I came to see with a true eye, it broke my heart; yea, my heart and soul praiseth the Lord for his mercy, who kept me when I knew him not. And though provocations and temptations were many, that did attend me, yet out of divers abominations was I preserved, and I must say and acknowledge, as the Lord said to Abimelech, it was the Lord that preserved or kept me.

This kind of course of life went on for a season, about two or three years, until a weariness came upon me thereby. Many times in the very midst of all my mirth, the hand of the Lord would be heavy upon me, and his righteous judgment would kindle in me, and put a stop to my course, and then would I lament me in secret, and sometimes complain to others of my sore captivity and slavery to sin, and often

would I be arguing, and conferring with them that were counted experienced Christians, how peace and assurance might be attained. Some would say by reading and applying promises, but that way I had tried so often and so long, that it took now but little with me, for I saw I was in another state than that unto which the promises were made. Others said the only way was to be obedient to the commands and ordinances of Jesus Christ, and to be conformable to the primitive saints, in walking in church order and communion, where every one had the strength of many, and all the church bound to watch over every member.

To these counsellors I hearkened, and was willing to do any thing, to find the power, and reproach should not keep me back. So I took up that ordinance, as they called it, of water baptism, expecting then to have found power more than before. My will wrought strongly to bridle and keep down that airy part and sinful nature, and for a season strove to uphold and maintain myself to be in a better state than before, though the virtue that should sanctify and wash me I did not feel, my mind being abroad, and the reasons that kept me were not the operation of the pure love of God in my heart, and his grace prevailing in me, to teach me, but rather an eye to the reputation of my religion, and that I might not seem to have run and acted all in vain.

These reasons held but for a season, before the temptation grew too strong for my will, and the devil entered his own grounds, and prevailed upon me, and led me captive into sin and evil, and drew me into vain company and vain sports, and delights, and pastimes again as before. Then I sufficiently saw I wanted what I wanted before, and had grasped but at a shadow, and catched nothing but wind, and that my baptism was short of John's, who did indeed baptize with a baptism of repentance, and prepared the way of the Lord, and made his path straight. But mine did not so much, and therefore was much more short of the baptism of Christ, in which the fire was to be found, that should burn up what was offensive to God, and grieved his Holy Spirit, and then fill me with his Spirit, which takes delight in nothing that is corrupt.

This baptism I saw was wanting, and therefore a dissatisfaction began to grow up in me, both of myself, and of my way; and I testified unto the elders, so called, of the church, that God would shortly overturn all our worships and religions, which stood in outward and carnal things, and would make known some way a-top of them all, that should stand for ever. When they inquired what that way should be, I confessed I knew not, but waited to see what it might be.

About those days many exercised themselves in talking and discoursing of a people called Quakers, after whom I listened, but though I hearkened with great diligence, I could hear no good report of them, but much harm, and many false and wicked lies were cast upon them; only this I took notice of, that they suffered cruel mockings, and grievous sufferings patiently. I did expect, that when the way of God was made manifest, it would be hated and persecuted; yet I thought that should not at all deter or affright me from owning it, and walking in it if once I knew it. But forasmuch as I heard they held perfection in this life, that was a thing the old wisdom of the serpent could not reach or join with, but I reasoned against it strongly, in that dark fallen wisdom in which many are still fighting for sin, which is the devil's host, whom I now see to be no better than the host of Magog, fighting against the Lamb, and his innocent life, saying in their hearts, rule thou in heaven if thou wilt, for on earth thou shalt have no place; no, not one soul to bear rule and sovereignty over. I can but pity thousands who are fighting the devil's quarrels in this matter, but having faithfully laboured with them in my generation, I leave them that are wilful and stubborn opposers, who will in nowise receive that which is perfect in this life, to receive the wages of imperfection in the life to come.

But I say, in this same fallen wisdom did I reason divers ways, too many now to name, against the truth, the fame whereof I had heard as the scripture speaks, while I was in death and in the way of destruction. But a messenger of this truth I had not seen, but longed much to see one, wishing night and day, that our parts might be visited by them, as I had heard others were. At last the Lord sent his faithful servant and messenger of his everlasting gospel, James Parnel, to our town of Colchester, about the fourth month, 1655, and in the twenty-seventh year of my age, who came in the name and power of the Most High God, in which he turned many to righteousness, both there and in other countries before, of whom some remain, and many are fallen asleep.

When I saw this man, being but a youth, and knew not the power or spirit that was in him, I thought to withstand him, and began to query and seek discourse with him; but I quickly came to feel [that] the spirit of sound judgment was in him, and the witness of God arose in me, and testified to his judgment, and signified I must own it; it being just and true. On the same day and hour I testified, that all our rods of profession would be lost or devoured by his rod, alluding to that of Moses and the magicians of Egypt, which is and shall certainly

come to pass. That day I went to a meeting, and heard him declare the everlasting gospel, in the name and authority of the Lord, which I could not with all my wisdom and knowledge withstand, but was constrained to own and confess unto the truth.

Here at the very first of my convincement did the enemy of my soul make trial to slay me, and that after this manner, that seeing my wisdom and reason were overcome by the truth, I could not therewith withstand it, therefore I received the truth, and held it in the same part with which I withstood it, and defended it with the same wisdom by which I resisted it, and so was yet a stranger to the cross that was to crucify me; and was at liberty in the discoursative spirit, to lay out my wits and parts for the truth. But I soon felt my sacrifice, (though I offered the best my earth would afford,) was not accepted, but something else was still called for. A cry was in me which called to judgment, and the earth that had long covered her slain, began to be moved, but not yet removed out of its place, and great were the strugglings of my thoughts, and a great desire kindled in me how I might comprehend the truth in my understanding, as I had done the doctrines and principles of other religions. But all my labour therein was to no purpose, for a death was determined upon that wisdom from the Lord. So I saw my labour in vain, my fishing could catch nothing all that night while I wrought in the dark, and had not the guidance of the light.

In this state I continued a month or two, but then a swift sword was drawn against that wisdom and comprehending mind, and a strong hand gave the stroke, and I was hewn down like a tall cedar, that at once comes down to the ground.

But then, oh the woe, misery and calamity that opened upon me! Yea, even the gates of hell and destruction stood open, and I saw myself nigh falling thereinto, my hope and faith, and all fled from me, I had no prop left me to rest upon. The tongue that was as a river, was now like a dry desert; the eye that would, or at least desired to see every thing, was now so blind, that I could see nothing certainly, but my present undone and miserable state. Oh! then I cried out in the bitterness of my soul, what hath all my profession profited me? I am poor and blind, and naked, who thought I had been rich and well adorned. Then saw I the well favoured harlot stript, and brought into remembrance before God; and her judgment was come, and how to escape the fire of the vengeance which broke forth, I knew not. Oh, how doleful were my nights, and sorrowful were my days! My delights withered even in wife and children, and in all things, and the glory of the whole world passed away like a scroll that is burnt with fire, and I saw nothing left in the whole world to give me any comfort. My sun lost her light, and my moon was darkened, and the stars of my course were fallen, that I knew not how to direct my way, but was as one forsaken in a howling desert in the darkest night.

When I saw what God had done, (for I believed it was his doing,) I was ready to cry, I am forsaken for ever, and never was sorrow like mine, my wound is incurable, and my sickness none can heal. Alas! my tongue or pen cannot express the sorrows of those days in which I sat me down in silence, fear and astonishment, and was encompassed with sorrow and darkness. I knew none to make my moan unto. I heard of joy and salvation, but could scarcely think that ever I should be a partaker of it, I still wanting that living faith, which the apostle said, was of the operation of God, who raised up Jesus, the true seed, which seed I still felt groaning in me to be delivered from the burden of sin, and from the oppression of the carnal mind.

After long travail, strong cries, and many bitter tears and groans, I found a little hope springing in me, that the Lord in his own time would bring forth his seed, even his elect seed, the seed of his covenant, to rule in me. This was given me at a time when the sense of my own unworthiness had so overwhelmed me in sorrow and anguish, that I thought myself unworthy of any of the creatures; forasmuch as I was out of the covenant of God, and hereupon was tempted to deny myself of them. Then did the hope of the resurrection of the just spring in me, and I was taught to wait on God, and to eat and drink in fear and watchfulness, showing forth the Lord's death till he should come to be raised to live and reign in me. Then I waited as one that had hope that God would be gracious to me; yet something in me would fain have known the time how long it should be, but a faithful cry was in me, which called that to death.

Upon a time being weary of my thoughts in the meeting of God's people, I thought none was like me, and it was but in vain to sit there with such a wandering mind as mine was, which though I laboured to stay it, yet could not as I would. At length, I thought to go forth, and as I was going, the Lord thundered through me, saying, that which is weary must die. So I turned to my seat and waited in the belief of God, for the death of that part which was weary of the work of God, and grew more diligent in seeking death, that I might be baptized for the dead; and that I might know how to put off the old man with his deeds and words, and imaginations, his fashions and cus-

loms, his friendship and wisdom, and all that appertained to him, and the cross of Christ was laid upon me, and I bore it.

As I came willingly to take it up, I found it to be to me, that thing which I had sought from my childhood, even the power of God; for by it, I was crucified to the world, and it to me, which nothing else could ever do. But oh, how glad was my soul when I had found the way to slay my soul's enemies. Oh, the secret joy that was in me in the midst of all my conflicts and combats I had this confidence, if I but take up the cross, I shall obtain victory, for that is the power of God through faith to salvation, and as I have found it so in some things, so I shall do in all in due time. Then the reproach of the gospel became joyous to me; though in those days it was very cruel and grievous to flesh and blood, yet I despised it, and that for the joy that was now set before me, of which I had some hope I should in time be made a partaker, if I abode faithful. It was my great care night and day, to keep so low and out of the workings of my own will, that I might discern the mind of God, and do it, though in never so great a cross to my own.

Yet the enemy of my soul followed me close and very secretly, and taking notice how willing I was to obey the Lord, he strove to get up into the seat of God, and to move as an angel of light, to betray me, and to lead me into something that was like the service of God. Many sore conflicts did I meet withal before I was able in all things to distinguish between the workings of the true spirit and power, from that which was but transformed. But forasmuch as I had now surely tasted of the love and goodness of God, I trusted in him, and committed the keeping of my soul unto him in singleness of heart. Manifold and daily were his deliverances made known to me, beyond all recount or remembrance of man, for which, oh my soul, praise thou the Lord for ever, who cared for thee in thy infancy, and kept thee in the days of thy distress.

The more I came to feel and perceive the love of God, and his goodness to flow forth upon me, the more was I humbled and bowed in my mind to serve him, and to serve the least of his people among whom I walked. As the word of wisdom began to spring in me, and the knowledge of God grew, so I became as a counsellor of them that were tempted in like manner as I had been, yet was kept so low that I waited to receive counsel daily from God, and from those that were over me in the Lord, and were in Christ before me, against whom I never rebelled, nor was stubborn. But the more I was kept in subjection myself, the more subject were evil spirits made to me, and the more I was enabled to help the weak and feeble ones; so the eyes of many came to be upon me, as one with whom counsel and understanding, in some measure were.

The church of God in those days increased, and my care daily increased, and the weight of things relating both to the outward and inward condition of poor Friends came upon me, and being called of God and his people to take the care of the poor, and to relieve their necessities as I did see occasion, I did it faithfully for divers years, with diligence and much tenderness, exhorting and reproving any that were slothful, and encouraging them that were diligent, putting a difference according to the wisdom given me of God, and still minding my own state and condition, and seeking the honour that comes from God only. A cry was in me to keep on my spiritual armour, for all enemies were not yet put under my feet, so I kept my watch, not knowing well where the enemy might appear, but after a while I found his appearance once more to be very sharp, and that upon this occasion.

About the year 1659, I often felt the aboundings of the love of God in my heart, and a cry to stand given up to his will, which I thought I was, not knowing or foreseeing what the Lord was intending to do with me. But his eye saw further than mine. His love and tenderness, and bowels of compassion wrought so in me, that it extended even to all men on the whole face of the earth, so that I cried in spirit, oh that all men knew thee and thy goodness! And upon a time, as I was waiting upon the Lord, his word arose in me, and commanded me to forsake and part with my dear wife and children, father and mother, and to go and bear witness to his name in Scotland, to that high professing nation. But when that came to pass I found all enemies were not slain indeed; for the strivings, strugglings, reasonings and disputings against the command of God, that I then met with, cannot be told or numbered. Oh! how I would have pleaded my own inability, the care of my family, my service in that particular meeting, and many more things, and all that I might have been excused from this one thing which was come upon me, that I thought not of, or looked not for.

After many reasonings, days and weeks by myself, I thought it best to speak of it to some of the faithful elders and ministers of the everlasting gospel; not knowing but they might discourage me, and something there was that hoped it, but contrarily they encouraged me, and laid it upon me to be faithful. Then I gave up, and acquainted my dear wife therewith, which began me a new exercise, the enemy working in her strongly to stop me. But in much patience was I kept, and in quietness, and went and visited Friends' meetings about

Essex, and part of Suffolk, chiefly to see them, and to take my leave of them. In some meetings the Lord would open my mouth in a few words to the refreshing of Friends, but I rather chose silence, when I might so.

The winter drew nigh, and something would have deferred [my journey] till next summer. But the Lord showed me it must not be my time, but his time. Then I would have gone by sea, but the Lord withstood me, and showed me, it must not be my way, but his way; and if I would be obedient he would be with me, and prosper my journey, otherwise his hand would strike me. So I gave up all, and with pretty much cheerfulness at last I obeyed, and about the end of the seventh month went forth, and visited the churches of Christ.

As I went along in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, I quickly perceived the Lord was with me more than at other times, and my journey became joyful, and the more, in that though I was but weak, poor and low, yet God gave me acceptance among the elders of his people, and in every place my testimony was owned, and divers were convinced of the everlasting truth. Then I marvelled, and said, Lord, the glory alone belongs to thee, for thou hast wrought wonders for thy name's sake, and for thy holy seed's sake.

I got into Scotland in the ninth month, that year, and travelled to and fro that winter on foot with cheerfulness. Many straits and difficulties attended me, which I forbear to mention, it being the time of the motion of the English and Scottish armies, upon which came the revolution of government, and the bringing back King Charles the Second into England. About the eleventh or twelfth month I returned and travelled into the west to Westmoreland, part of Lancashire, and so to the southward, and in about five or six months time, was by the good hand of God brought home to my wife and children, and relations; in all my journey being sweetly accompanied with the presence of the Lord, and his power often filled my earthen vessel and made my cup to overflow: praises for ever be to his name, saith my soul.

In all my journey I lacked not anything that was good for me, but as it was my care in singleness to serve the Lord, so was the tender care of the Lord over me, and he supplied me with whatever was needful in my journey, yet all along a secret hope did live in me, that when the present journey should be accomplished, I should be freed from this service, and have liberty to return to my calling and family, but contrarily it proved. For when I had been at home a few days, it lay upon me to go up to London, to visit the brethren and church of God there. I went in great fear and dread of God into that city; and having continued there a few days, departed northward again at the commandment of the Lord, and found my way prosperous wherever I went, and great encouragement did I daily receive from the Lord, who blessed my labour of love, that besides the peace and joy I felt in myself, I saw the effect of my labour and travail of my soul in divers places, made manifest by divers being turned from darkness to light, and from serving the devil's power unto the power of God. But still trials attended me and a prison became my portion, nigh two hundred miles from home, and great and grievous threatenings were breathed out against me, and the same spirit which wrought in the persecutors, both in their cruelty and subtilty, strove to work in me also.

But I cried to the Lord, and he helped me, and my faith failed me not, but I fulfilled my service and testimony; and at length was delivered, and several thousands more, by a public proclamation from the king. I then returned to my own house, after about eight months' absence, and my heart was set to serve the Lord, who had been good unto me. Yet this hope of being freed from this kind of service, lived long in me, for I found the work every day more weighty than other, many false spirits rising up and transforming themselves into the likeness of truth, yet were enemies to the life of truth, which were the worst enemies of all. I saw that Zion's enemy, that could no other way prevail, was now trying if by a false pretence of holiness and obedience, he could deceive and beguile the simple. But I cried to God to give me a discerning heart, and an understanding to comprehend the snare of the enemy, and that I might be a help to the weak, and he did so.

I saw the foundation struck at by the enemy, and I grew zealous for the Lord and his house, and testified freely against the secret deceits of the enemy; but, this occasioned me yet more exercise and sorrow too; divers who saw not the depths of the workings of satan, judging my zeal and fervency against that contradictious spirit to be needless. But in meekness and patience, the Lord kept me out of the warring and striving mind, for I dare not strike them whom I knew to be my fellow servants, but them that pretended to be so, and yet served and promoted another interest. Them I often wounded with the weapon God had given, and they that came to love the judgment, were healed, but many perished in their rebellion and stubbornness. The Lord arose and blasted the work of the enemy, and opened the eyes of many that were darkened, and they came to see the end of that which had been the troubler of Israel, and peace, unity and true love were restored in all our borders. Then was my joy full, and my cup did overflow with praises and thank-

ılness to God, who had had regard for his eritage and people, and had delivered them rom the devices of the wicked one.

My soul grew daily in love with Zion, and here was nothing in all the world so desirable o me as the prosperity of the gospel, and the preading and publishing his name and truth hrough the earth. This love constrained ne to travel with great diligence from coun- ry to country, to make known what God had lone for my soul, and to publish the day of the ord; yea, the day of redemption in which the aptivity of the spiritual Israel should be brought ack, which did prove glad tidings unto many, who received the report and believed it. They ame to behold the revelation of the holy pow- rful arm of God, to their souls satisfaction. n most parts of England where I travelled, I ound a daily adding to the church, such as were like to be saved; and hereupon my joy ncreased, and I began to be more freely given ip to the work and service of God, and to the ministry of the gospel.

About the year 1663, I was moved to cross he seas, and to visit the seed of God in the Low Countries, which I did with cheerfulness; and hough in an unknown land, and with an un- known speech, yet by an interpreter sometimes, and sometimes in my own tongue, I declared the truth to the refreshing of many, and to the bringing back some from error; and having ac- complished that visit, I returned in peace to England. After awhile, being required of God, I again went down into the north country, and labouring in the word and doctrine with great diligence and fervency, along, or near unto, the sea-coast, and so down to Newcastle, and some- thing beyond. Being led by the Spirit, I came back again another way more eastward through the land, and found all the way the plant of God's renown flourishing and growing, meet- ings enlarged, and the hearts of Friends en- larged in love to me and mine to them.

Being returned, a great weight came upon me concerning the great city of London, great- er than ever before. I went up full of might and power, and did daily, as the Lord opened my mouth and ordered me, warn them of the abominations and wickedness that ran down among them like a stream, and declared the judgments of God at hand upon them, for their great wickedness, which followed speedily both by war and fire, and many more calamities. After this, about 1667, it was required of me again to go into Holland, and my dear com- panion, Josiah Coale, went with me; and we travelled to and fro, and visited the churches about three months and returned.

I went again into the north of England, my heart being abundantly drawn out towards the noble seed of God in those parts, and my love and tenderness of heart towards them, made all travel and labour, and perils easy; because I still saw the tender plants of my heavenly Fa- ther in a thriving and growing way or condi- tion. I felt the virtue of life daily springing in me, which was given me to water the heritage and garden of God with. So soon as I was clear, I returned, having more and more still the care of the church of God coming upon me, which constrained me to diligence, and to be as swift as I might be, that so I might be as ser- viceable as possible in my generation, and might keep myself clear of the blood of all men, which I found to be no easy or slight work.

Being safely returned, and finding the pre- sence and power of the Lord, yet leading me to and fro from country to country, unto which I was obedient, not of constraint now, but of a willing mind; counting his service a freedom, feeling myself freed from the cares of this life, having now learned to cast all my care upon him. After a year or two years travel thus in England, the Lord laid yet more of the weight and care of the affairs of his people in the Low Countries upon me, and I found a drawing to- wards them; and in the year 1669, I went over and visited the meetings, obtained divers new meetings, and they set up a men's meeting among them, to see to the good ordering and governing of the affairs relating to Truth and Friends.

This time did it please the Lord to open my understanding abundantly, that I began to declare in their own tongue the things that God had committed unto me to minister; and seve- ral received the everlasting gospel, and were brought to feel the power of God, by which they are saved from the world, and the polluted ways therein. Travelling in those provinces of Holland, Friesland, and Groningen, &c., I was moved to pass into Germany, to which I gave up in the fourth month that same year; and by the way met with many perils and dangers, by reason of the horrible darkness, popery, cruelty and superstitions of those lands and dominions through which I travelled. Sometimes it was as if my life were in my hands, to offer up for my testimony; but the Lord preserved me, and brought me upon the fourteenth day of that month to Krisheim near Worms, where I found divers who had received the everlasting Truth, and had stood in a testimony for God about ten years, in great sufferings and tribulations, who received me as a servant of God; and my tes- timony was as a dew upon the tender grass unto them. I had five good meetings among them, and divers heard the Truth, and several were reached and convinced, and Friends esta- blished in the faith.

It was also just in an hour of temptation and time of trial among them, that the Lord had

cast me there; for the prince of that land, called the palsgrave, had imposed a fine upon them for their meetings, to wit, four rix dollars the year for each family, which they, for conscience sake, not paying, he sent an order to take the value in goods. Whereupon his unreasonable executioners came and took away the treble value, but they suffered the spoiling of their goods with great joy and gladness, and counted it a happiness that they were counted worthy to suffer for his name's sake, who had called them to the knowledge of his blessed Truth, and to bear a testimony in that dark desert, to the light of the Lord Jesus.

I went to Heidelburgh to the prince of that land, and had a good opportunity with him, and laid before him the danger of his proceeding on in persecution. He heard me with a great deal of friendliness, and discoursed things at large with me, and in several things promised it should be better, as it did also after come to pass. Having finished that service in Germany, I returned, and being come into the Low Country again, I went to Groningen, where divers had believed in the name of Jesus, the light of the world, whom when I had visited in the power of God, and strengthened in the faith, I left, and returned through Friesland to Amsterdam, where, by reason of my now speaking in their own language, meetings grew exceeding great, and many strangers came flocking in, and a great openness I found in the country.

Being necessitated of the Lord to come for England, I left them to the Word of the grace which they had received of God, which was able to keep them; and came over into England in the latter end of the year, and went towards London, in order to visit the churches in the western parts of England, whose faces in the outward, I had never seen, though long desired it. Passing from London, I went through Berkshire and Wiltshire, having had many precious meetings with the Lord's people, I came to Bristol, where I found a people, among whom my soul was greatly refreshed. I stayed with them about a week or nine days, and in a true sense of the Eternal Power, in which the true fellowship always stood, we took leave one of another.

I travelled that winter with my companion in the gospel, Samuel Cater, through Somersetshire, Devonshire and Cornwall, to the Lands-end of England, visiting the churches in those parts to our mutual comfort. I returned by Plymouth, visiting the south seacoast even unto Portsmouth, then coming through Hampshire and Surrey, came to London, and so to Colchester again, to the gladdening the hearts of God's heritage in that place, many of whom have with me many a time rejoiced and given thanks to him that liveth and reigneth for ever, for my preservation through all perils and dangers, and the multitudes of deliverances of which I was daily made partaker.

Being moved of the Lord, I appointed a meeting at a place called Chelmandiston, where divers had received the truth and testimony of God through me his servant. There a priest, who two years before betrayed me to the ruler, and got me into prison; now procured a warrant to have me cast into prison, and I was so in the First month, 1670, in Ipswich jail. Being committed to the said jail for being at a conventicle, (so called,) upon the statute of the 14th of king Charles, which saith, "If a person be convicted of a conventicle, he shall pay a sum of money not exceeding five pounds, or lie in prison some time, not exceeding three months;" and the judge of assizes, R. Rainsford in his haste and passion, not regarding the law, but his own will, committed me to lie in jail until I would pay five pounds; and afterward being convinced of his error, he wrote an order for my release at three months end.

I being released, was drawn forth in the love of God, again to cross the seas about the fifth month, 1670, and went to Holland to visit the remnant there that had believed, and to strengthen their faith, and for some weeks preached the gospel in divers cities unto the inhabitants and strangers, who came in great numbers oftimes to meetings, hearing there was one that spake in their own language. Many were reached, and some overcome by the power of Truth; and the hand of the Lord was with me in a blessed manner, to the refreshing my soul and filling my vessel, and the overflowings of my cup made many glad.

Then about the seventh month, it arose in me to travel eastward, and to visit those dismal dark countries in the lower parts of Germany, and the borders of Denmark and Sweden, where the Lutheran religion bears sway, and darkness and wickedness in the strength of it therewith. Oh! the weight and burden I felt many times, as I travelled through their towns and cities, where it might well be said, none did good, none considered their ways, and none thought upon the name of the Lord as they ought to do; but all manner of wickedness abounded. I and my companion, Peter Hendricks, were as signs and wonders, because our manner and conversation, our words and discourses carried nothing but judgment to them, and sometimes we gave them books and papers of Friends, and left with them. Though the rage of many kindled against us, yet the Lord made way for us, and we had a safe and prosperous voyage, and came to Hamburg, and had a meeting upon a first-day with those there that were convinced. Then we went down into the dukedom of Holstein, belonging to the kingdom of Denmark;

d having travelled two days journey, about venty English miles from Hamburg, we came Frederickstadt, where we found the brethren et together to wait upon the Lord, upon the irth-day of the week, who received us joyful-

We sat down and were refreshed in the lowship of that blessed gospel which is or-ined for a blessing to all nations, tongues, d kindreds, who believe and obey it. After at we gave forth a meeting publicly in the y, to be on the sixth-day, unto which many the city came, and particularly, the chief agistrate and the messenger or sergeant of e city, and the power of God was much mani-st among us, and much brokenness there was mong the people, and they received the doc-ne of Truth with much love and tenderness.

On the first-day of the week, in the morning, e had a meeting again with the brethren and ch as were convinced, and a great openness as among us from the Lord; and in the after-on we had another public meeting, at which ere about an hundred people, and every one's outh stopped; and though liberty was given r objection, yet none was made.

These things troubled the minds of some pro-ssors and teachers, who had enmity in their arts against the Truth, insomuch that two of em came towards evening and desired a dis-ute with me, which being granted, about forty fifty persons came in to hear. For an hour two, we spake together, and the power of od was over them, and they were divided be-een themselves, which when the most mode-te saw, he went away, and the other, to wit, e Eppinghooft, stayed till he made his folly anifest, to the most that were in the room, in rticulars too large here to relate. So Truth ood over them, and the city was in a tender, ol and loving frame, and divers were added the church, and to the faith which saveth. he city hath remained in such a frame ever nce, and hath been visited by divers brethren, Thomas Green and William Penn, who ve had good meetings amongst them to their utual refreshment.

On the second-day of the week, we met to-ther early in the morning, and committed ch other to God, with prayer and supplica-n; and they accompanied us to the Jider, hich runneth by the city, and there we parted that love which never changeth, and set our ces again towards Hamburg, whither we me safely the next day. After we had visit-l Friends there, we took boat and came over e Elbe, and by wagon came to Bremen, here we left several books. We passed back Oldenburgh, and so to Embden, where being on a first-day of the week, it lay upon me to to an assembly of the ministers, (a kind of ptists,) where after one Hert Jansen had preached, and the prayer time was over, (for they speak no words in prayer, but all kneel down and are silent, every one praying in his own mind as seemeth good to him,) I say, after that, I stood forth and spake in the Dutch tongue about half an hour, exhorting them to come to God's witness, that they might feel judgment set up in them, to cleanse them, and to prepare them for the Lord, &c.

After this the preacher stood up again and vindicated and maintained by scripture what I had said, exhorting them to receive my exhortation. The same evening divers people came together at the house of one Remelkie, a poor maid, who had neither hands nor feet, a devout woman who sought after the way of God, and received us gladly to her house. I was moved to declare the truth of God among them; and after that we had some words by way of dispute and parted lovingly.

The next day divers of them came again to us and kept us company; and about mid-day we parted very friendly, and I with my companion took shipping for Delfe-Siele, and so came to Groningen, and had a meeting with Friends to our mutual refreshment. Thence we came to Lea Warden, where the Friesland lords had a law to put Quakers in the Bridewell for five years, that should dare to come into their province of Friesland, by which law they had taken three Friends of Amsterdam, and put them in prison, and made an order that no Quakers should go in to visit them. When I understood this, the zeal and love of God sprung in my heart, and set me over them and their wicked law, and I took a pen and wrote to their lord president, and told them they had done worse than heathens; and seeing they had made a law to imprison all Quakers, there was I and two more with me, who were come to visit the prisoners, and desired liberty so to do; for we feared God more than them and their law, and were come to fulfil our Christian duty to our brethren, whom they had so unjustly cast into prison. The president carried the letter to the council, but the Lord limited them, and they let it pass by and did not lay hands on us. We appointed a meeting in the city, and having tarried there several days, we came to Workum, and took shipping for Amsterdam, and came there on the first-day morning, about the beginning of the ninth month.

Being come again to Friends in Holland, we had many precious meetings together in divers cities, Alkmaer, Haerlem, Rotterdam, &c. A young man having heard in Switzerland where he lived, that he had a brother in Holland turned Quaker; in his zeal came down, thinking to turn him, but the Truth prevailed upon him, the first and second days he heard it declared, so that he owned it, and became obedi-

ent to the cross, the first week he was there, to the great comfort of Friends, and most of all, of his brother.

I having travelled through the meetings and visited Friends; in the tenth month I committed them to the Lord, and to the Word of his grace, and returned again to England, and went to and fro visiting the churches in London, and in divers parts of the nation for three or four months. At which time, I understood that divers exalted spirits were gotten up, among them that had believed in Friesland, who began to set forth strange doctrine among Friends, and sought to unsettle the minds of them that had newly received the faith among them, and had begun to seduce them from their meetings, and to wait upon, and to mind strange notions and imaginations, which hath been the ruin of many in former ages, who were not grown to a discerning.

So the zeal of God moved in me against that spirit, and the love to the tender seed drew me again over the seas, which was of great service to Friends and the Truth. I laboured greatly to inform the minds of Friends, of the depths of that ranting spirit, and whither it would lead and where it would centre; I having had long experience of it here in England. The [Lord's] power arose among Friends, and they began to note such as were disorderly and unruly, and to call them to an account, and took great labour and pains with them, to regain and recover them out of the snare of the devil, making many journies and visits to them, which proved not ineffectual, divers being helped and brought back. Howbeit, some were hardened and waxed worse and worse, and turned against the power of God into enmity and opposition against Friends; so that a necessity was upon Friends to clear themselves and the Truth, of them and their evil works; and the more, because we saw that the mind in which they were so vainly puffed up, was fleshly, as afterward appeared. So Friends called them to their general men's meeting, but they refused to come; then Friends journeyed to them time after time, to warn them, and to exhort them to turn again to the Truth which they were fallen from; but when no counsel would take place with several of them, Friends put out a paper against them for the clearing the Truth.

After these things I came to England again in the fourth month, 1671, and travelled through several counties, being much rejoiced to see the peace, unity and courage, that were among the people of God after the sore persecution that had been among them. Passing up to London, and back again to Colchester, where having a sore sickness nigh unto death in appearance, it came upon me to go into the north country to visit the churches in Yorkshire and Bishoprick, &c. where I had not been for three or four years, by reason of my being much beyond the seas. The love of the Lord abounded in my heart unto those dear Friends northward; and I was pressed in spirit till I had cleared myself of all things that lay upon me in my own country. And upon the 31st of the eighth month, I took my journey forward, and going through the Isle of Ely, found dear Samuel Cater, who was pressed in spirit to visit Friends in Scotland, and so became my companion as far as Newcastle.

Through several places we travelled, to the refreshment of ourselves, and many more; and the Lord delivered us out of the hands of the ungodly informers, who were then very brief throughout the nation, upon the account of the new act which was made to fine us, for speaking in meetings, twenty pounds the first time, and forty pounds each time after. This law made them greedy in all parts, but in all places they were, through the wisdom and power of God frustrated, and though the winter was very sharp, and my body now through much affliction very weak, yet was I marvellously supported through that journey; and having parted with my honest companion at Newcastle, I turned westward and came southward another way than I went; and so to London again, where having visited Friends, I returned to my outward habitation again at Colchester, to the joy of my poor wife and Friends, who had longings for my return as I had again to see their faces, which desires the Lord to our comfort answered, about the twelfth month, 1671.

Having continued visiting Friends to and fro, the fore part of the year; about midsummer I took shipping for the Low Countries again, to visit the flock of God, where I laboured and travelled about three months in Holland and Friesland, in the time of that great consternation and confusion that was upon them, by reason of the great and sudden progress the king of France made upon the United Provinces. Howbeit, the foundations of their pomp, power and glory were then shaken and ready to be overturned. Yet I saw the foundation of satan's kingdom stand very fast among them, and the people instead of turning to the Lord by unfeigned repentance, grew worse and worse, and debauched themselves more than ordinary by drinking, gaming and sporting, and the burden thereof came upon me, and I was made to cry out against them in the power of the Most High, and warn them to repent, and put away every man the evil of his doings. I wrote down the counsel of the Lord as it was manifest in me, showing them the cause of their misery, and where the remedy must be. I caused it to be printed and made public to those countries, and many copies were given to the chief rulers

ınd commanders; so I cleared my conscience n the sight of God concerning those nations or that time, and left them, returning for Eng- and about the eighth month, 1672.

Having been some time at my own home, ınd visited Friends in divers countries, I went to London, and parts adjacent, preaching the ever- asting gospel, and witnessing the grace of God, n Jesus Christ, which shined forth to gather he elect seed out of the house of bondage and larkness. And the Lord was with me daily to the rejoicing of thousands, and to my daily encouragement; for by his mighty power were many strong oaks bowed, and many subtle foxes prevented of their prey, and many wan- dering sheep brought home who had long desir- ed to find the fold of rest, whose souls will ever live with my soul in his covenant to praise him world without end.

Having spent about six months in this manner, I found it upon me from the Lord again, to pass over the sea, and to visit divers places where Truth had been little or not at all sounded; and in particular, that hard-hearted city of Embden in East Friesland. Here one John William Hasbert, a doctor of physic, re- ceived me with great cheerfulness; and I had a meeting in his house upon the first-day of the week, about the latter end of the first month, 1673, where many people of divers persuasions did hear the Truth declared in great plainness and simplicity. After some time, those that were convinced were drawn in love to God to assemble together, to worship God in spirit and in truth, and in the silence of that fleshly wis- dom that can speak when it listeth, and say what it listeth. At the first, there sat down about ten persons in Hasbert's house to wait upon the Lord, and when this was noised about the city, the wicked one stirred up the priests and rulers against them, and they stirred up the rude and ignorant people to assault them, mock, reproach and revile them, and the rulers fell quickly to fining, imprisoning, threatening and banishing those weak and tender plants in almost an unheard of manner. [After] banish- ing some, sixteen or twenty times, spoiling all they had, save their clothes, at last they fell upon them also; taking away their coats, hats, breeches, gloves, aprons, &c., and driving them through the streets almost naked aboard the ships that were to carry them away. All this and much more by the mighty power of the Lord, did these innocent, harmless lambs bear with great patience and quietness, and were not dismayed at all at these cruelties; for the Lord had regard to his name and to their innocent cry, and supported them, and doth support them, and they have found it true, that they that wait upon the Lord have renewed their strength: blessed be the Lord for ever.

Returning from Holland into Friesland, I continued about three or four months, and pub- lished the glad tidings of salvation in their own tongue to all that had an ear to hear. About the same time were divers great pillars both as to state and religion shaken, and divers of those who had been in great places in government, were convinced, and their understandings were opened concerning the way of Truth, and be- gan to struggle and contend for it in that wis- dom that was from beneath; whom I faithfully warned and counselled in the love of God, not to seek to comprehend the Truth, but to wait in lowliness to be comprehended by it, and gath- ered into the precious life thereof. But oh! the cross, the offence of the cross, they could not bear with, but sought divers ways to satisfy themselves with owning the doctrine and words of Truth, and loving Friends who walked therein; but came not down to the simplicity of the gospel, excepting one of them, nor to be se- parated from the world, nor from those things in which the world's fellowship stands, though they were brought to confess the way of Truth, and to cry out of the load that lay upon the soul. Howbeit the sound of their convincement did tend to the advantage of the gospel, and many came to meetings, and they of the most hon- ourable; and some were convinced of divers ranks, qualities and persuasions, especially in Rotterdam, where meetings then grew very large, and Truth came to have a good esteem in the hearts of many who had hated it and us without a cause.

After I had spent three or four months in those parts, and found myself clear, I returned for England against the general meeting in the fourth month, and travelled with great diligence through divers counties, and went again to Bristol and visited the churches in many parts of England to my and their great refresh- ment.

The Lord was with me, and gave me utter- ance and wisdom as I stood in need, for he kept me poor in spirit and low in mind, and I knew that my dependence was upon him alone, who knew well how to order both me and my ser- vice; and he gave me judgment to rebuke gain- sayers, and to stop the mouths of them that op- posed themselves.

So I continued till about the fourth month, 1675, at which time I understood the former openness did continue in the Low Countries; and I was drawn in the love of God again to go over thither to visit them, and to behold their order, which I did to my great comfort, and found the noble plant flourishing, and a living testimony opened and raised up in divers of them that had believed; and they spake of the goodness of God in their congregations, warn- ing all men that they might turn to the Lord by

unfeigned repentance, and wait to see his salvation.

Hearing of the great sufferings of Friends at Embden, I went thither to visit them, and hearing of a law they had published, of twenty-five pounds fine for every one that should harbour a Friend in his or their house; I desired to see it, and took it and wrote a book to the hard-hearted rulers and priests, and answered their wicked mandate with sharp and sound judgment, and caused it to be delivered among them. The power came over them, and they laid not hands on me, nor did me any harm, though I was publicly in their city two days, and known by many of them; after which their fury abated, and Friends began to have some more freedom than formerly.

About the eighth month, 1676, having travelled through the provinces, and visited many places and cities, I returned in the will of God to my own home; finding my body much decayed and disabled from travel and labour more than formerly; yet satisfied in the will of God who laid no more upon me, than he gave me ability to perform; and as he hath always been abundant in goodness to me, so he is to this day, blessed be his name for ever. This I can say, my delight is to do his will, and my joy is that he hath counted me worthy to bear his holy name and testimony among the sons and daughters of men. Oh! that all men would fear the Lord, and walk in the way of his righteousness, that they might come to have the evidence and testimony of his goodness in themselves!

I passed that winter in visiting the churches in Essex and Suffolk, and sometimes at London, where it pleased the Lord to appear with me for his name and tender seed's sake, to the convincement of several, and strengthening of many; glory be to him alone for ever. The winter being over I felt drawings to pass again over sea, finding a particular care and charge laid upon me concerning those parts, in which the Lord had given me great encouragement, and I saw I had not laboured in vain; praises be to his name.

About the first month, 1677, I took shipping for Holland, where I found Friends very well, and in good order; and their men and women's meetings were become a delight to them, as having not only enjoyed the Lord's presence in them, but had also seen the great benefit that had come thereby, and the ease they had of the weights that had formerly lain upon them. Having several times visited their meetings in Holland, I went over into Friesland, to Harlingen, where many Friends of that country met me upon a first-day; and we had two precious and large meetings, and many professors came to hear, who had nothing to say against the testimony of Truth. Having seen Friends there, and finding myself unable for long journies, I returned for Holland, and having staid there with great joy and comfort in seeing Truth's prosperity, about the latter end of the third month I came back for England, and passed for London, where I was most of that summer and in the parts adjacent.

Then the Lord put it into my heart again to visit the meetings round about Colchester, where I lived, which with much pain and trouble of body, though with much joy in spirit, I accomplished, and found Friends in most places well. Where I found the subtle, crafty serpent seeking to scatter and to divide God's heritage; I reproved it with great plainness and confidence in the Lord, who had showed me the mystery of that iniquity; and how the enemy of Truth sought to cover himself with Truth's words, and under pretence of leaving all to the power, would usher in a spirit of liberty to lay waste the blessed testimony of God, and scatter his people out of the good order into which the gospel, the power of God, had brought them.

In the service of my God, after this manner, I continued at and about home most of that winter, waiting upon the Lord to be led and guided in my service and testimony according to his will; for I found that though through long experience, my senses were exercised in the service of God and the churches; yet I had nothing to trust to, as a guide or leader, how and after what manner to minister in the church of Christ, but the same that led me in the beginning, even the immediate operation of the power that brings forth in the will of God all things suitable to their season, that the glory might be to the power, and the praises to him that gives it, for ever and for ever more.

The winter being over, the Lord renewed my strength, and having further service for me to do, gave ability. About the first month, 1678, I found some powerful drawings in the love of God to go down once more into Yorkshire, where I had had much service for the Lord, but had not been there for about six or seven years. So I went to Hull, and visited the churches about Holderness and Hull, and Beverly, Malton, and York; in all which places I saw the glory of the temple of my God shine forth in great splendour, notwithstanding all the rage of the adversary. I had a precious service in every place, and the hearts of many were opened, and the souls of many dear Friends were truly refreshed, and the bread of life was plentiful among us to our mutual joy and rejoicing in this journey. My soul was greatly comforted to see so many of the ancients, and honourable men and women abiding in their places, and growing up in the house of God as fellow-helpers in the gospel with us. After

out seven weeks tarrying in those parts, I nmitted them to the grace of God, and re-ned for London to the yearly meeting, where ving tarried a week or two, I returned and things in order in my own house.

After this I again crossed the seas, and went labour in his little vineyard there to my great reshment; and going over about the fourth nth, 1678, continued there till about Septem-r the same year, in which time the Lord laid upon me to go up southward to divers cities on the Rhine, where several had received a tion of the Truth in a talkative mind, but ere not come to a sense of the cross and dy-g of Christ Jesus, nor to a separation from e foolish and vain customs and salutations at are in the world. I spake with several of is sort of people at Cleeves and Wesell. At e latter place I had a meeting upon a first-y about the harvest time there, where several ard Truth declared in the plainness and sim-icity of the gospel, and a love was begotten them. But oh! the cross, the cross! that was d is very hard to that mind that would fain herit both kingdoms! Great struggling there as by divers of them to argue themselves into liberty, to abide in the customs of the world, d to walk in and obey the light of the Lord sus also. But in vain was all that labour, d ever will be, for the disciple must be as his aster; and he sought not nor received honour f men. Having answered the witness of God i them, I was not studious how to feed their arious inquiring minds concerning things be-ond their states and conditions, but parted with em in the love of God and true breathings to e Lord, for the bringing forth in the Lord's ue time what he had begotten; and so com-itted them to the grace of God, and returned nto Holland, where it pleased the Lord to visit e with sickness for several weeks.

Finding myself clear of all those parts for the resent, I caused a boat to be prepared and rought to the door of my lodging, and I lay own in it, being very weak, and so was con-eyed to Rotterdam, where my strength was so nuch renewed, that I went into their meeting n the first-day, and for about half an hour de-lared the Truth of the gospel among them, ex-orting to a steadfast abiding therein unto the nd. Shortly after, I got into the packet boat or England, and so to my own house, still re-naining very weak, and freely given up in the vill of God, that if my service were ended, I night lay down my head in the will of God n my own habitation after all my trials and ravels.

But the Lord was pleased to restore me, so hat I was able to ride and visit the meetings about home, and also got twice to London in hat winter; where my joy was to behold the brethren that live in the unity of that power that shall bruise satan and his work under foot, and lay waste his kingdom. So having visited some of the assemblies of the Lord's people in Hertfordshire and other places, and cleared myself of what lay upon me in the city, I returned to my place in the will of God, remaining as a servant waiting to be ordered, and as a child waiting to be fed of him who is the Father and fountain of all my mercies, blessings and deliverances, to whom be the glory for evermore.

The next summer finding no necessity lying upon me as formerly, I went not over sea, but after the general meeting was over, it lay upon me to visit Friends again at Bristol and thereabouts, being at that time under a deep sense of some great exercise that the church of God was in, by reason of some who under a pretence of exalting the power, sought to make void the wholesome order and government which the pure power had led us into, crying down formality and men's orders, &c. When I came there, I found that this licentious spirit had hurt many, and grieved many more; and a weight came upon me. I laboured in the power of the gift that the Father had bestowed upon me, in meekness and patience, dealing with every one in sincerity, labouring to show them that were concerned, whither the tendency of that work would reach, even to the throwing down of the hedge that God had built about his heritage, and laying waste the work of the power under pretence of crying up the power itself; and by crying down men's orders, would draw from the gospel order, and from the blessed fellowship that was in it. And it pleased the Lord to give me an open door among them, and many were tender, and became more watchful; though others in the mean while, made but an ill use of all the tender dealings in the love of God, and sought thereby to strengthen themselves.

After about twenty days I returned, and came to London; and towards winter, I returned homeward, where I continued in the peace of God, having my blessed reward with me, which no reflections of the adversary could take from me, and was exercised according to my ability, in visiting the assemblies of the Lord's people in Essex and Suffolk, where it lay upon me; and in helping and assisting the Lord's people according to my ability, both in their spiritual and temporal concerns, as the Lord God of my life gave me an understanding. For I gave up the ordering of my spirit unto him, and he opened me in many things relating to the affairs of this world, that I might be as a staff to the weak in those things, and might stand by the widow and fatherless, and plead the right of the poor. In all which I sought

neither honour nor profit, but did all things freely, as I received of God, and he whom I served was my reward, so that I lacked nothing. Therefore, who would not praise the Lord, and who would not trust in his name?

When the winter was over, I went again to London, and into Hertfordshire and places that way, visiting the flock of God, and stayed till our general meeting was over, and then found drawings to visit the little remnant beyond the seas, in Holland and Friesland, and continued among them, and in those parts, about three months. In which time it came upon me in the great love of God, to visit a little innocent remnant that had believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, and professed his name in Crevelt, in the land of Meurs, who for their testimony had suffered many things and grievous, and been several times banished from house and home, and made to wander with wife and children to seek harbour or shelter in strange cities and places. These I found now returned to their dwellings, and was joyfully received by them, and much refreshed in them, beholding their faith and courage, and their steadfastness in the testimony they had to bear for the Lord. I tarried with them about three days, and had several precious public meetings in the city, and sounded the day of the Lord's tender visitation in the ears of many of the inhabitants, who generally behaved themselves with great sobriety and moderation, neither mocking nor scoffing, nor evilly entreating us; which is rare to find a people so moderate in those parts, which is in the borders of the dark Romish religion, and as it were intermixed with it. But I speak it to their praise, no man evilly intreated me, and the Lord's power was over all, for which we blessed and praised his name. Having comforted and strengthened them that had believed, I committed them to the grace of God, and left them, and returned again to Holland another way, through the Spanish Netherlands; where I saw great abominations and idolatry, and worshipping and praying to images, &c. which grieved my soul; and I could not but declare against it in several places, as the Lord made way. Being come back to Holland I soon made way for my return home, and cleared myself of the meetings in Holland, and took shipping for England, and got home on the 11th of September, 1680.

Soon after it pleased God to visit me with a sharp fever, which brought me in appearance nigh to the grave; in which his presence was with me, and supported me, and refreshed my soul many a time, so that death was not terrible to me; but I found myself quietly given up in the will of God, whether to live or die, I was contented. But after about ten days the fever was abated, and I perceived that my days would be yet added unto; in which I was well satisfied, having a constant resolution fixed in my soul, that whether my days be few or many, to spend them in the service of God and his dear people, who are to me, as my mother, my brother, and my sister, yea, as my own children, finding a natural love in my heart to all my Father's children, and a true love to the brotherhood. And my God hath put it far from me to despise the case of the poor, or to respect the rich in judgment, but according to the gift and understanding given me, I have walked with a straight foot in the gospel; the honour of all, with the praise of all which, belongs alone to him that hath wrought it, yea, his own work praiseth him, and shall praise him who is worthy, both now and for evermore.

After it pleased God to restore me to a measure of health and ability, I spent the following winter in visiting the meetings about Essex, and went to Yarmouth and Norwich, where I had not been for many years; and beheld the work of the Lord arising again in that great city, and many were made tender by the powerful impression of the Word of God. Having stayed thereabouts in Norfolk about a month, I returned again in peace, rejoicing in the prosperity of the Lord's work, and came by Ipswich, and so home. Shortly after it came in my heart, in the workings of the love of God towards his people, to take a journey once more into Yorkshire, which proved to the mutual refreshment of me and many more. Coming to York a few days before their yearly meeting, I went to Scarborough, whereby many Friends both of Whitby and Burlington, and the country around about, had opportunity of coming to me, when I, through bodily weakness, could not go to them, as I had formerly done. Much service I had for the Lord and his people there, both in some particular cases, as also in the general and public testimony of the gospel. Then returning to York, and staying a few days with them at their general yearly meeting, I went to Hull, and into Holderness, and tarried thereabouts till about harvest time; and then finding myself clear of those parts, I returned to York, and thence to London. After some days and weeks stay there, I returned home.

By this time, I was again overtaken with great pains of the stone and other distempers, which brought my body very low, and little was expected by any, but my departure. I found myself given up to the will of God, which I knew was best of all; and if my service in this world was at an end, I was content to leave it; and if the Lord of the great household had more work for me, I knew he could and would raise me up, and so he did in his own time. I grew

again able to go abroad, and got to our quarterly meeting in December, and then after to visit Friends in Harwich and Ipswich, and some other places. But for the most part of this winter, 1681, I was about my own dwelling at Colchester, where I saw my desire in part answered, concerning several who were brought to the acknowledgement and profession of the Truth, whom I hope the Lord will build up by his power, and by the operations of his Spirit; for he alone can give the increase, to whom alone the glory and praise belong.

The next year, 1682, having spent the summer mostly about home and at London, about harvest it came into my heart, in the dear love of God, to go visit his church and people again at, and about the city of Norwich, that I might be a means of strength and refreshment to them, in the sharp trials and sufferings that I was sensible were then coming upon them to try their faith and patience. The same day I came into the city, I went to their meeting; and there came one called a justice, with constables and the informers, and a great rabble of wild and ungodly men, who seemed as if they would devour us, and hauled me with about a dozen Friends, to their judgment-hall, where the mayor and aldermen met. Divers practices were used to ensnare me, and bring me into bonds; but the Lord God of my life was with me, as in former days, and gave me courage and wisdom, by which all their snares were broken. But not having had opportunity to clear myself yet in public, I went the first-day was a week following, after I had visited some country meetings, to their meetings in the city, where the Lord appeared wonderfully to bind and limit the adversary. The meetings were very large that day, both before noon and afternoon, by reason of country Friends coming thither, and abundance that were not Friends: and all was quiet and peaceable, for which we gave thanks to God, who we knew was the author of it, and had set his divine power as a hedge about us for his name's sake.

I saw in the light of the Lord, that the Friends there were as soldiers, with their armour on, well prepared for the approaching conflict, which came forthwith sharp upon them, after I was come from them, which they have borne and suffered with great faith and courage, to the glory of the Lord, and the confounding of their adversaries. The Lord hath appeared with them and for them, both supporting them in their sharp sufferings, and sometimes giving them some intermissions thereof; so that they are kept alive to his praise, that hath quickened and preserved them. Having finished what was upon me there, I returned home, and continued at and about home that winter, and was visited with some weakness of body; and in the spring, found drawings upon me once more to visit the flock of God in the Low Countries. I went first to London to the yearly meeting; where though the enemy had opened his mouth wide to devour us, and much persecution was raised against our peaceable assemblies, and we were often deprived of the benefit of our meeting places, yet none could deprive us of the Lord's power and presence, which was evidently manifest amongst us; and the blessed fellowship of life was felt and witnessed to our great joy and consolation; for which high praises were offered up to God, through Jesus Christ, in the humility of our souls.

The yearly meeting of London being over, I went with divers brethren of Dantzic, Amsterdam and Friesland, towards Holland, to be at the yearly meeting there at Amsterdam, which is three weeks after ours at London. Taking shipping at Harwich, we arrived safely at Rotterdam, where having visited Friends, we past together to Amsterdam. A pretty many Friends from divers parts were come together, and we had a precious and comfortable meeting, in the unity of the Spirit, and in the bond of peace; which made our hearts glad, and tended to confirm the weak and feeble ones, and to the establishing the testimony of Truth in the hearts of them that had believed in Christ Jesus. My God gave me understanding to open the mysteries of his kingdom, according to their capacities, to our mutual joy and refreshment. So our dear friends, brethren and sisters, departed to their several habitations and testimonies, to Dantzic, Holstein, Hamburgh, and Friesland, &c., encouraged in the work of the Lord, and strengthened in the inward man.

Soon after Friends were departed, it pleased God to visit me again with a very sore fit of the stone-cholic, which brought me very low in the outward man; and it continued so with me several weeks, with some small intermissions; so that I was wholly disabled from visiting the meetings at Haerlem, Alkmaer, and in Friesland, &c. Continuing weak, and finding myself clear, in the sixth month, 1683, I set my face again homeward, and the Lord made my way prosperous; and by the good hand of God I was brought home, where in a short time I had a greater exercise to be tried withal. It pleased the Lord to call away from me my dear wife, who had been indeed a meet help, and a faithful and loving wife to me, about five and thirty years; and had with a firm faith trusted in God, and had her eye to him in all our sufferings, trials, and tribulations, and had seen before her departure how all had wrought for good unto us, and was satisfied in his will. In this exercise I found the good hand of God bowing my spirit to his will; and I murmured not, but praised his holy name that had let her con-

tinue so long with me, and had made her so great a comfort to me in all my afflictions. Hereby doth the Lord work, to the fitting and preparing of my spirit, to give up all things visible and mortal, that at last mortality may be swallowed up of life; and that I, and all his dear people may see this work perfected, is my earnest travel and labour.

After my dear wife's departure, I found the Lord still with me, supporting me in his blessed work he had called me unto, and my eye was unto him to guide my way. In the latter end of the year, 1684, I received an opening in the Truth, that the Lord would give me another wife, to be both a comfort and a careful nurse to me; but about the same time, I saw that the Lord had a service for me beyond the seas in the summer coming. I went first to London, and staid there the yearly meeting, and been consolated and refreshed by beholding the glory of God that from day to day appeared, and in beholding the love and unity that increased among the brethren. I then went over to Holland, accompanied with my dear friend, whom I had seen would be given me to wife, and divers other Friends both of Holland and England. The Lord prospered our way, and we came there to their yearly meeting, where we found the enemy had been trying his old stratagems, to lay stumbling blocks in the way of the weak, and had caused some to stumble and fall; and a spirit of enmity was gotten up very high, and pretended their matter should be heard at the yearly meeting. And so it was, and the love of God wrought wonderfully for their restoration, which after several days labour, was so far effected, that they with joy and thanksgiving came back, and laid by all their weapons of war and contention, and were again brought to a tenderness towards God and his people, to our mutual joy and rejoicing. While I was in Holland, visiting the meetings there, I heard there was a door opened for the Truth, in a little city in Friesland, called Mackum, which I had long desired. I went thither, and preached the everlasting gospel among them; where I was received with great kindness, and the witness of God was reached in several, and a love raised to the Truth, which in the Lord's time will bring forth good fruit.

Then returning into Holland, and having cleared ourselves of what lay upon us there, in the sixth month, 1685, we returned for England; and in some time after signified to our Friends and brethren what was in our hearts, in relation to marriage, which was approved unanimously among them. In the Lord's due time, which was upon the first of October, 1685, we took each other in marriage, and found the Lord with us in it, blessing his own work, and hath indeed manifested it, that we are of God's joining; and he hath made us a blessing in his hand one to another, and true yoke-fellows, both in respect of our own affairs, and in the affairs of his church and people. For all which, I find my soul engaged to speak good of his name, to bless him, and praise him, and to say with his servants of old, his mercies endure for ever.

Indeed she was a woman beyond many, excelling in the virtues of the Holy Spirit with which she was baptized, as she showed forth, both in life and doctrine, which made her to be a sweet savour throughout the churches of Christ, and was a pattern of patience and holiness, discharging her place as a tender and watchful mother to her children, and as a careful and loving wife to me. But alas, as the greatest enjoyments of temporal blessings have their end, so it happened unto me, for it proved the pleasure of the Lord to try me whether I could part with, as well as receive, this great mercy. In the beginning of the year, 1687, she fell into bodily weakness, and continued so two or three months, and upon the 9th of the third month, she slept with the faithful in the Lord, in a perfect resignation to his will, making a blessed end, to my great joy and consolation. Although it was hard to flesh and blood to part with so precious a companion, and to be left alone in my old age, accompanied with many infirmities of body, yet feeling fellowship with her in the joy into which she entered, gives me great satisfaction; knowing right well her portion is with the righteous, and her eternal inheritance is amongst the just, where sorrow, snares and temptations cannot come.

After she was buried, I went up to London, and conversed among the brethren three months, where the Lord was pleased to bless my service unto many, and then returned to Colchester, where I continued great part of the winter following. In the year 1688, I went up again to London, and visited meetings thereabouts, as I found it upon me, and also some meetings at my return in Essex and Suffolk. About the eighth month, I went again to London, and was there in the great revolution of government; and sometimes as I was able of body, laboured with other Friends, with the parliament that then sat in the year 1689, to get those penal laws by which Friends and others had suffered, to be suspended; and by the good hand of God, an act was passed to that purpose, which hath proved greatly to the ease of tender consciences.

After the yearly meeting of Friends in 1689 was over, I returned again to my habitation, and continued there the whole winter, not being able of body to travel by coach as I had done, many infirmities growing upon me, yet found

laily renewing of strength in the inward man, ınd the word of the Lord lived in my heart, to he refreshing my soul, and the souls of many ender babes that lived and grew by the milk of it; and in this is my fellowship with the liv- ng, and my labour, travail and prayer, that all nay be kept in the feeling of it, for this living vord abideth for ever.

After this he spent his time mostly in Col- hester and London, in the service of Truth, nd finished his life the 28th day of the sixth nonth, 1692.

The Testimony of the men's meeting at Colches- ter, concerning STEPHEN CRISP.

It is sufficient for the righteous, that they now the Lord, and are known of him, and hat their life is hid with God in Christ: such are not for popularity. Yet forasmuch as the oble acts of the righteous, by which they ob- ain a good report, are such as have been plea- ing to God, and the names of such shall be ad in remembrance; we find a constraint upon ur spirits, to give this short testimony of the aithfulness of our ancient friend and brother, tephen Crisp, late of Colchester, and unto that lessed gift which the Lord endued him with, eyond many in our day; and of his sincere abours and travels, who lived with us for nany years, who was a man zealous for the ord, his name, and truth; faithful and diligent n his work, and able to give counsel and ad- ice to many states and conditions, and which e often did with a free and ready mind.

Some of us that have known him from the eginning, can remember how the Lord was leased to visit him in the days of his youth, nd beget desires in him after himself, and fter the knowledge of the way of life; which id work upon him, so as to put him upon eeking and getting acquaintance with the best nd most upright-hearted of those days, and as for a time a teacher among a separate eople. In which way and state he continued, ntil it pleased the Lord, (for a distressed seed's rke,) to send his servant James Parnell, to is town, in the year 1655, who by the word f the Lord committed to him, which clave ocks asunder, among divers others, reached nto this our friend; he with many more in ese parts, being ready to cry out, What shall e do to be saved? By his ministry under od, he was convinced of the everlasting uth, and forthwith made profession of it; and great change was soon wrought in him, his nderstanding opened, and heart wounded be- re the Lord, in the feeling of that lively word his soul, which is a discerner of the thoughts nd intents of the heart. Then his former building came to be laid low, and he saw him- self to have but a talk and notion of heavenly things; and that though he had thought him- self rich, he was but poor and naked, and that to a day of stripping he must come, and to deny himself. And so he did, and sat down in silence under the cross to his own will, and waited for counsel and instruction to be minis- tered to him by the Lord. After some time he had such openness in his mind, as to impart now and then a word of exhortation to them that needed it, and visiting some neighbour meetings, was enlarged to speak a few words among them, and then returned home to his family, and outward calling. Thus continuing until the Lord further enlarged his gift, he came to know a further growth and increase in the truth, and in his testimony for it. Then he found drawings in his spirit into the north of England, and afterwards into many other parts of it; and into Scotland and Holland, and some parts of Germany, where he travelled, and was serviceable among them, the more, in that he had obtained an understanding in the Dutch language, in a very short time, of whose service there, in the divers visits that he gave them, we leave to our dear friends in those parts, to give account.

He had a large understanding given him, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal things, by which he was very serviceable to many widows and fatherless, and others, (as di- vers can testify,) being very ready and free to assist them; and as he had freely received, did freely give; and was therein not only ser- viceable to Friends, but also to others of his neighbours.

He was zealously and conscientiously affect- ed for the peace and prosperity of Friends in every place; and for that cause diligently labour- ed amongst them; and when he was not able to ride or travel much by reason of his distem- pers, as in former days, he continued chiefly in this town of Colchester, and in the city of Lon- don, in the Lord's work and service, as long as strength and ability of body lasted.

He was of a constant, firm, bold mind and spirit, against all those that secretly or openly sought occasion to make rents and divisions among us in the churches of Christ, and la- boured diligently to preserve the simple-hearted from being betrayed by their snares and cun- ning insinuations, exhorting them, as did the apostle, to mark those that cause divisions, and to avoid them, and to keep in the unity of the spirit, and in the sense of the grace received, that all might grow up in it, into a further dis- cerning of the mysterious workings of the ene- my that goes round about, and tries every way, to see whom he may devour.

He had a gift of utterance beyond many,

sound in judgment and doctrine, and very convincing to the understandings of many that heard him; for which cause, his testimony was affecting to many that were not of us, who would come to hear him when he was with us. He would often call to people to come and try the sufficiency of the grace of God, a measure of which was committed to them, and whether it was not able to save from sin, yea, to the utmost, all such as received and obeyed it. He divided the word aright, and turned many from darkness to light; many mourners have been comforted by him, and many tender-hearted helped through their inward exercises and conflicts of spirit, and hath been a strength to them in their spiritual warfare. His testimony was as a sharp two-edged sword, to the rebellious, obdurate, and hard-hearted, to the piercing through them many a time; and his very outward countenance hath sometimes struck to the heart, as some have since confessed. Some that have gotten into a spirit of enmity, have been made through the power that did accompany him, to come and acknowledge the hurt which that spirit had done them; and that the Lord was with him.

At taking his last farewell, when he was about to leave us, he was for several meetings before his departure, mightily opened in his spirit, in our public meetings, desiring to be clear of the blood of all, as he several times of late said he was, labouring to speak to the states of all, and also to Friends' services to which they were called in their day, to keep truth's testimony clear from all unrighteous actions that might be committed by those that lived not in that they made profession of, and to set judgment a-top of them, saying, if we ceased to separate between the precious and the vile, the vile would overrun us, and we should become like other people, Also he took notice of, and rejoiced in the love and unity that had been, and was among us, exhorting and counselling us to be and continue in the same mind, keeping the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace.

He was beloved of his friends, his townsmen and neighbours, and left or had not many enemies, at least not more than apostates and false professors of the truth, who forsaking and turning their backs on God, no wonder such are envious and opposers of his servants.

He was very tender and helpful to divers, who have been of late called forth into a public testimony, and into the same work wherein he was himself employed by his great Lord and Master Christ Jesus, being very tender and ready to help forward that which he found to come from the motion of the Seed of life in any, and would speak a word in season to such. And his last testimony in our yearly meeting on that account, is worthy of remembrance.

In his last being among us, he was very weighty in his visits in our private families, often dropping some weighty discourse among us for our edification, furtherance, and growth in the truth.

For all which works sake, he was much esteemed, and was worthy of double honour; and we doubt not but is clothed with a large share of honour, glory and immortality with our God, which is the portion of all those that faithfully serve and honour the Lord in their day, as he did.

Signed in behalf of our men's meeting at Colchester, the 17th of the eighth month, 1692,

Arthur Cotten,	Thomas Wear,
Thomas Bales,	Daniel Vande Wall,
Solomon Fromantell,	Anthony Whaypool,
John Furly,	Henry Pomfret,
Samuel Cooper,	John Perry.
Richard Waller,	

From the second-day morning meeting, the 4th of the Fourth month, 1694.

Being not willing to multiply many particular testimonies concerning our dear deceased friend and brother Stephen Crisp, and having unity with the aforegoing accounts, in a living remembrance of that love, life and power that he was endued with, and of his labours and services in the gospel of peace, in the church of Christ, and of his travails and sufferings for the propagation and preaching the same, we hereunto subscribe our names, and tenderly desire that all may love, live, and have their minds sincerely exercised towards the Lord, in that which teacheth how to rightly prize, esteem and make use of the Lord's mercies, and the labours, services and writings of the ministers and servants of Christ, in whose love we remain servants of Christ, and well-wishers to all men,

George Whitehead,	John Whitehead,
Francis Camfield,	William Bingley,
John Vaughton,	Samuel Waldenfield,
John Eldridge,	Fran. Stamper.
Ambrose Rigge,	

The Testimony of the yearly meeting of Friends, held at Amsterdam, the Fifth month, anno, 1693, concerning our dear friend, and servant of Christ Jesus, Stephen Crisp.

Being acquainted with the intentions of our dear friends and brethren in England, to commit to posterity, in a collection, the writings of that eminent servant of God, and faithful minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Stephen Crisp, whose ministry in and through the power of God, was effectual unto many; and amongst the rest, to us also in these eastern countries, viz. Holland Friesland, Embden, Hamburgh,

ederickstadt, Dantzick, Palatinate, and Crefelt: and we having been no small sharers with ir Friends in England, &c., in the blessed nefit of his acceptable service, do give also ir testimony, in this collection concerning him,

a true and faithful account of his services, bours and travels in these parts, and to bless e Lord for his continued care over his church id people here. He sent him first amongst us, bout the time that it pleased God to take from s our dear and well-beloved Friends, and his ithful servants, and ministers of the gospel, William Ames, William Caton, and John Higins, who had it chiefly upon them to preach ie truth and watch over the little flock of hrist in these countries, and to minister unto ie believers thereof in these parts, according the heavenly gift committed to them.

We say, we have cause to bless the Lord, nd esteem his Divine hand of providence, that bout that juncture of time, the Lord should ove upon the spirit of this our dear friend . C. in the powerful drawings of his love, to irn his face towards us. In the movings of at love and life in which he then began to ecommend himself to us, and in which he till lives among us, he was made willing to ut his shoulders under the burthens that he vas to bear in these parts, on the truth's account; and that in such a degree, that he made t not only his work to come and visit us sometimes, and thereby give us opportunities to be efreshed and comforted in his company, in ur meetings and private discourses, as we ave also been with many others of our dear nd beloved Friends from England, from time o time, but also he very diligently took notice f all the occurrences in which truth was conerned.

He was not weary of labouring in the pirit of wisdom and understanding, which God vas pleased to endue him with in a large measure, both in words and writings, in the spreading of the truth, in doctrine, and stopping the nouths of gainsayers, and turning back the calumnies and falsehoods which were often cast pon the truth, and return it upon the heads of ts enemies and opposers; and also in counsel, nformation, admonition, exhortation and advice, both in public and private, preaching the truth very acceptably in the Low Dutch language, nd assisting divers ways many that wanted it, in the ordering of their concerns belonging to this world, for which also the Lord had greatly furnished him with a capacity beyond many others. When from time to time, his service for God's truth called him from hence, he left us always that comfort, that he did not draw his heart from us, which was very fatherly towards us, but held a constant eye upon us, and truth's and our concerns here, and was always ready, as much as that outward distance, and his service in England would permit him, to assist us, as when he was present among us.

When he came to Holland, he also generally went to Friesland, where he visited some there that were in a measure convinced; and others that were willing to hear his testimony for the truth, even before there was a meeting settled in that province, with dear Josiah Coale, in the year 1667. Afterward also he went to Groningen, Embden, Hamburgh, and Frederickstadt. At Leuwarden he visited some Friends that were but a little before imprisoned there for coming into Friesland, contrary to the edict there published, forbidding any Quakers coming thither. Against which persecution he wrote his two books, the First and Second Part of the Outcry against the Persecution in Friesland.

In other places thereabout, he preached the gospel, to the strengthening and comforting God's heritage in those parts, being in the year 1670. In the year 1667, he visited the small company of Friends, then living at a place called Creisheim, in the Palatinate. He also went to Heidelberg, the residence of the prince elector Charles Louis, to acquaint him with the unrighteous dealings of the magistrates of Creisheim, in taking from Friends, three or four times the value of goods for an imposition, which Friends for conscience sake could not pay; and was friendly received, and discoursed by the prince; whereby Friends were somewhat eased in their sufferings. Another time he made a journey into the county of Meurs, to the town of Crevelt, where a meeting was set up. Also he visited some well-affected people at Weesel and Cleef: and Anno 1685, he gave us his last visit here in Holland.

Though his heart was with us to the end of his days, yet his bodily weakness and infirmities growing upon and disabling him from performing such travels, prevented him from manifesting such endeared love to us in such manner as he used to do before. So at last, he having finished his service, and done his work, for which the Lord had raised him up, and assisted him, with his power, presence and wisdom, to perform, he is entered into the rest of the righteous and faithful followers of the Lamb, having passed through many exercises both inward and outward, which to mention, we shall leave to others, who were more fully acquainted with them. We dare not repine for the loss of his outward company, but rest satisfied in the will of God, giving thanks to him, who hath blessed us in the enjoyment of his service of love, being still partakers of the blessed effects thereof; and hope the Lord of heaven and earth, will be pleased to raise up many others, to stand up in the places of such faithful labourers in his vineyard.

Signed in behalf of, and by order of the Quarterly Meeting abovesaid, by JOHN CLAUS.

A WORD OF REPROOF TO THE TEACHERS OF THE WORLD,

Which may be of use for the trial of their ways and standing, that all who are willing to be undeceived, may come to an understanding to know what sort of men in this nation they are, who serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, who in words profess God and the Scriptures, but in life deny both. With an invitation and warning to them and all people, to turn from iniquity, and serve the living God, whose service is not known, but in the light; neither is any service or worship accepted by him, but as it is acted in obedience to his measure [of grace] which is light, and hath lighted every one that cometh into the world.

Howl, ye Shepherds, and cry; and wallow yourselves in the ashes, ye principal of the Flock; for the days of your slaughter and of your dispersion are accomplished; and ye shall fall like a pleasant vessel.—Jer. xxv. 34.

Written by a friend to all people, and a lover of the light, and the ways thereof, whose outward name is Stephen Crisp.

This is written to go abroad amongst the parish teachers and their flocks, and is serviceable for them to consider of; for the Lord God of heaven and earth is arising in his mighty power to plead the cause of the poor and needy, and to deliver the lambs from the teeth of the wolves and the lions, who catch for the prey; and to make a separation in the flocks of the idol shepherds. Behold his voice is uttered from Zion, and his word goeth forth from his holy habitation, who dwells in the light, and in it is his voice heard, which shakes the earth, and makes its inhabitants to tremble.

Therefore all people fear the Lord, and mind that of him which reproves sin and evil in the secret of your hearts, which is the grace which hath appeared unto all of you; but hath not yet taught all of you to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, but in the lusts of ignorance do remain, looking at a man without you to be your teacher, and so know not the Lord to be your teacher. For your sakes who are simple, in whom there are any desires, is this given forth, that you may see your teachers tried by their own rule, and found too light and too narrow. Therefore all be warned for time to come, and in the fear of the Lord will you come to know the beginning of that wisdom which comprehends all those teachers which feed the itching ears.

S. C.

This word is unto you, oh, ye priests! In vain are all your coverings; for the light of our God is risen, and hath discovered you, and his power hath rent, and is rending your coverings, and his controversy is proclaimed against you. He hath brought forth his little army, which is little in your eyes, but is a mighty host in the power of his Spirit, upon whom he is fulfilling his promise, that one shall chase an hundred, and ten shall put a thousand to flight. As our forefathers did, so do we, (in this day of our God, in a spiritual sense,) by faith turn to flight the armies of the aliens, and stop the mouths of lions, and obtain promises, &c. You yourselves are witnesses in your practices, who are not able to stand, but often flee, when the life of God ariseth in any to speak to you, though in contemptible instruments in your eyes, and so have many hundreds of you been put to flight without sword and spear. Then you run from your worship, to the house of your armoury, where you are fitted with the weapons of the beast's warfare, (as whips, stocks, prisons, and such like,) in whose army you are found fighting against the Lamb and his army; by whom you shall be overcome, and your carcases cast into the open field. Now are your works of darkness, and great swelling words of vanity, brought to light, and there tried and judged, which is our rule to try and judge withal. Seeing you say the Scripture is your rule, whereby things ought to be tried and judged; you and your works shall be tried by the Scriptures also, that so you may be condemned by both.

First, Ye say ye are ministers of Christ: nay, but ye are his ministers whom ye serve and obey, and whose work ye do. Now sin is the work of the devil, and to destroy it in the flesh, was Christ made manifest in the flesh. You that deny the destruction of sin in this life, you deny it in flesh; for he that departeth this life, goeth out of the flesh, and leaveth it, and so you deny the work of Christ, whose ministers you say you are; and he is no servant or minister of Christ, who denies his work. Now read and consider, sin, and the man of it, are against Christ; and the ministers of him who is against Christ always strive to keep up, and to uphold that which Christ and his ministers strive to destroy and throw down, which is sin in the flesh. So here it is plain, that you who strive to uphold sin, uphold Antichrist, whose ministers ye are.

Again, Christ said to his ministers, Go ye forth, &c. But where is your going forth? when some of you have purchased to yourselves places, and some have gained by flattery, and some do hold by force and tyranny a certain place, circuit or quarter from whence ye seek your gain, and there, are not ashamed to sue by title, as rector, incumbent, or lecturer of such a place. Oh, horrible! that ever such should say they are ministers of Christ! Yea, and some of you can boast and glory in your shame, saying in your declarations, you have been in such a place some twenty, some

ty, some forty years. Was ever such a ng heard of concerning any of the ministers Christ? Were not they approved in their nistry, by trials, by travellings, by hardships l dangers, both by sea and land, in want, in viness, &c. But you have chosen the plea- es of sin, and to live at ease in the flesh; destruction and misery shall overtake you a day when you are not aware, who will not warned.

Again, Christ said to his ministers, All power given unto me, and I am with you. He did say, all power is given unto me, and I will e it to the magistrate; and if any come to ose you or your doctrine, go to him, he ll defend you. They had the witness in mselves, and the power was with them, and with them to the end of the world, which ps the mouths of gainsayers; which power the power of Christ, which the ministers of rist have according to promise. The pow- of Antichrist, the ministers of Antichrist ve, which is manifest in persecuting, in vio- ce, in tumults, and such like; which power your defence, who say, ye are ministers of rist, and are not; but are ministers of Anti- rist, and so proved liars and condemned, and tnessed against, both in the light and by the riptures.

Secondly, You say you preach the gospel.

Nay, that is not the gospel of Christ you each, but another, which he that bringeth is cursed: for the gospel of Christ is the power God unto salvation to them that believe. t what you preach is not so: no, not to them t believe it, who preach that they cannot be ved. So if they believe what you declare, ey must believe that they cannot be saved ile in this life: and so it is not the power or spel of Christ which you preach, but the wer of darkness to keep all in death out of e faith, which gives victory, and through ich the creature comes to know the gospel, d the power which saves and redeems up God.

Again, the gospel is everlasting, and none can each it, but they who have received it. You hose knowledge stands in carnal arts and sci- ces, and inventions, which came in time, and ust perish in time, your knowledge cannot re- ive the everlasting gospel, when it is preached to you, much less preach it unto others. In at knowledge do you corrupt yourselves and hers, and are like to perish in your corruption gether, except you turn to the light which was fore corruption, that it may show you corrup- n, and lead you out of corruption, that ye per- not; for to such as are in the perishing way ich is corrupt, the everlasting gospel is hid.

Again, that, which you preach, is not free without charge; but the gospel was so, and is so; and as long as force and violence, and pride and covetousness are found amongst you, which make that which you preach burden- some and chargeable to the people, cease call- ing it the gospel of Christ. For if you do call it so, the light in all consciences condemns you, and the practice of Christ's apostles condemns you, and the scripture declares against you, and your condemnation is just, and shall abide for ever.

Thirdly, you say you preach the Truth.

Nay, that is not the Truth you preach, for it sets none free; for many have abode in your doctrine and worship a long time, some twenty, some forty, and some sixty years, and yet are not set free. You have brought them to believe that they cannot be freed, and so have caused them to err from the right path, and such may die in their iniquities; but their blood will be required at your hands, who have beguiled and deceived them.

Christ Jesus, the Light of the World, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe, he said, if ye abide in the Truth, the Truth shall set you free. He is the Light, the true Light, and the Truth that sets free; and you who deny the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and yet say you preach the Truth, you are liars, and the lake is your portion ex- cept you repent.

Again, What you preach you sell, and so are declared against expressly in Scripture, see- ing you say you preach the Truth: for what saith it? Buy the Truth, and sell it not. Read your condemnation all you who make bargains for that which you call truth; and let the light in your own consciences judge, whether you do not deny Scripture, yea or nay.

Fourthly, you say, he that preacheth the gos- pel, ought to live of the gospel.

I answer, he unto whom the gospel of Christ is committed to preach, none can hinder him of living of it; for it is his life, and he needeth not an outward law to hold up his livelihood. Nei- ther did any that ever preached the gospel, make use of any such power; but their power they had and they have alone from Christ Jesus, both for the inward and outward sup- port. Have we not power to eat? have we not power to drink, saith the apostle, who was a minister of Christ? But he had not power to make bargains with any people for a certain establishment of a sum of money, and then to seek for an augmentation besides, as some of you do, and then to sue at law for default of payment. And if it were paid, then to spend it in voluptuousness upon his lust as you do; some in the lust of drunkenness and gluttony, and some in pride, in satisfying your lusts in clothes and in building, and some in covetous-

ness, making a god of money. So you have chosen to yourselves gods which shall perish with you, and they shall not save you; but your nakedness and your shame the light hath discovered, who have refused to be covered by it; and while ye live in pride and gluttony, in envy and covetousness, in strife and contention, this is not to live of the gospel, but this is the fruit of the corrupt tree which is for the fire.

Fifthly, you say, the labourer is worthy of his hire.

Yea, but he must have it of him that sets him to work, and hath profit by his work. Now he that worketh for one man, and would have hire of another, who set him not on work, this is unreasonable; and so is it for a man to exact wages for his work, when none hath profit by his work, as is seen at this day among you priests, who are out of the reasonableness and good order which most men besides yourselves are in, in this respect.

Therefore be ashamed and amend your ways, and labour with your hands the thing that is good, that you may come to eat of the fruit of your labour, and be satisfied; and be not always like the greedy dumb dogs that can never have enough. For now is the day come which hath declared your work, and you are comprehended and fathomed, and measured with an equal line, and your coverings are too narrow, and the feet of your image is smitten, and the stone is increasing to fill the whole earth. Then shall not your place be found, and the recompense of your labour will be destruction, woe and misery, which ye shall receive of the hands of the righteous God, the judge of heaven and earth, who will judge every one of you according to your doing. Then shall all your hard speeches which ye have uttered against the innocent, be returned into your own bosoms, and ye shall know that ye were warned, and the light in your consciences shall in that day testify unto God's righteousness in your destruction.

This is given forth from the spirit of Truth, for the manifesting and rebuking of the spirit of error, and written in obedience to the commandment of the Lord in the year accounted, 1657. S. C.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND:

With a word of reproof to the priests and teachers and officers therein, for their many corrupt doctrines and practices; also a warning, and general invitation to all people, that live under their tyrannical government, to come to the Truth, which will free them from the bondage they have long lain under; and to the Light which will show them the way to escape being longer partakers of their sins; and so they shall escape being partakers of the plagues which shall shortly be poured forth without mixture upon them which continue in their ungodly deeds and works of darkness, in rebellion against the light that makes them manifest. Herein is their church made manifest: 1. In its foundation. 2. Its members wherewith it is builded. 3. In its officers. 4. In its doctrines, of God, of God's Word, of Faith, and of Election. 5. In its ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, (as they call them.) 6. In its discipline. With an exhortation to all people to come out from amongst them, to that which makes them manifest, which is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

Written in love to the simple-hearted in that nation, and in witness of the Truth, and in testimony against the false teachers, and their false doctrines, ways and worships; by one who desires that people might be brought to the Truth in their inward parts, to worship God in that, by the leading of his own spirit, that so they might be accepted; who am known among men by the name of Stephen Crisp.

To the several presbyters in Scotland and to every member of them, and to the Scottish church in general is this directed, and sent as a word of reproof and warning from him who is the head of the true church, which is pure and undefiled, and sent by, and given through his servant, who being a member of that church, and participating of the power and wisdom of the head, (according to the proportion of a member,) does thereby comprehend your church, of which I am not a member. And in obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, the true head, I do hereby reprove you of your adultery and hypocrisy, and several other spots and wrinkles that are in and upon your church, which now with the light are made manifest.

In the fear and name of the Lord, I do warn you to return, and come to that which maketh manifest and maketh clean, before ye be cast upon the bed of misery and perpetual sorrow with Babylon your mother, and Jezebel your prophetess, by the power of whose sorceries and enchantments, in and among her merchants and disciples, many poor people in this nation are seduced and deceived, and kept from the anointing, which teacheth freely the Truth, which no lie is of, nor springs from. They whom you keep from this which teacheth freely that so they might buy or hire teaching of you, among whom they are ever learning, and never learned, nor brought to know the Truth which makes them free that abides in it, these I say, can never know the true church which is the ground of Truth, in which none can be pillars, but such as overcome sin, and transgression and death which entered thereby, and came over all men; in which state God's church is not.

There are but two states, namely, the state of sin and transgression, the wages whereof is death; and the state of redemption from sin,

which is through the power of the resurrection from the dead, which is the state of the church; between which two states is an absolute antipathy. They that are in the transgression, are not in the church, for then it would be spotted; and they that are in the church, are not in the transgression, because the church is in God where transgression cannot be. They that are holden in sin and death, are not risen from the dead, and they who are made partakers of the resurrection and life, which is Christ, are not holden in sin. The same power that raised up Jesus from the dead, raised them from the power of sin and death, and being thus raised, makes them members of the church, which is pure and undefiled. This is separated from sinners and from sin, by the mighty operation of the cross, which is the power of God, by which we are translated from death to life, from sin to righteousness, from being members of the harlot and her church, to be members of Christ and his church; and this is the church which we own and witness.

Now as concerning your church, I have not a few things against it, but even many, wherein you are to be reproved, and must be amended or rather changed, before you can justly be called and accounted the church of Christ, or any part thereof. Therefore listen a while and give attention, ye priests and presbyters of Scotland, who have a long time been talking of reforming and amending, and purging, and making clean your church. I will declare unto you the way which ye ought to take, to accomplish that which you so much pretend for, and cannot yet accomplish, nor indeed ever can, till that be removed, which hath and doth hinder a right and thorough reformation.

The first thing in your church, that is presented to my understanding to be reproved, is the foundation upon which it is builded, it not being the same, which the church of Christ was and is builded upon, as will thus appear.

The foundation of your church, is that which stands in the fleshly part of man; namely, forms and names of the things the saints wrote of, without the power, which are attainable by the fleshly wisdom of this world, by which God is not known, nor the body which is the church discerned. They that can get the saints words to speak, although they be out of their life, yet such are accounted fit members of your church; and of such members, and upon this foundation is your church builded, the saints words being the chief corner-stone thereof. But Christ said, he would build his church upon that of which the knowledge came not by flesh or blood, but by revelation from God his Father which is in heaven; as you may read in the xvith of Matth. 17, 19. And this is the rock which is now made manifest by revelation, through the spirit, which thing you deny to be in these days; and so are not builded upon what comes to be known so, but upon that of which the knowledge comes by flesh and blood. You that have laid another foundation for your church, than what is by revelation, your foundation must be razed, and your church must fall, the pillars whereof are already shaken, and shall shortly be removed.

Therefore come all to the true foundation, which was and is the foundation of the true church, which is Christ, the Son of the living God, who is the light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world with the true light; and let Him be the beginning and foundation of your building, and that which will stand for ever. This was before transgression was, and before will-worship was; against this the gates of hell cannot prevail.

This is the corner stone which ye builders have rejected, and do still reject, [Christ, the light,] and so rejecting it, are building Babylon, as it were, which is now confounding; and ye are put to a stop, and can proceed no further. The people see your confusion in many parts of the nation, and begin to love and embrace them whom you have cast out of your church, who have the light for their foundation, which answereth the witness of God in all. Whosoever builds, and not on this, their building shall come to naught, and the builders shall be ashamed, for that which should uphold them, will come a-top of them, and break them to pieces.

The next thing reprovable in your Scottish church, is the matter whereof it is composed. And in this also are you contrary to the true church, the spouse of Christ. Your church is composed of evil and ungodly men and women, whose hearts are delighting in ungodly practices, as swearing, and lying, and cozening, and dissembling, and scoffing, and scorning, yea, in striking and beating the innocent. Of such is your church made up; dead stones, whose hearts are as an adamant, their mouths filled with cursing, their tongues filled with venom, and their hands filled with violence. These are your materials with which ye have builded, but the Lord God of light and power, is making you bare and manifest, and by his power is throwing you down, where shame shall cover your church, where the scorners shall be scorned in the day of their calamity, and the strikers shall be stricken with a rod that will break them to pieces. The sword of the Almighty is drawn, and shall wound them in their inward parts, that have wounded his children in their outward bodies, and grieved his Holy Spirit. Then shall howling and lamentation come upon your church, but there shall be none to pity; for the double reward of

your doings to God's children, shall shortly come upon you, and that is the word of the Lord to you.

But if you demand, how is all this proved that your church is composed and made up of such persons as these? I answer, I prove it thus, not only by the hearing of the ear, and by what I have seen of you, in the eternal light of the Son of God before my coming among you; but also being an eye witness of your behaviour towards me. When I have in obedience to God, and love to your souls, but proclaimed the fear of God amongst you, in one of your mass-houses or markets; what an offence hath it been counted by you, who are of the Scottish presbyterian church, some crying kick him, kick him, knock him down. Such like language and usage have I and many of my brethren and sisters found amongst you. In particular the behaviour of the people of Dalkieth, on the 13th of the ninth month, 1659, may witness; where, had not the soldiers appeared as a stop to your murderous purposes against me, your works of mischief had more appeared. But your spirit is seen and known to be of one nature with her, who thirsteth after, and is drunk with the blood of the saints.

Besides, there needs no greater proof of this charge against your church, than what hath and doth proceed out of your own mouths, who are daily confessing yourselves to be such kind of people, and so are judged out of your own mouths, as all such slothful servants ever were. Doth not your priest say that ye are all going astray, every one after the lusts of his own heart, and have forsaken God the fountain of living waters, and digged to yourselves cisterns that can hold no water, and that your hearts are estranged from God, regarding lying vanities. Many such like things might be mentioned from your own mouths, the breath whereof as fire shall devour you. Now if it be not so, why do you say so, lying against your own souls? And if it be so, how can your church be the church of God, pure and undefiled, unspotted, and without wrinkle, or any such thing? Answer for yourselves, or cease from deceiving yourselves and others with the name, church of God, for with him dwelleth no iniquity.

If the light were the foundation, then would none be counted fit members of your church but such as walked in it; and so your fellowship would stand in the light as the true church fellowship did and doth. But evil doers, as scoffers, liars, proud, covetous persons, strikers, fierce despisers, railers and persecutors, such hate the light, and deny and reject it, and so may be continued in your church fellowship, which is in sin for term of your lives, and shall be continued in the inheritance of utter darkness in the end, where shall be weeping and wailing, and gnashing of teeth for ever.

Another thing reprovable in your church, is the officers thereof, they being in all things contrary to the qualifications signified by the scriptures of truth; as ye might well see, if the god of this world, the prince of darkness, had not blinded your eyes. A little of the disproportion between them, and the officers spoken of in the scriptures, for sake of the simple, who desire to be informed, I shall instance.

First of all concerning your presbyters. For the presbytery which the scriptures speak of, who laid their hands on Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14, were such with whom was the power of God, as was manifest by Timothy's receiving a gift by the laying on of their hands, who had received the gift of God themselves, and had also received power to communicate the same. But you who are proud men, and covetous men, who usurp authority, and presume to be called by the name, and deny that power to be extant with you, or any else, or that any can be immediately called or gifted for the ministry, you are of that sort mentioned in Titus i. 16. Who profess ye know God, but in works deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate. These qualifications do belong to such men as ye profess yourselves to be, which I shall set down, and then let all sober people judge, whether ye be reprobate unto them, yea or nay.

1. They ought to be blameless, and whether ye be so or not, be your own judges, who say, none can live without sin, and so consequently not without blame, for all sin is blameable; so in this particular you have excluded yourselves. Then, watchful; but what do you watch for? except it be opportunity to promote your corrupt honour, or to augment and exact your ungodly gain. Then, of good behaviour, that is not to rail, and to curse, and to stir up people to tumults, and to stoning those who are not of your judgment; this is evil behaviour. Then, given to hospitality; as to this, let the poor people who in your parishes go in cold and hunger, while you live in fulness and idleness, bear witness against you. Then, apt to teach. In this also are ye far short, who must take a week's time to study, to teach the people two or three hours, and yet cannot get your devised studied stuff to hold together, but one while is confirmed that, which it may be the same day, or shortly after, you will deny again. Then, not given to wine, no strikers. How many of you have been guilty herein, in drunkenness, and striking, and setting others on to strike, would be too tedious to mention here; but who desires to be informed of them and their manners, let them in sincerity take

tice of them, and they shall come to under-
ınd their spirit; also some of their works of
is nature, are already printed and presented
public view. Then, not greedy of filthy
ɔre. And in this particular, how far your
eediness hath appeared beyond all that have
ne before you, let the sufferings of them, who
r conscience sake, could not put into your
ouths, bear witness against you. Again saith
ɜ apostle in the 7th verse of that third
apter of the 1st of Timothy, he must have a
od report of them that are without. How
r are ye short of this, who cannot keep up a
od name amongst them of your own church,
t your covetousness and deceit are manifest
ong them; notwithstanding your tyranny
th much stop their mouths, and blind their
es, that they yet see not so much of your
ceit, as shortly they will come to see.

But in brief, the description of the church of-
ers in the whole scriptures of the apostles, is
at they be blameless; which ye say none
w can be; and that they be filled with the
ly Ghost, and with faith; which ye say they
nuot be; for sin must have room in them,
en they cannot be filled with the other. And
at they hold the mystery of faith in a pure
nscience, which ye say they cannot do, for
ne sin must remain, and that defiles the con-
ience. That they should be gentle towards
l men, in meekness instructing them that op-
se themselves. But out of this and all these
alifications ye being found, your officiating
ust be like your officers, and your officers
e like the members, a body fit for destruction
gether, which the Lord is appearing against
his mighty power, to cut off head and tail,
ot and branch together.

2. The doctrines of your church also are re-
ovable and corrupt in many things, contrary
the scriptures. And first in your doctrines
God, who you say is to be known and be-
ved on, as in the distinguishment of three
rsons. Herein ye teach contrary to the
riptures of Truth, which ye say is your rule,
d by it are all such dreamers and deceivers
dged, and by the spirit which gave them forth,
hich speaks no where of three persons, as ye
agine and teach, but declares of the only
se God, who is one in his being and sub-
ance, individual, infinite, who divideth all
ings, and to every sort their portion, who
niteth all things, and is not limited. His
wer and spirit is inseparable from him, who
the Father of the spirits of all flesh, who by
s power createth, and by his spirit quickeneth
l living creatures, whose power is Christ, and
ose spirit is the holy and eternal life which
ey partake of, who wait for his appearance
his power. These doth not the scripture
ll three persons, but the one Witness in the
heaven, which you are all ignorant of, who
dream and divine to the people, of a distinguish-
ment of persons in the Godhead. Therefore
cease your deceit ye deceivers and soothsayers
of Egypt, and come to the light that shines in
the heart, that by it you may come to the true
knowledge of God your Creator, and of his
power by which ye were created, and of his
spirit by which he quickens into newness of
life, all those who fear him, and wait for his
salvation, which now by the light is making
manifest.

3. Your doctrine concerning the Word of
God, is altogether reprovable, who teach people
to believe, that that is the Word of God that
can be bought and sold for money, and the
knowledge thereof attained by human learning,
namely the scriptures, or outward writings, of
the prophets and apostles, that you say is the
Word of God, and they that say otherwise, you
say must be cursed. But will not this return
upon your own heads, who preach contrary to
the scriptures, which saith Christ is the Word
of God? Now if he be the Word of God, then
the scriptures are not, except they be Christ,
which if you think they be, declare your mean-
ing plainly. If you know any other Christ
than the scriptures, then call ye him the Word
of God, and call the scriptures a declaration,
according as they are called by them that wrote
them, who knew the Word of God itself, which
ye being ignorant of, have as it were changed
the glory of the incorruptible and immortal
Word of God which abides for ever, into the
similitude of writings, which had a beginning
in time, and must come to an end. In the end
shall you know the Word of God to be that
which searches your hearts, and judges your
ungodly thoughts and purposes. This shall
abide with you in the end, for this was in the
beginning, which the scriptures were not, and
this is it by which the scriptures and all other
things came to have a being.

If the scriptures must be called the Word of
God, because the Word came to the saints, and
bid them write them, or make books thereof;
then, may not Noah's ark, or Solomon's tem-
ple or the priests garments, or any other thing
of the like nature, be called the Word of God,
because by it they were commanded to make
them? And furthermore, that which is the
Word of God, is that which was made flesh;
and if you can tell how or when the scriptures
were made flesh, then declare it, or else let that
be called the Word of God henceforth, that
did become flesh. Again, without the Word,
was nothing made that was made; and if
the scriptures be this Word, then declare to
us how you know that they were before the
creation; for that which maketh, must needs
be before the things that by it are made. Fur-

ther the Word of God, saith the apostle, is quick and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing between the soul and the spirit. If this be the scripture, then tell us what is the reason that your souls are not thereby divided from the spirit of iniquity and deceit that rules over them? But ye imagine that death only can make that division, as if death were more powerful than the Word of God.

Oh ye blind and ignorant priests and people! how long will ye regard lying vanities, expecting life where it is not to be had, and like the pharisees of old, think to have eternal life in the scriptures, but will not come to Christ whose life is your light? Turn your minds into your own hearts, and feel if God's Word, (which is as a hammer,) be not striking at some or other of your sins and corruptions, and wait then to feel the sharpness of it, to cut and divide you from your sins that so you may witness the Word in your flesh, and not in a book, to destroy the works of the devil, that the Word in the heart ye may know, which liveth and abideth for ever, when that by it is destroyed, which cannot abide for ever, which is your sin, which hitherto hath separated you from the knowledge of God and of his powerful Word.

4. Your doctrine of faith is reprovable, and you in it found contrary to the true ministers of Christ. You preach that faith cannot be without sin; and you say it is heresy and error in any to say that it can. This I say, if ye knew the true faith which is saving, ye would see that it is contrary in all things to sin, and would know, that instead of an impossibility to separate them, it would be impossible to unite them. Faith, saith the scripture, is the gift of God, and the gift of God is perfect, and God and his gift hath no concord with sin, but giveth the true believer victory over it.

But as for your faith which ye say cannot be without sin, it is therewith corrupted, and is not the like precious faith which the saints obtained, by which they wrought righteousness, and were accepted with the Lord, without which it is impossible for you to please him, though ye perform never so many performances. This faith which is mixed with sin, which is the faith of the church of Scotland, is not that by which the just lives, but among you who profess this faith, is the just slain in your own particulars, by the sin which ye continue in, and say ye must continue in as long as ye live. So ye are far short of the saints hope, which brought them to purify themselves as God is pure, and your faith, and hope, and confidence, which are thus mixed with sin and unrighteousness, are excluded from leading any of you into the inheritance of the promise, which is eternal life. It is the feigned or made faith, which hardens the heart, and continues you in the transgression, and begets in you a bold confidence in your dark imaginations, which shortly shall fail you, and ye shall be stript of your faith and hope, and be left naked, to your perpetual shame and confusion.

Therefore all that desire to come to the true faith which gives victory over the world, and that which is in the world, they must first come to that which true faith is placed in, which is the light wherewith Christ Jesus hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world; and that all men through him might believe. Christ himself said that they should believe in the light; and this is it which doth secretly make manifest and reprove the works of darkness, which are done out of the faith, and are displeasing to God. They who believe in this light, must believe against sin and the power of it, and as they abide steadfast in the faith, watchful to that in which they have believed, then the power of this faith comes to be felt in the creature, that as they have believed against sin, so they come to receive power against sin. For according unto their faith, so happeneth it unto them, and according unto your faith who believe you can never be made free from your sins, so also will it happen unto you. So long as ye abide in that belief, ye shall abide servants of sin, and so free from righteousness.

5. Concerning Election. Herein have ye erred exceedingly from the Truth, and with the Truth ought ye to be reproved and judged, who hold forth in your church that God hath respected a certain number of persons to himself, without cause or quality in them seen or considered, and that these he hath elected unto salvation, by an unalterable decree, that they shall be saved from the wrath of God, and that all the rest are under an irrevocable decree of damnation; for whom no way of salvation is left, nor any effectual means found for the salvation of them. That doctrine is not of God, but of your father the devil, who was a liar from the beginning. If he telleth a lie, it is of himself, but if ye tell a lie it is of him. From him has this doctrine sprung, who rules in the kingdom of darkness, and desires that none might come to the knowledge of the Truth, or be saved. So hath he set you to preach this doctrine outwardly unto ignorant people, (who generally have believed it,) while he in the mean time is secretly suggesting in some of them, that they are elected, and so what sin soever they live in, cannot mar their election, seeing it is without condition or qualification, and man's works cannot alter or change God's decrees. Many such like reasonings as this learn they from the deceiver within, and from the deceivers without, and he also is persuading others that they are not elected, but are of the greater number, [for whom] the priests

say, is no salvation or redemption; and so they may take their course, and spend their time in pleasure, for they can but go to hell in the end; and all their godliness and soberness, and strictness, and abstinence from pleasure, and whatever they can do, cannot change the purpose of God concerning their damnation.

By these and such like means and instruments doth the devil uphold his kingdom, and keep you from preaching Him, or believing on Him, who is the way to the Father, Christ Jesus, the Light of the World, who lighteth every man with the true light, with which he may see that which was wrought in darkness, (which is the reprobate state,) and be led out of it according to Christ's words, who said, I am the light of the world, he that believeth on me, shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life. He said not if the elect believe on me, but ["he that"] a general term to every one that cometh into the world, and is enlightened with this true light. This is the love of God to the sons and daughters of men, who wills not the death of them that do die, [mark] they are reprobated that do die; but God wills it not, but rather that they should turn and live. But ye that preach this doctrine, would live without turning, but the sword of the Lord is drawn against your life, and shall cut it off, for it stands but by an imagination of such a decree, as by which sinners might be saved in their sins. Then you shall know, that the way of salvation was set open to you, in that the light shined in your hearts; but ye rejecting that way, and seeking to establish a way of your own; so ye became excluded, and shut out of the kingdom after long talking of it.

Therefore all ye people of Scotland, and to whomsoever this shall come, of what people or country soever ye be, consider in the fear of God, whether ye be lighted with a light that doth make manifest your evil deeds, and words, and purposes, in the secret of your hearts, yea or nay. If ye find such a thing, then mind diligently its working in you, for in it are the reproofs of instruction, which the scriptures say is the way of life. And the way of life is but one, and having found it, every one in your own particulars, then no longer follow or hearken to the deceivers, who for a long time have beguiled you, leading you from the Light, the Way, the Truth, and the life of men, and so kept you in death and darkness, where salvation is not to be found. These have told you, that they have preached the gospel to you for the salvation of your souls, and yet tell you also, that as many of you as ever shall be saved, were saved before you were born. Then to what purpose is all their preaching to you, if they cannot convert a reprobate, or an elect person cannot sin unto condemnation? Where then is the use of their ministry, which they have so many thousands of marks, and hundreds of pounds a-year for? If they answer and say, this is the means to gather in them that are elected, I answer; God will not lose any for want of means, and therefore he hath afforded the means freely, without money or price, to all the sons of men. He hath so loved the world, that he hath given his only begotten Son, a means and a way of salvation, for as many as believe on him. He is the grace by which the saints were and are saved, which appeareth to all men, and bringeth salvation near unto all, without respect of persons, who are taught by him to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and righteously in this present world.

But if ye still continue to be taught by them that turn the grace of God into wantonness, and despise that which shines in the heart, to lead out of sin, which it makes manifest, then shall you perish in your gainsaying; and in the day of your calamity and misery, ye shall know and confess to your unspeakable sorrow and torment, that a prize was put into your hands, and a way of life was declared and made manifest; but ye loving your sins and iniquities, your delights and pleasures, which the light and way of life appeared against, were unworthy of this free salvation. So your condemnation ye shall confess to be of yourselves in that day, when God the righteous judge will be clear of all your blood. And then saying God is partly to blame, and man is partly to blame, that men go to hell, will not serve turn; which one of the chief priests of your Scottish church affirmed, (Henry Foreside, priest of Lingich,) but his folly and many such blind guides is now made manifest with the light, which they are risen up against; but they shall not proceed much further, for their skirts are discovered to their shame.

Many more of the doctrines of your church are reprovable, and for condemnation with the light; which light, as the diligent reader comes to mind in its working and breaking forth, he shall see and be able to measure and try your doctrines with, and will be able to comprehend your deceit in many other of your doctrines, which now I am free to insist upon. As of sanctification, in which ye allow an unsanctified part to remain, and so never bring people to know nor to hope for the thorough cleansing, which the saints witnessed, except it be after death, when no such work can be wrought. And also your doctrine of justification in sin will be seen, and God's righteousness will be cleared against your lying and deceit. So of adoption, and resurrection, and glorification, and what else is preached amongst you, will be seen with the light, by them that love it, to which I com-

mend them in whom is sincerity of heart, and shall proceed a little further to your ordinances.

1. And first concerning that rotten tradition which you call an ordinance or baptism, namely, your casting a few drops of water upon the face of an infant about eight days old. This you call an ordinance, but could never yet find out the institution thereof by Christ or his disciples, for any sign or signification whatsoever; much less can you prove it to be the one baptism, neither can you prove that ever any such thing was done by any of them. Ye have neither precedent nor precept from the holy men of God; and therefore well may I call it a rotten tradition, that hath not so much as a precedent to support it, except it be a popish one, from whence it was derived, from the church of Rome, your mother, whom you rail against in words, and obey in her unwarrantable practices, and with her shall you have your portion.

This conceited charm or trick, of casting a few drops of water upon children's faces, you call baptism, wherein you have proclaimed to all understanding people, that from the greatest of you to the least, you are all ignorant of the baptism the scriptures speak of, which had a time and service, and ended in that which abides for ever; and so being ignorant of them, have in their room set up a conceit and tradition, which hath not so much as the least ground in the scriptures of Truth, neither is mentioned therein. Nor was it invented many years after; but it was instituted by the pope, obeyed by the papists, and since continued and observed in your Scottish church, which from thence is sprung.

The true baptism is that which was instituted by Christ, and is owned and witnessed by the saints, and denied by the Romish and Scottish churches, which baptism is into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This name is a strong tower, and all that are baptized into it, find strength in it, and help against temptations; and in the time of trouble, find deliverance by it. This the saints witnessed, who witnessed the one baptism, by one spirit into one body; for saith the apostle in Rom. vi. 3, 4. "For so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." "Now in that he died, he died unto sin;" and they that are baptized with the one baptism, they are planted together with Christ in the likeness of his death, which is unto sin, ver. 10th. Such also come to partake of the resurrection and life which is in Christ Jesus; and in that they live, they live unto God and not unto themselves, having crucified the old man with his deeds, and have the body of sin destroyed. Henceforth being dead unto sin, they serve it not, but witness the baptism which now saveth, making clean the conscience in the sight of God, by the washing of regeneration.

Now all people that desire further to know of this one baptism, which is a dying unto sin, and a cleansing or washing from the filthiness both of flesh and spirit, you must turn your minds to the manifestation of God's spirit within, which is given freely of God for you to profit withal. With it will you see the spots that remain upon you, notwithstanding your outward traditional baptism, of what sort or manner soever it be; and also it will give you to understand, that the baptism which is the answer of a good conscience, and which is the similitude of Christ's death, which is unto sin, is yet wanting. Thus by waiting in that which maketh manifest those things which ye should die unto, then will ye feel the name of God revealed in you, which is the strength and power which only is able to kill sin. Trusting and believing in this, the true faith comes first to be witnessed, and then the one baptism, which cleanseth and purifieth, will be witnessed, which bringeth into the everlasting covenant which God is making with his holy seed, which he is now gathering from under all the shadows, and also from among all the inventions of men, to serve him in meekness and fear, in that worship which is inward in the spirit and in the truth.

2. The next thing is your imitable custom of eating and drinking bread and wine, which you call a sacrament of the Lord's supper. In this imitation stands much of your dark fellowship and communion; but no warrant from scripture have you for any such practice. Christ and his apostles never commanded swearers and liars, and covetous persons, and fighters, and persecutors, that they should observe any such thing at any time, such as ye are; for whenever ye eat or drink, it is unworthily, as ye yourselves sometimes confess, and so your damnation must needs be the greater.

Christ the same night he was betrayed, gave his disciples his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, (figuratively,) who afterwards were to partake of and enjoy him, in that which was signified by the bread and the cup, when he took bread and blessed it, and said, take eat, this is my body. They took and eat, and discerned his body, of which they were members; and as oft as they did this, they remembered him, who said, I go away, but I come again. So also the cup, he said was the new testament in his blood, which they then participating of, and keeping in remembrance him who died, who was to be raised up from the dead, through faith and patience they come to have the new covenant in their hearts, which was the substance of the figure in the blood, they being first therewith sprinkled from an

evil conscience, and washed in their bodies with pure water, which is one with the blood. But how far ye are from this state, let God witness in your consciences, and your own mouths bear witness.

Now notwithstanding Christ did institute such a thing as this among his disciples, who had followed him in the regeneration, and had continued with him in his temptations, this was nothing to them who believed not on him, neither is it any thing to you who are cursing them that bear witness to him, that he is come a light into the world, and hath lighted every man that cometh into the world, and who witness he is come again the second time without sin unto salvation, according to his promise; these you curse and persecute. So your cup is not the cup of blessing which the apostle speaks of, 1 Cor. x. 16, which is the communion of the blood of Christ, (which cleanseth from all sin;) neither is that bread which they break, the communion of the body of Christ; for Paul saith, they themselves were the bread and the body, which is but one. This he said he spoke to wise men, and if any have an ear, let them hear; but as for your part, ye are so foolish and unwise, that the bread ye break, is material bread, (which feeds nothing but the carnal body,) which is no part of Christ's body, that is hid from your carnal eyes, and sealed from your carnal imaginations.

If his second coming, which is without sin ye cannot truly believe, his first coming only will not save you, and your bread and wine will never bring any of you truly to know or remember his death, nor to show it forth; for in that he died, he died unto sin. Neither will his coming be unto salvation, when he appears again unto you, but unto damnation, who discern not his body, but curse and persecute his members. But all that desire to know the supper of the Lord in sincerity, they must come to the light in the heart, which cometh from Christ, and that will show them that which hath crucified Christ, and slain the Lamb, and oppressed the just in their own particulars. Then the fear of God being placed in the heart, and the want of Christ being felt, who by sin and through transgression is crucified afresh, shall you secretly come to feel a hope of his resurrection. So then as oft ye eat and drink, it will be in the fear of God, and in remembrance of your own unworthiness; and also in remembrance of him who is come to sanctify the creatures. As he comes to be raised to life, which hath been slain in you, this appearance is the second appearance which is without sin unto salvation; and till ye witness this, as oft as ye eat and drink, do it in the fear of God, and in remembrance of Christ, so showing forth his death till he comes, who when he comes, will show forth his own life, who is God over all, blessed for ever, amen.

And these two you call sacraments, which term you have as little ground for out of the scripture, as you have to practise them; but are delighting yourselves in the works of your own hands, and giving names to what you idolize, like the heathens and idolaters before you. If you say they are obliging mysteries: I answer, how comes it to pass, that you who have been so long exercised therein, are no nearer obliged to God, but remain in the alienation of your minds, such strangers to him, that one of your own priests said in a company of you in my hearing, that the lowing of oxen, and the bleating of sheep, would give as good an account of what God and Christ was, as your answers would do, if ye were asked. But your idols shall be broken, and their names shall you be ashamed of, as they were ashamed of the groves and the green trees, under which they had worshipped their idols, whom God confounded before you. And then your water and wine, and cakes, and such like things which you call sacraments, and your mass-houses, which you call churches, signed with the pope's cross, your predecessor, these things will but all add to your shame and sorrow. Therefore whilst you have time, lay aside these carnal and foolish traditions, and come to the light which lets people see over them all, to the one baptism itself, and to the supper, (and table of the Lord,) itself, and to the church itself, which is in God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, as you may read. 1 Thes. i. 2.

And lastly, the discipline of your church, doth appear contrary to the discipline of the true church; and in this particular ye have so far proceeded already, within these few years, that ye have thereby much manifested yourselves even to many, who did not before see you. For this many have looked upon, as a tail of a scorpion with which you have sought to vent that sting and venom which lodged in your hearts, against the true church, which ye could not vent with your tongue or hands; but this also will the Lord cut off, that the scorpions shall hurt no more. Your sting begins to decay, and your force to fail you, and people begin to walk safely in the path of peace, and in the way of righteousness, notwithstanding your tail or your tongue, to the grief of your hearts, which are filled with mischief against the righteous in the land: but the Lord is their deliverer, and according to the evil of your desires against the innocent, even so shall your reward be.

The true church did observe that if any that was called a brother, should be a fornicator, a railer, an extortioner, a covetous person, an idolater, or a drunkard, with such a one not to

eat. If you would observe this in your brotherhood, ye would quickly be scattered one from another. Your priests [being] suspended for their covetousness, and drunkenness, and railing; the people suspended for their fornication, and idolatry, and extortion, and railing, and fighting, and many other misdemeanors; your communion would soon fall. But you who are a body or church so called, made up of such as these, take another course to uphold your fellowship. For if any who has been one with you in these things before mentioned, doth come to see with the light wherewith Christ hath lighted him, that these things are displeasing to God, and so dare not go on with you any longer in them, but declares against your idolatry, your covetousness, your railing, it is with such a one that you will not eat or drink, or buy or sell. Oh! abominable depth of satan! This is the way you have found out to keep people from believing in the Truth, and from departing from your corrupt and cursed practices. In short, this is as your fathers the Jews did, who were the crucifiers of the Lord of life. If any then did confess him to be the Christ, that said, I am the light of the world, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, they must be cast out of their synagogue; [mark] out of the synagogues of the unbelievers and crucifiers. Such as ye, who cannot, and will not have any fellowship with them that believe in the light, that they may be made children of light, your latter end shall not be like unto theirs, except ye repent.

Furthermore, the apostle exhorteth the Corinthians, to deliver the incestuous person to satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that his soul might be saved in the day of the Lord.

He did not intend the destruction of his body, as ye wickedly do, who thirst after blood, to assuage the flame of your envy. But the Lord will quench that flame, and ye that desire blood, shall have blood to drink. The apostle fought not with flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness, and against incest, and fornication, and idolatry; but ye make war against the flesh and blood, and seek the destruction of the outward bodies as much as in you lies; but those who believe in the light, and trust in the Lord, the God of our salvation, the power that saveth out of sin and unrighteousness, them will he deliver out of your bloody hands, and from your cruel teeth, and from the reach and venom of your hurtful tail.

It may be you will say, although we have no criminal fact to lay to their charge, whom we have cast out of our church, of whom you speak, yet they are heretics, and it was Paul's counsel, that one that is an heretic after the first and second admonition, reject. I answer, if this were observed among you, there would be none found to reject; for all would be found to be rejected: and this is the reason, that whosoever comes to be members of the true church, doth reject you, because of your heresy in doctrine, and corruption in conversation.

But after that way which you call heresy, worship we the God of our fathers, who wrote the holy scriptures by inspiration of the Holy Spirit; and according thereunto, we believe in the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into world; which (our) belief you call heresy. We believe that this light wherewith every man is enlightened, is a sufficient light to lead all that follow and obey it, to eternal life, and this you call heresy. And that this light is the perfect and heavenly gift of God, and whosoever yields himself into the obedience of it, shall thereby be translated from darkness and the works thereof, which are sin, and be brought to live righteously and holily in this life; and this also you call heresy. Many more things, which in the scriptures are declared, and by us believed and witnessed, do you call heresy; as may appear in a book lately published by the presbytery at Edinburg, to their shame, called a testimony against the Petition for Toleration; wherein your envious and bloody spirit is sufficiently set forth to every judicious reader, against the life of the scriptures, and whomsoever is come into it. But your Cainish spirit is seen, and your end is at hand, and your reward shall be according to your works.

And now all ye people of Scotland, in whom is sincerity and simplicity, unto whom this shall come, consider in the fear of the Lord, where you are, and whom you are joined with, and against whom ye take part, while ye abide in this church. Search the scriptures yourselves, and see whether these things be so or not, and come out from amongst them, and partake no longer of their sins, lest you partake also of their plagues, which are near coming upon them. Praise the Lord who hath spared you until now, and caused his light to break forth to discover their ways and works of darkness, before ye are overwhelmed by his judgments. And as in sincerity ye come to try these things with the light, in it ye will see more light, and by it an understanding will be opened in you, to see into their abominations and deceits, beyond what is here declared. But if ye reject this the day of your visitation, then shall ye be shut up in darkness, and your ignorance shall increase; and your hearts shall be hardened, and ye made fit for the indignation and wrath of God, to be poured forth upon you, when the measure of your iniquities shall be filled up.

While you have time, prize it, and while you have light, love it, and believe in it, that you may be made children of it.

S. C.

A letter from Stephen Crisp, to the Mayor of Colchester.

Friend,—It is in my heart in love, to lay these few things before thee; and it is not my purpose to aggravate thy mind against any, by hard speeches, or to crave or procure any thing but what is as just for thee to grant, as it is for us to have. But in consideration of the weighty charge committed to thee, and the many difficulties that thy charge is accompanied with, and the little experience that thou or any man can have, in wading through such difficulties, they being occasioned by things newly happened, even but now, in the latter part of our age. And so, if thou shouldest hastily and unadvisedly act, there might be enough cause, and too little time, for repentance. I say, considering these and some other things, I could not well omit spreading these few lines before thee, which if they be received in love, as they are written, I have my end and my desire concerning this matter: but, however, my reward is with the Lord, who knows the simplicity of my heart, which I also desire to manifest to all men.

Therefore, seeing the Lord God of heaven and earth is the Supreme Counsellor, both of kings and potentates, and of them that are under them, and that none that depart from his pure counsel, know how to rule or be ruled, (which I think none will deny,) and that God hath sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world, to declare his will and counsel unto the sons of men; and that his counsel, yea his command is to men, that as they would men should do unto them, so they should do unto others.

First, then, whether thou would willingly, (if not a magistrate, but of a different persuasion from the magistrate,) that that magistrate should violently persecute thee for thy persuasion.

And secondly, if thou be of a persuasion concerning the worship of God, and believest that he requires such things at thy hand; then if men should require the contrary of thee, whether it would be safe for thee to forsake and relinquish such thy persuasion, and desist such thy practice only for that reason, because thou art required thereto by men greater on earth than thyself?

And thirdly, whether the witness of God in thy conscience, be not more answering to our lives and conversations though we do not conform, than it is to the conversation of them that live in profaneness and wickedness, and yet do conform? And, if so, then if thou shouldest turn thy sword upon us, and let the wicked walk on every side unpunished, as they have done, whether thou actest not contrary to the witness and testimony in thy own conscience, and so art found kicking against the pricks, which will prove a hard work in the end.

Again, the apostle Paul saith, Rom. xiii. 3, Rulers are a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. Therefore if the sword comes upon us justly, we must have done some evil: but our not being actually subject to a command of man, (which was never commanded for the Lord's sake,) is not an evil in itself, and that which is not an evil in itself, no man nor men can make evil by forbidding it. It was as lawful for Daniel to pray to God after the decree was sealed, that none should pray to God or man, save to the king, for thirty days, as it was before; and he practised that which was lawful in itself, notwithstanding the decree which called it unlawful. And it was as lawful for Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to keep from worshipping an image and bowing to an idol after the proclamation and the great noise of music, as it was before, and they did so, notwithstanding that which called it unlawful. It was as lawful for the apostles to preach in the name of Jesus, after their being forbidden by the rulers, as before; for that which is good and lawful in the sight of God can never be made evil or unlawful by any man or men whatsoever. Such who are exercised in that which is good in itself, need not fear the magistrate or his sword, for such shall never suffer by it, till the sword and judgment be turned backward. And if so, let such go on, patiently continuing in well-doing, committing their cause to God, who will plead it in his own time.

Much I have to say of this nature, but I shall endeavour brevity, and not too much spend thy patience. Consider also how little profitable violence and cruelty can be in any way to thee, or hath been to them that have gone before thee; and on the other hand, how little detriment, moderation hath been to any that have been exercised therein. Let the fear and the dread of the God of heaven rest upon thee as it ought to do; else thy government will not shine nor be honourable, but be extinct in reproach and obscurity, in the eyes of sober people; as well as others who for want of having regard to the Lord and the afflictions of his people, and for want of pleading the cause of the oppressed, have become a praise to evil-doers, and a terror to them that did well, so much as carnal weapons and violence, and wrath of man could terrify them; and ministered cause of rejoicing to none but the rude and ungodly, who though they be now formally with you, would as soon and readily be forcible against you, if they did see it stood with their lust and ungodly liberty. Being of no good principle in themselves, they are like the waves of the sea; and now the wind is with you they roll before you, but if the wind

were against you, they would roll upon you as fast, though it were to your utter ruin and contempt.

Remember, the times and seasons are in the hand of the Lord. He commandeth the winds and they blow, he gathereth them again, and they are still. He causeth the thunder to utter forth his voice, and the lightning to consume as he listeth; that the sons of men might fear, and not count themselves established but by him.

As concerning us his poor and suffering servants, who are bowed to the burden of his cross, and dare not but follow him, though in a cross to our own wills and the wills of others, and had rather incur the wrath of man by obeying him, than God's wrath by obeying man; we have committed the innocency of our cause to the Lord. This we can and do witness for the Lord, that he hath supported us, so that we have not fainted, neither are we weary, neither shall we while we continue doing his will, for his peace and presence is with us, and that is our reward, and the renewing of our strength and confidence. Though grievous have been our sufferings, as thou knowest, and I believe more than thy heart hath assented to oftentimes, yet do we not murmur or repine at the good hand of our God, who hath suffered you to try us hitherto.

But, whereas it is now come to thy lot, to bear the burden of the government of this numerous people, I cannot but exhort thee to wait on God for wisdom how to go in and out before them, and to put on bowels of mercy and compassion, and let not the weapons of cruelty be found in thy habitation, nor the devisings of mischief, against the innocent, be found in thy heart; for if there be this, I tell thee in the name of the Lord, that all those devices shall fail, and not bring to pass the effect intended by them, and shall in the end leave a curse and withering upon thy name, and a blasting upon thy blessings. Thou art now the third mayor in this town since some of us were committed to prison for no other cause than being at a peaceable meeting of the people of God. One leaves them bound, and another leaves them bound, and now it is the work that lies before thee to loose the unjust bonds of the innocent, and to ease and not aggravate the afflictions of the afflicted, which will be a work acceptable with the Lord. In so doing thou wilt, as thou oughtest to do, weaken the hands of the ungodly, be a refreshing to the sober sort of people, who are weary of beholding such grievous persecution, even such as suffer little of it; and this is the way wherein thou and thy house may be blessed.

I have cleared my conscience to thee in true love, and my reward is with the Lord; and if my advice finds acceptance with thee, I have, as I said, my end. But, however, I am content in my portion, which is my inheritance in life and immortality, with them that are sanctified through faith in Christ; on the trial of which faith, I suffer bonds, and have done these forty-eight weeks, in the moat-hall in Colchester, where I remain a lover of thy soul, a friend to just power, and obedient to all good and wholesome laws, but a witness against unrighteousness.

S. C.

The 1st of the Eighth month, 1664.

Another letter from Stephen Crisp, to the Mayor of Colchester.

Friend,—Thou art now become the ruler of a great and numerous people, among whom the light of knowledge and understanding hath plenteously shined. Many amongst them have exercised themselves more in matters of religion, than ever thou hast done, and are come to be fixed and settled upon something as a principle, in which they make conscience of their worship towards God. Their testimony of this principle, and their profession which hereupon they do profess, is dearer to them, than all that they have in this world. These are not like unto those teachers and people, who being joined to no principle or religion in themselves, do stand ready to take up a religion from any body that becomes greatest. So, whatever carnal profession is but backed or promoted with the carnal sword, these carnal professors are ready for it; and so the former grows old, and is not esteemed worth the owning; and so will this be, as soon as the carnal or temporal sword is withdrawn from it, as it was before. But these men-pleasers and time-servers, are an abomination to the Lord, who changeth not, neither doth his worship change.

Friend, such who are come to be fixed as aforesaid, upon a principle of religion, which is certain and immutable, unto which the scriptures of Truth and the testimony of their own conscience bear them witness, thou must not think that they can be so easily turned aside from that unto which they were so hardly, and with so much inward travail and labour brought. Many of us have known a going through a vale of sorrow and tears, before we were thus established; and the testimony of our religion is not a light thing, that we took up at the pleasure of man, and can lay down at the will and pleasure of man. Nay, it is not thy frowns or threats, thy imprisoning or amercements that can deter us, or weigh down the weight of that which is so weighty, that we can depend the safety of our immortal souls upon it, which is the weightiest matter of all.

Therefore, friend, consider in coolness, what a work thou hast lifted up thy hand to do, and

in what power thou doest it; and whether it be able to hold to the completing thy purpose, or nay. Did ever any fight against God and prosper? And did not the work of all persecutors prove fruitless, to the shame of them that have been exercised therein? Therefore, cease thy works, and be still a little, and see if thou canst find out any matter against us, except in the matter of our God. And if that be the matter, I tell thee, thou hast a people to deal with in this town, whose God and worship are dearer to them than their natural lives. If thou shouldst so shut them up, and deprive them of that comfort to their outward man, which God allows and nature requires, as to bring any to the laying down their lives for their testimony; yet the thing thou strikest at, would still flourish more and more, and the assemblies of them that fear the Lord, will yet daily increase. So thy purpose, and theirs that so much prompt thee on to this work, will be frustrated; and then anguish and vexation will begin to take hold on thee, and he that is thy greatest backer in this work, must stand by himself, and thou by thyself, and shall not be able to help one another, and both he and thou will have a reckoning to make, that will be too heavy for you. Friend, this in true love to thy soul, was upon me from the Lord, to write to thee, and do heartily desire it may be as tenderly received as it is written; then will the effect be good to thee, which is the desire of me who am thy friend, though thy prisoner. S. C.

AN EPISTLE TO FRIENDS, CONCERNING THE PRESENT AND SUCCEEDING TIMES.

Being a faithful exhortation and warning to all Friends who profess the Truth, to beware of the manifold wiles of the enemy, and to stand armed in the light of the Lord God of heaven and earth, against his assaults, that so they may be ready to answer the call and requirings of the Lord. Also, something signified of the misery of the succeeding times, that all may be prepared, and that the evil day may not overtake any unawares, but such as turn away their ear from counsel.

By one who is a traveller in the way of peace, and hath good will towards all men, and more especially to the household of faith, Stephen Crisp.

"Let him that hath an ear, hear what the Spirit saith to the churches."

Dear Friends,—You whom the Lord hath reached unto in this the day of his love, and hath made known the way of truth and righteousness to you, through the raising up of that holy living witness of himself, that long lay hid and buried in you, and hath brought you to a secret feeling of something in you, that is worth the minding and regarding. And the Lord causing this to appear in the day of your seeking, as a light discovering darkness and its power, by which ye were formerly holden, and [having] given you by his spirit a sense and secret hope, that in this light, the way of deliverance was to be attained unto; this hope made you not ashamed of the light which before you hated, but you came to know and embrace it, even while others still hated it, and you for its sake. Yet your hearts being affected with the hope that did appear therein, could not but so far join unto it, as to make public profession of it for its own sake; and for no other end or design, or interest at all, but with resolution in that light, to wait for the salvation of God.

Dear Friends, it is you aforementioned, that both now, and for some days and weeks, my heart hath been deeply exercised concerning, even night and day; and the abundings of the Father's love, often overcome me, and draw me forth now to say and write these things unto you for your admonition and establishment. And indeed it is you who did thus rightly own the way of Truth, and knew your believing to be the gift and mercy of God to your souls, that I do aim at. For those that have taken up the profession of the precious Truth upon by-respects and sinister ends, and but for reasons propounded in their carnal minds, though I do pity them, yet I have not much at this time to say to them but this; the day shall declare them, and their garments shall not hide them.

But you, oh, my Friends! who had fellowship with us in the deep travails of our beginnings, and did come to Truth the same way, and have known the power and virtue of it, many times overcoming you in your inward man, which hath made you cry out, Lord, evermore give us of this bread! and hath made you as a watered garden. Oh, Friends! how shall I express or signify unto you those longings, those ardent desires, and earnest breathings of my soul, that you, even you, might abide to the end of all trials, tribulations, and adversities, and might inherit that crown of immortality that is in Christ Jesus our Lord, and might not by any means be bereft thereof. This is singly my travail in body and spirit, that you might be kept and preserved out of all the subtle snares of the wicked one, who hunts for the souls even of those that have believed. Therefore, in dear and tender love, I have a few things to write unto you, for the clearing of my conscience, and discharging my duty in the sight of the Lord; and the Lord give you all a tender and an understanding heart, that both you and I may yet have cause daily to praise the Lord in the glorious light of his salvation, which he hath manifested among us, by revealing his Son Jesus Christ; to whom belong dominion, honour, and glory, for ever, amen.

And first, dear Friends, it is in my heart, to put you in remembrance of that by which we were called and convinced, which as a foundation principle was laid in and among us; and it being unchangeable and unalterable in itself, doth therefore admit of no alteration or change in those that are rightly kept to it.

It was a light which arose in our hearts, and shined forth from God, the Father of lights, carrying in its appearance the nature and property of God, both in its condemning evil, which the enemy had sown or planted in us; and owning, allowing, and justifying every thing that was good and honest, just and equal; even those thoughts in our hearts, which were of turning towards the Lord, and seeking his righteousness. These thoughts were justified and encouraged by the light, and all of a contrary nature discovered and judged, as they were brought to it to be tried. This light did our souls rejoice in, as they had good cause, though it took away our former rejoicings; our pleasures in vanities and iniquity died, our glory in this world withered, our friendship with the sons of men decayed, and we stood in the light and saw all these things, and were not sorry at it, but waited daily to see these things more and more brought to pass; neither was there a permitting our thoughts to go out, how we might prevent those damages, or repair these losses, but the cross of Christ was indeed our glorying or rejoicing.

The hope that was before us, did make us despise the pleasures, treasures and honours, friendships and delights of this world. In those days, you grew into a feeling of the heavenly joy, where the hundred fold was witnessed in your bosoms, and the zeal of the Lord was kindled by his own spirit in you, against whatsoever this light of Jesus in the conscience did witness against. The Lord beheld your integrity and blessed you, and multiplied you, and added to your strength and stature; and then did the fruits of this glorious work abound among you, in three more general and special effects; by which effects, or by their continuance among you, let all now come to search and try themselves, that so, dear Friends, those that have continued faithful in them all, may persevere in like manner to the end. And may those who upon true search do find that they have failed, and fallen short in all or any of them, make haste to repent, and to turn to that which was the root of them all, that they may not be found as fruitless and withered branches, in the day that cometh, lest they be cut off, and utterly consumed, and blotted out from among the living branches of the vine. For a day cometh, that Truth will look into the fig-tree for fruit, and leaves will not defend it from the curse and and blasting.

The three especial fruits that did spring forth from this blessed root, and were and are to continue and increase in us and among us, to the end, are these.

1. Purity, manifested in a godly conversation.

2. Unity, manifested in dear and tender love one towards another.

3. Faithfulness, manifested in bearing a constant and faithful testimony to the things we had received and believed, though it were unto great loss and sufferings.

And against all these, doth the wicked one appear, to see if he can make you barren concerning them, and that with divers wiles and subtilties, that he may prevail on you, and not be known to be the enemy, but might so overcome you, as that you might both submit to him, and then plead for him and his snares and wiles, as being just, right, lawful, prudent, convenient, &c. But, oh! dear Friends, let all be watchful and diligent, to wait in the sense and true feeling of that Seed that never fell nor was beguiled; and you will, (even the least of you,) see and comprehend his workings and transformings, and be delivered from them.

1. Purity and holiness was a fruit in you, which doth yet flourish in many, (blessed be the Lord,) who are as watchful and careful to approve themselves in obedience to the light of Truth in their inward parts, as ever, and find as great a necessity both of trying and judging with its judgment as ever. These having thus waited, have renewed their strengh unto this very day, and do mount upward on wings as eagles; these are neither weary in running, nor faint they in their walking. But alas! Friends, even these do know with how great and manifold assaults they have been assaulted, and know and see with sorrow of heart, how the assault hath prevailed upon some, by working into the mind a secret liberty and supposed enlargedness, whereby a carelessness hath entered some. And they having no keeper but the measure of light revealed in their hearts and consciences, so soon as they came to be persuaded to slight the reproofs of that, they soon erred; and this supposed liberty entered, that now, after so many years strictness and circumspection, they should not need now to stand so straitly to try things and words as at first, because now a day of more liberty was come. This liberty secretly prevailed against that pure fear that once was placed in their hearts, and against the very obedience of Truth, inwardly in the subjection of the mind, and then it became manifest outwardly. The actions sometimes blameworthy, the words and speech again corrupted, and run into the old channel of the world, like them again; and the single pure language, learned

in the light, in the time of their poverty and simplicity, almost lost and forgotten, and so the work of God which he wrought, in a manner laid waste.

Then when this liberty is entertained and made use of, as aforesaid, oftentimes a secret subtlety ariseth against the judgment of Truth, either from within, or from any outwardly, that are grieved with this loose and careless kind of speaking or acting, which subtlety leads to contend for it, against the judgment, telling the creature, why these thing are but small things, and little things; and what! we must not strain at a gnat, and such like. Oh my Friends! beware of these evil suggestions of the wicked one. How came they to be small and little things, seeing they were great things with us in the beginning? And how comes an offence in this nature to be light now, seeing it was heavy in the beginning? Oh let not the greatest mercies of our God so fill us, as to make us slight or forget the least obedience. Rather let the continuance of his mercy, the more quicken you up unto a zeal for his name and Truth in all things, to be found doing and speaking according to the rule of righteousness, which ye learned in the light, in the day of your being low and little. Then, nothing will rise up and be exalted in the multitude of God's mercies, but that holy birth which lives in purity, when it is at the highest. And so that life of righteousness will shine forth more and more, which glorifies God, and seeks his honour.

Dear Friends, that ye might be kept so unto the end, is the breathing and travail of my soul; and that where this neglect hath entered, and this aforesaid corruption either in speech or action is to be found, ye would receive the word of exhortation in meekness and fear, in which it was written unto you: and may redeem the time, for the days are and shall be evil, and none will hold the mystery of the faith, (that saves from falling in the evil day,) but such as do keep the pure and undefiled conscience, which none can do, but by persisting and continuing in the daily sanctification of the spirit, and belief and obedience of the Truth.

2. A second fruit that was brought forth from this good root, was unity and love one towards another; which, blessed be the Lord, is preciously preserved in and among many to this very day; who are sensible of the divers operations of Truth in them, to be all by one spirit. They are still kept of one heart and mind, given up freely to serve the Lord in singleness of heart in their generation; and are in this good work as strengtheners and encouragers of one another. But notwithstanding the enemy hath been exceedingly busy, to lay waste and destroy this blessed effect also, and that under divers pretences, which the Lord still discovered by his own light and spirit in his people, who have singly waited upon him. Many have been his wiles, sometimes fitting and preparing vessels to rise up in the fleshly and sensual wisdom, and to traduce and bring in corrupt and evil doctrines, to try who were not sound in the faith, that they may draw them aside into a heat and zeal for something which had not its root in the Truth, and which they that abode in the Truth could not own, but judge and condemn in the name of the Lord. Which when such saw, they took thereat occasion of striving to propagate and promote that which they saw withstood. Having lost subjection to the spirit of Truth in themselves, which would have kept them in unity in the body, and having also lost and laid by their subjection to them that were over them in the Lord, they then grew stubborn and wilful, and proceeded in more zeal for that which stood in opposition to the Truth, than ever they did for the Truth itself. These sometimes have prevailed, to the subverting whole households, and have turned several from the faith and simplicity that is in the gospel, who as well as those that subverted them, have lost the fellowship of the saints, and the savour of life, either in themselves or others. Then the enemy persuades them, all are dead to the life but themselves: and so they grow to have a tickling joy in what they do and say, in obedience to that perverse and singular private spirit, and grow up to speak evil of dignities, and are unruly, and dare to speak against heaven and them that dwell and inhabit in it, whom God makes to shine as stars in the firmament of his power. But, alas for them, my soul pities them, when I see how they sport themselves with their own deceivings; but the day of the Lord is among his people, which hath and doth make them and their spirit manifest, and their fruits also have made them manifest.

Another way that the enemy seeks to break the unity, and dissolve the bond of amity, is by sowing a seed of jealousy and prejudice in the hearts of such in whom he can get an entrance; that so they may cease from the true and unfeigned love, and that upon a pretended reason, because of this or that which is supposed or imagined, in the evil part in themselves against others; giving heed to evil thoughts or surmises, which break forth many times in whisperings and tale bearing. And though the things supposed to be evil, were really so, yet this is not to be allowed or given way to among you, but to use plainness one towards another, and single-heartedness; and to shut out the evil one in this his subtle appearance also. Oh! dear Friends, remember how the Lord hath dealt with you, and deal you so one

by another. He hath not sought occasions against you, but hath long borne and suffered, and exercised much patience and tenderness towards you; yet plainly reproving the evil in you, and not treasuring it up against you. Oh! Friends, be like minded one towards another, that the enemy of your peace and concord may be defeated, and you preserved entire to one head, even to Christ Jesus; that ye may be one, and the name of the Lord may be one among you; and that which tends to the making cold your love, may be judged in all; and so brotherly love will continue with you to the end.

Another way which the enemy works, to scatter and to bring from this unity, is by leading some who have believed, into some sin and iniquity, which the body, (that are in the Truth,) are constrained to appear in judgment against for the Truth's sake. Yet notwithstanding, the party so sinning, being above the witness in themselves, which would bring them to own the judgment of the Spirit of Christ in his church, they exalt themselves above the judgment, and seek to gain to them such whom they can enter, by their words and complaints, to take part with them against the judgment, and those that passed it. Such were those whose words did eat, (the apostle said,) as a canker, of whom the believers in those days were to be aware. Commonly such as have gone from the power that should have kept them clean and upright, will also turn against the power in those that abide in it, especially if they be drawn forth to reprove and rebuke them. But let all such know that is not the way to be renewed; and let all that take part with any that work iniquity, know, that they do but defile their own souls thereby, and rend themselves from that body which they cannot prosper out of.

Therefore, dear Friends, beware of joining with that in yourselves or in others, which the power goeth against, let the pretences be what they will. For that which doth evil, will always be apt to sow evil complainings of others; and such as are in the unsatisfied murmuring against judgment passed upon them, are much to be feared; for they thereby render themselves to be the more guilty, and yet the further from repentance. But, dear Friends, watch in that which gives you a living feeling of the living body, which is the church, that in all things you may demean yourselves as true members of it, serving one another in love, and submitting yourselves one unto another for the Lord's sake; that in all plainness and singleness, as becometh the Truth, you may seek to preserve the unity which the enemy of Truth and peace doth envy. So shall ye continue to strengthen one another's hand in every good work; and this shall tend to the weakening of the hands of our enemies, who seek to divide you, that they might rule over you. Many other designs doth the wicked one try daily, to break and divide, more than can now be named, or here inserted; but they are all out of the light, and if you be in it, you will see them, and that will preserve you; for it is one, and did make us one, and will keep us to be of one heart and mind to the end, if we abide in it.

3. The third good effect which Truth did work in the beginning in them who did truly receive it, was zeal and faithfulness to God, in bearing testimony to what was manifest, though through great sufferings, in which as Friends abide in the root, they do daily increase in power, to fulfil the same testimony. For the mercy of the Lord doth engage them, and his answer of peace in the midst of their trials, doth arm and encourage them, and they hold out to the end. For such, the Lord hath always made a way, better than they could have made for themselves. Yet the enemy hath in this matter also been very busy, and hath prevailed with some under divers considerations or rather consultations which he hath propounded unto them. But, O Friends, be ye all watchful, and take heed lest any of the testimonies of Truth be laid waste; for that which leads to be weary of bearing witness to the Truth, and to lay it waste, the same will lay thee waste, and bring thee into such a state as thou wilt want the Truth to bear witness for thee. Though it be hard for flesh and blood, which hath no kingdom but here, to fall into the hands of unreasonable men, yet it is a more fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. Therefore let all lukewarm ones, who are neither hot nor cold, be awakened, and all that have gone backwards, be warned to return to their first love; else the Lord will come against them, and the day hastens that will divide such their portion among hypocrites, except they repent.

But to touch at some of the reasons or arguments, which he that abode not in the Truth himself, useth to draw others into this kind of treacherous backsliding.

First, he appears to some to persuade them, that their former testimony was borne more from an imitation of others, than from a work of the power of God in themselves; and that now, they not finding the thing required of them, they may leave off their testimonies, or may do such things as they have denied formerly: this snare doth the enemy make use of in these days. But mark, who it is that he hath caught with it? None but such who sometimes were low in their minds, and dare not grieve the spirit of God in themselves, nor others, but for the Truth's sake, could give up all things rather than their testimony. But in time grow-

ig careless and loose in waiting, [they] lost hat subject state, and grew high and exalted in heir minds, above the cross that should have rucified the betraying wisdom; and so having ost the true exercise of the power, and the feel-ig of the excellency and worth of the Truth, hey knew not the requirings of the Lord. The arthly mind got up, that placed a greater steem upon earthly things, than upon things hat are eternal; and so things that once thou fferedst up to God, thou takest again into hine own hand, and so robbest the Lord, and rowest careful about outward things, as other entiles are. And to cover thy shame therein, he enemy then tempts thee to belie the power hat once wrought in thy heart, and made thee fraid to act against the light, or to deny the estimony for God in such things as were mani-est, and then sayest, thou didst it by imitation; ut thou shalt know thy covering is too narrow, n the day that hasteth upon thee.

Another temptation that the enemy present-th, is, that though thou art convinced what to o, or what thou shouldst deny, yet the trials re so hard and so many, and persecutors wax worse and worse, so that thou shalt not hold ut to the end. Where he can get entrance vith this bait, he presently causeth an evil heart f unbelief and doubting to arise, which takes way even the strength which the Lord did ive; and so feebleness doth enter the mind, nd a spirit of bondage leads thee to fear again. And then comes the dispute in thy heart, whe-her thou shalt stand with the power of God in he obedience, or whether thou shalt fall under hat power that ariseth against God, and his ruth and people? And in this combat thou ast a subtle enemy, using many devices to be-ray thee, and a part in thyself, not yet morti-ied, that is ready to say, pity thyself, pity thy vife, pity thy children, and pity thy relations; vhich it may be sometimes, are all as so many nstruments of satan to seduce thee, and lead hee into darkness, that thou mayest not see so reat necessity in thy bearing up thy testimony, or so great a danger in the contrary as indeed here is.

Oh! Friends, at such a time as this, where s there any help but in the Lord? Where anst thou find a Saviour, but in that light vhich gives to distinguish the several voices? t is good for thee to remember, that if thou valkest after the flesh, thou must and shalt surely wither and die. In such a time flee, lee to the Lord, wait in his dread to feel thy trength renewed at the present, and take no are for strength next month, next year, or next rial; for God is God, and changeth not, and vill be the same to thee in seven trials as in ix, if thou believest and waitest on him in up-ightness. Therefore fear not man, but trust in the Lord, all ye that have known and felt his power, and let not in the enemy of your souls, by the door of carnal reasoning, but keep that shut; and rather consider, how the enemy makes thee as a rejoicing among his own chil-dren, and strengthens that hope in them, of their overcoming all others, as well as thee; which hope is curst, and shall be confounded. Consider, that if thou lettest fall thy testimony which thou hast once borne for the Lord, thou makest the heart of the righteous sad, and mak-est their travail through that testimony the harder for them, by reason of thy encouraging their adversaries by the hope aforesaid. What-ever thou dost, they must go through to the end, who will inherit the crown of immortality.

And again consider, it may be that thy back-sliding, or cowardly drawing away the shoul-der, may prove a discouragement to others, and they may stumble in thy stumbling, and fall with thee, and never be able to rise, and so thou bringest their blood also upon thee. Oh! re-member also that servant of the Lord, who could say, Psal. cxix. 157, "My persecutors are in-creased, but my heart doth not decline from thy testimonies." That was a noble spirit becoming the soldiers of Christ; yea, though persecuted by princes, as he saith, ver. 161.

Dear Friends, let your minds be stirred up to be zealous for the Lord, in this the great day of controversy with darkness and its power. Who hath God to bear witness to his name if you fail? Among whom hath he made it known as among you? Who have given up themselves to the Lord as you have done? Well, blessed are they that keep covenant with the Lord, for they shall see his glory.

One more subtle snare of the enemy in this matter is in my heart to mention, that is this, viz. to persuade thee for once to do that which the light hath made manifest thou shouldest not, with a purpose afterwards to be more faithful. Oh! Friends, in the name and fear of the Lord, I exhort and warn you all to take heed of this, for this will prove but a false confidence. Thou wilt find this kind of going out of the guidance of Truth, to be a dear outgoing to thee; for if ever thou dost return, it will be very hardly, and with bitter anguish of soul. Oh! do not tempt the Lord on this wise, lest it do prove impossible upon thy sinning willingly, to renew or restore thee again by repentance. Thou wilt have thy pottage, but wilt lose the bless-ing, though thou mayest seek it with thy tears. For while thou wentest out, behold thy way be-came hedged up, and the thorny nature got up in thee, and so thou art debarred and fenced out from enjoying thy former state; sin being entered, death soon follows. Oh! remember Samson, who when he had disclosed a token of a Nazarite, in which state he stood in covenant

with God, yet thought to have shaken himself, and to have gone forth in his strength, as at other times, but was mistaken, Judg. xvi. 20, for the Lord was departed from him, though he knew it not. Though thou hast known the Lord's presence and power in thy vessel, yet take heed of letting in that treacherous spirit, to lead thee to unfaithfulness, and to betray the least of his trusts and testimonies committed to thee, though it be but for once; for thereby thou wilt render thyself unworthy to be found a witness of his power another time; for the Lord will leave that vessel, and often doth, and chooseth other vessels to manifest himself in, that will be more true and faithful.

Dear Friends, in true and tender love I have laid these things before you, that ye might all be stirred up and provoked to love and to good works, that ye might abound in the grace committed to you, and none of you who have known the Truth, might be entangled with the wiles of your subtle enemy. That you that have begun well, might not lose the things that you have wrought, but might persevere in well doing, till ye have finished your course in peace. Friends, this is the joy and delight of those that labour among you in the Lord; and hereby are our hands strengthened, and our hearts refreshed, when we do find ye such as we desire ye should be, even steadfast in the Truth. Then also do you find us toward you such as ye desire we should be, even a refreshing in the fellowship of life unto you, and our God comforts us together, in the mutual joy and comfort of his Holy Spirit, working in us and you.

Friends, I am the more drawn forth at this time to visit you with an epistle, because the Lord hath given me some sight of his great and dreadful day, and workings in it, which is at-hand, and greatly hastens, of which I have something to say unto you, that ye may be prepared to stand in his day, and may behold his wondrous working among his enemies, and have fellowship with his power therein, and may not be dismayed or driven away in the tempest, which will be great.

Concerning those succeeding times, the spirit of the Lord hath signified, that they will be times of horror and amazement to all that have [rejected,] and yet do reject, his counsel. For as the days of his forbearance, warning, and inviting have been long, so shall his appearance amongst those that have withstood him, be fierce and terrible; even so terrible, as who shall abide his coming? For the Lord will work both secretly and openly, and his arm shall be manifest to his children in both.

Secretly he shall raise up a continual fretting anguish amongst his enemies, one against another; so that being vexed and tormented inwardly, they shall seek to make each other miserable, and delight therein for a little season. Then the prevailer must be prevailed over, and the digger of the pit must fall therein; and the confidence that men have had one in another shall fail, and they will beguile and betray one another, both by counsel and strength. And as they have banded themselves to break you, whom God hath gathered, so shall they band themselves one against another, to break, to spoil, and destroy one another; and through the multitude of their treacheries, all credit or belief, upon the account of their solemn engagement shall fail; so that few men shall count themselves, or what is their's, safe in the hand of his friend, who hath not chosen his safety and friendship in the pure light of the unchangeable Truth of God. All the secret counsels of the ungodly shall be brought to naught, sometimes by the means of some of themselves, and sometimes by impossibilities lying in their way, which shall make their hearts fail of ever accomplishing what they have determined. In this state shall men fret themselves for a season, and shall not be able to see the hand that turns against them, but shall turn to fight against one thing, and another, and a third thing, and shall stagger, and reel in counsel and judgment, as drunken men that know not where to find the way to rest.

When they stir themselves up against the holy people, and against the holy covenant of light, and them that walk in it, they shall but the more be confounded; for these shall be helped with a little help, which all the ungodly shall not hinder them of, to wit, the secret arm of the Lord, maintaining their cause, and raising up a witness in the very hearts of their adversaries to plead their innocency, Isa. 8. And this shall make them yet the more to vex themselves, and go through hard bestead. For when they look upwards to their religion, to their power, policy, or preferments, or friendships, or whatsoever else they had trusted in, and relied upon, they shall have cause to curse it. And when they look downwards to the effects produced by all those things; behold, then trouble, and horror, and vexation take hold on them, and drive them to darkness. Having no help but what is earthly, and being out of the knowledge of the mighty overturning power of the Lord God Almighty, they shall despair, and wear out their days with anguish.

Besides all this, the terrible hand of the Lord is, and shall be openly manifested against this ungodly generation, by bringing grievous and terrible judgments and plagues upon them, tumbling down all things in which their pride and glory stood, and overturning even the foundations of their strength. Yea, the Lord will lay waste the mountain of the ungodly, and the strength of the fenced city shall fail: and when

men shall say, we will take refuge in them, Nahum, iii. 12, 13, they shall become but a snare, and there shall the sword devour. When they shall say we will go into the field, and put trust in the number and courage of our soldiers, they shall both be taken away; and this evil also will come of the Lord, and his hand will be stretched out still, and shall bring confusion, ruin upon ruin, and war upon war. The hearts of men shall be stirred in them, and the nations shall be as waters into which a tempest, a swift whirlwind is entered; and even as waves swell up to the dissolution one of another, and breaking one of another; so shall the swellings of people be. And because of the hardship and sorrow of those days, many shall seek and desire death rather than life.

Ah! my heart relents, and is moved within me, in the sense of these things, and much more than I can write or declare, which the Lord will do in the earth, and will also make haste to accomplish among the sons of men, that they may know and confess, that the Most High doth rule in the kingdoms of men, and pulleth down and setteth up according to his own will. This shall men do, before seven times pass over them, and shall be content to give their glory unto him that sits in heaven.

But, oh! Friends, while all these things are working and bringing to pass, repose ye yourselves in the munition of that Rock, that all these shakings shall not move; even in the knowledge and feeling of the eternal power of God, keeping you subjectly given up to his heavenly will, and feel it daily to kill and mortify that which remains in any of you, which is of this world. The worldly part in any, is the changeable part, and that is up and down, full and empty, joyful and sorrowful, as things go well or ill in the world. For as the Truth is but one, and many are made partakers of its spirit, so the world is but one, and many are partakers of the spirit of it; and so many as do partake of it, so many will be straitened and perplexed with it. But they who are single to the Truth, waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of it in their hearts, these shall rejoice in the midst of adversity. These shall not have their hearts moved with fear, or tossed with anguish, because of evil tidings, Psal. cxii. 7, 8, because that which fixeth them, remains with them. These shall know their entrance with the bridegroom, and so be kept from sorrow, though his coming be with a noise. And when a midnight is come upon man's glory, yet they being ready and prepared, it will be well with them; and having a true sense of the power working in themselves, they cannot but have unity and fellowship with the works of it in the earth, and will not at all murmur against what is, or wish or will what is not to be. These will be at rest till the indignation passeth over, and having no design to carry on, and no party to promote in the earth, cannot possibly be defeated or disappointed in their undertakings.

And when you see divisions and parties, and rendings in the nations, and rumours and tempests in the minds of people, then take heed of being moved to this party or to that party, or giving your strength to this or that, or counselling this way or that way; but stand single to the Truth of God, in which neither war, rent nor division is. Take heed of that part in any of you, which trusts and relies upon any sort of the men of this world, in the day of their prosperity; for the same party will bring you to suffer with them, in the time of their adversity, which will not be long after; for stability in that ground there will be none. But when they shall say, come join with us in this or that, remember you are joined to the Lord by his pure spirit, to walk with him in peace and in righteousness; and you feeling this, this gathers out of all bustlings, and noises, and parties, and tumults, and leads you to exalt the standard of Truth and righteousness, in an innocent conversation, to see who will flow unto that. This shall be a refuge for many of the weary, tossed and afflicted ones in those days, and a shelter for many, whose day is not yet over.

So dearly beloved Friends and brethren, who have believed and known the blessed appearance of the Truth, let not your hearts be troubled at any of these things. Oh! let not the things that are at present, nor things that are yet to come, move you from steadfastness, but rather double your diligence, zeal and faithfulness to the cause of God. For they that know the work wrought in themselves, they shall rest in the day of trouble, yea, though the fig-tree fail, and the vine bring not forth, and the labour of the olive-tree ceaseth, and the fields yield no meat, and the sheep be cut off from the fold, and there be no bullocks in the stall, yet then mayest thou rejoice in the Lord, and sing praises to the God of thy salvation. Hab. iii.

And how near these days are to this poor nation, few know; and therefore the cry of the Lord is very loud unto its inhabitants, through his servants and messengers, that they would prize their time while they have it, lest they be overturned, wasted and laid desolate before they are aware, and before destruction come upon them, and there be no remedy, as it hath already done upon many.

Oh! London, London! that thou and thy rulers would have considered, and hearkened and heard, in the day of thy warnings and invitations, and not have persisted in thy rebellion, till the Lord was moved against thee, to cut off the thousands and multitudes from thy streets, and the pressing and thronging of peo-

ple from thy gates, and then to destroy and ruin thy streets also, and lay desolate thy gates, when thou thoughtest to have replenished them again.

Oh! saith my soul, that thy inhabitants would yet be warned and persuaded to repent and turn to the Lord, by putting away every one the evil that is in their hearts, against the Truth in yourselves, and against those that walk in it, before a greater desolation and destruction overtake you.

What shall I say to prevail with London, and with its inhabitants! The Lord hath called aloud, he hath roared out of Zion unto them, but many of them have not hearkened at all, nor considered at all.

Well, oh, my friends! and thou, oh my soul! return to your rest; dwell in the pavilion of the house of your God and my God, and shelter yourselves under the shadow of his wings, where ye shall be witnesses of his doings, and see his strange acts brought to pass, and shall not be hurt therewith, nor dismayed.

Oh, my friends! in the bowels of dear and tender love have I signified these things unto you, that ye might stand armed with the whole armour of God, clothed in righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and freely given up in all things to the disposing of the Lord. He will deliver us, not by might, nor by sword, nor spear, but by his own eternal invisible arm, will he yet save us and deliver us, and get himself a name, by preserving of us. And we shall yet live to praise him, who is worthy of glory, of honour, and renown, from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, now and for ever; amen, amen, saith my soul.

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A Postscript.

Dear Friends and Brethren,—I have something further in my heart to communicate unto you, in dear and tender love, and in desire of your preservation out of the snare of your adversary: and that is, to exhort you all to dwell in the pure judgment of the Truth, which is a defence upon your glory; and let none bereave you of this, under any pretence whatsoever. But as you come to a true feeling of the life in yourselves, to which alone the certain judgment appertaineth, so let this life have freedom, and stop it not from judging all that which is at enmity with the life, and tends to the hurting of the true plant of God. For I have seen a harm hath come to many who have parted with their judgment, and so have become unarmed, and the enemy hath prevailed upon them, under a pretended tenderness, to permit or suffer such things as were hurtful to themselves and others; and though the Lord hath given them judgment and discerning in the matter, yet were bereaved of that gift, and so by little and little became beguiled.

Oh! dear Friends! consider these days are perilous times, and it is needful for every one to watch in that same eternal light to which you were first turned, that by its righteous judgment ye may be preserved from every thing in yourselves that appears contrary to that precious life of which you have tasted. When you have so done, then take heed that the enemy do not do that by an instrument, which, through your watchfulness in the light, he could not do without. All beware of that affected tenderness that cries out, be tender to all, and pray for all, and mind the good in all, and love all, and judge none, but leave judgment to God, &c. I say, heed not the plausible words of that spirit, which being guilty, to save its own head from a stroke, would bereave you of your judgment which God hath given you; and is indeed truly his judgment, and is to be administered in his wisdom and power, for the cleansing and keeping clean his sanctuary. Such as have no judgment in their goings, are they that know not the true way of peace, but make them crooked paths. He that goeth in them, shall not know peace, Isa. lix. 8.

But some may say, was not Christ meek and lowly? and ought not all to be like unto him?

It is true, my Friends; but there is a difference between the Seed's suffering and its reigning, and there are times for them both. When it doth please God to permit the hour and power of darkness in the open persecutors, to exalt itself against his Seed and people by persecution, or such like; they are led by his spirit to appear in meekness and quietness, as a sheep before the shearer. But what is this to suffering bad and perverse spirits, that appear under pretence of the Truth, and yet are out of the Truth, and enemies to its prosperity, striving to exalt and set up another thing instead of the Truth? Such as these the Lord doth require you to use not only patience and meekness towards; but if that will not reclaim them, they must know the judgment of the Truth, and you in it must stand over them; for in this case the day of the exaltation of Christ is come, and God is crowning Truth with dominion over every false spirit, and corrupt practice thereof.

Therefore, dear Friends, eye the Lord in his goings forth, and as you feel his life in you to witness against any evil and corrupt thing or practice, use plainness, and keep sincerity, and turn not judgment backwards. That which is unwilling to be judged, and cries out, judge none, leave all to God, &c., the same will take upon it both to judge and rule, but not in the wisdom of God. Those that cry out so much for tenderness, and against Truth's judgment, the same

are in most danger to be drawn out from the patient suffering in the spirit of Christ Jesus, when they ought to appear in the most meekness, and to appear rough and wrathful in the striving and fighting nature, and are most apt to be tempted into a spirit of revenge, as hath been seen by sad experience; for they that lose the exercise of that by which all should keep dominion over deceit, they lose that strength by which they should be enabled to suffer all things for the sake of Christ Jesus.

Dear Friends, in that which keeps out the defiler and the betrayer, all wait upon the Lord, that you may have your armour on, and be fortified with the strength, with the might, and with the judgment of God. Keep that under in every place, which under pretence of tenderness and forbearance, would make void the testimony of Truth, or make the offence of the cross to cease in anything wherein you have been instructed from the beginning; that the Lord may behold and see judgment established, and be pleased, Isa. lix. The Lord looked, and there was no judgment, and it displeased him; for thereby deceit got up, which with it is to be kept down.

So the Lord God of power and wisdom preserve you faithful, fitted for every good word and work; the strong to watch over the weak in singleness, and the weak to be subject to the strong in the Lord, that so the pure plant of righteousness and Truth may grow in and among you all, to his praise that hath called you; to whom be glory and honour for ever, amen. S. C.

A WORD IN DUE SEASON: OR SOME HARVEST MEDITATIONS;

With a warning from the Lord God to all the people in England, to leave off their wicked and foolish customs in their harvest, before the anger of the Lord be kindled against them, and there be no remedy.

Behold, the eye of the Lord has passed through the earth, and has beholden the abominations of the people and their customs, which are altogether vain, and his hand is lifted up against them, to cut them off from the earth, and woe to them that withstand him. These will the Lord God visit in his displeasure, and rebuke in his anger: therefore be warned all ye inhabitants of the earth, and while ye have time, learn wisdom; and depart from vanity, before ye be consumed through your gainsaying.

Upon the 29th of the fourth month, the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, behold, the many abominations of this people in the time of their harvest; and although my light hath shined, to let them see them, yet they have rejected the counsel thereof; and although my faithful witness in them hath reproved them, yet they have not regarded it. Although I have smitten them with mildew, and with blasting, yet they have not laid it to heart, but have persisted in the foolish customs of their forefathers, and have hated to be reformed, neither have they feared me saith the Lord; but daily do they grieve my Holy Spirit with their iniquities.

Therefore once more let them be warned of the vanities and abominations of their harvest in particular, that they may return and learn to fear before me, lest I smite their fruitful fields with barrenness, and their goodly crops with withering, and their children with cleanness of teeth in all their borders, &c. Amos iv. 6. 9, 10.

This is that which the Lord hath put into my heart, to warn all ye husbandmen and farmers, that in the time of harvest, when ye are taking in the fruit and the increase of your fields, and the issue of your labour, that ye mind the fear of God, that it may keep you in remembrance of him from whom every good gift cometh, that so it may be good to you, and ye may receive it with humility and thankfulness. None are to murmur, because it is no more; and none to glory because it is so much; but all to be contented, and to mind that which lets you feel and see the blessing, that ye might be kept in the worthy walking, and know it to be multiplied unto you; and let your joy be, in that the light hath shined upon you, and let that be the joy of your harvest, Isa. ix. 3.

Remember that the portion of the poor be not gathered; but consider the Lord has regarded their need; neither be churlish nor bitter to them; but let them have their portion without diminishing, Lev. xix. 9. When thou reapest the harvest of thy land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, [mark] neither shalt thou gather the gleaning of thy harvest; it is for the poor and for the stranger. Lay this to heart, ye rich men, lest ye eat of the portion of the poor, and the hand of the Lord be turned against you, through their cry Job xxxiv. 18. For the Lord will maintain the right of the poor, Psal. civ. 12.

Take heed of inordinate feasting, spending the creation upon the lust, making provision for the flesh, which is contrary to the Christian's example; but let your moderation appear in this also, for the reward of the glutton shall be poverty, Prov. xxiii. 21. Mind the witness of God, that that may order and guide you into that which is convenient, and may stop the excess; that whatsoever is done, may be done to the praise and glory of God, as becometh Christians.

Let none be over covetous of drinking, neither in the time of your labour, nor at any other time; for that hurts the creature, and destroys the health, and hath overcome the life of many. When they have been strengthened by the Lord to labour, then they have hurt themselves with their inordinate drinking, and so abusing the gift of God, it hath been taken from them. But let all mind God's fear, that ye may feel through that which is outward, to that which is within; namely, the thirst of the soul, which that which is outward will not satisfy; that so ye may be brought to wait to know that manifested within, which is drink indeed, John vi. 55, which cleanseth from the pollutions that are in the world through lust, and satisfies the soul.

Let that abominable custom of shouting in the fields or elsewhere, be left off, which is derived from the heathen, and the papists; and while this be left, leave off calling yourselves Christians or protestants. For this thing, namely, your crying of that which you call your largess, is a shame to the very name of Christians to be found amongst them, and renders you but foolish, ignorant people, who sport yourselves with your own breath, like the heathen who know not the Lord that gives it. Such were the Moabites, whom the Lord's anger was kindled against, until he threatened to cut off the vintage of Moab, and their shouting should be no more heard in their vineyards, because the treaders should tread out no wine in their presses, Isa. xvi. 9, 10. And so will the Lord do by you, except ye repent and turn from the folly of your ways; for he is not changed, neither is there respect of persons with him; therefore let this be no more named amongst you, who call yourselves Christians.

And let your corrupt and vain harvest-songs be left off, your night-work, which lifts up the evil spirit in man, but oppresseth the just, and keepeth from the true joy in the pure spirit, where the songs of praises are sung unto God for all his benefits with acceptance. In this also is there great abomination committed in the land, and the Lord's spirit hath been grieved therewith. Sometimes ye are spending your precious time, which should be for the resting of the creature, in singing of filthy and abominable songs, tending to the subverting and removing of modesty and chastity. And it may be the same night, and in the same mind, will ye take some of the words of the holy scripture, it may be of David's psalms, or some other of the psalms, and then in your wicked manner of doubling and vain repetitions, will sing them, which is far from singing to the praise and glory of God, or with grace in your hearts, but to the great abuse of the scripture, and to the dishonour of the name of the Lord. Be assured you shall not be holden guiltless, that take God's name in vain, although in the time of your harvest; but your songs shall be turned as the howling of Moab, in the day when the Lord visited him.

But all mind the light of the Lord Jesus Christ within, that ye may know it lifted up upon you, which makes glad the hearts of the righteous, yea more glad than the joy of the ungodly, when their corn and wine are increased, Psal. iv. 6, 7.

And let that wicked and abominable custom of making lords and ladies amongst you in the harvest-field, be left off, which is a shame to your profession, and renders you to be like the gentiles, who had lords many amongst them, but knew not the Christian's one Lord. This ought not to be any more mentioned, but ought to be denied as a foolish and antichristian custom, tending to nothing but to exalt the pride of man's heart, and begetting into emulation and strife; this also is vanity and vexation of spirit.

And let none of you who are strong, boast and glory in your strength over him that is weaker, nor seek to hurt him by your strength; but mind the Lord your maker, and remember [that] your ability is of him, and not your own, and so to be used in his fear, without vain glory.

And all you that have much of the earth in your hands, and many hired servants, see that ye stand in the power and wisdom of God, ruling over that part in them all, that would lead into rudeness and profaneness; being good examples in your places, and giving that which is due for their encouragement, not oppressing them in work or in wages; but all mind the truth of God, the equal witness between you, which secretly calls for righteousness towards all men, and equity, as ye would have from all men, that so the Lord may make your land as a fruitful field, and may multiply a blessing upon you, both within and without.

Thus have I cleared my conscience in the sight of God, and singly given testimony against these abominations which have been acted in this nation in harvest time, in love to your souls, and in obedience to the Lord. Whether you will hear or forbear, ye shall know that ye were warned by a friend to your souls, and a lover of the Truth, which was before the customs of the heathens were, (and therefore plead not antiquity in these things,) and one that desires this nation may walk in the light of the Lord, and be saved from the reproach of the heathen; whose outward name is

STEPHEN CRISP.

This for the service of Truth, and for a warning to the foolishly disobedient, is again seen meet to be printed, that all may hear wisdom's counsel, repent, and amend their doings.

A PLAIN PATHWAY OPENED TO THE SIMPLE HEARTED;

For the answering all doubts and objections which do arise in them against the light and truth in the inward parts; by which many are kept from obedience, and so from peace to their panting souls.—By Stephen Crisp.

FRIENDS AND PEOPLE,—I have had a deep exercise upon my spirit, concerning many who are come to feel something stirring and moving in their hearts, that is good, to bring them into a serious consideration of their course of life, and the inward state of their immortal souls. When you have sometimes begun to turn your minds to this good thing that stirred in you; then have many doubts and objections arisen in you, lest you should be misled, deceived or deluded, and lest this thing that inwardly strives with you, should lead you into the erroneous way of the Quakers, as the world's teachers call it. They [the Quakers] speak and write of, and bear a constant testimony to, something [the Spirit of Truth] that is in man, that calls upon him to repent and to turn to the Lord; and under the notion, that ye have heard evil, and thought evil of that people, by the same rule you are apt to think evil of that which works in your own bosom, to lead you out of sin and iniquity. So ye are tempted to slight it, and to get some slight name for it, to call it by, of which antichrist's ministers have many to afford you; as to call it a natural light; a common gift of the Spirit, but not a saving gift; conviction of a natural conscience; a legal work; yea, and many call it the devil's work, to disturb the soul of its peace; and some, a diabolical light, &c.

Thus when thou art brought to slight that good spirit, that strives with thee, under some such name, thou gettest ease again for a little while, and takest liberty to act against it, and to do and say that which this spirit doth in secret condemn. Then it riseth again, and breaks thy peace, and brings trouble and anguish upon thy soul. Then up come many doubts on the one hand, and doubts on the other hand, and thy poor soul is beset and encompassed with doubts, and fears, and jealousies. Sometimes thou fearest thou withstandest the Truth to thy own destruction, and sometimes fearest again it is a delusion, and thou shalt be deceived. Besides, thou findest many learned men, and worldly wise men, that tell thee there is nothing good in thee. Here thou art in a great strait, and labourest under many sorrowful thoughts, and many doubtful disputations arise in thy mind. The flesh now strongly warreth against that which comes to disturb it, and the Spirit strongly warreth against that which resists and rebels against it. These two are contrary, and these contrary things are both in thee, and thou, poor creature, must feel the struggling of them both; and by reason of thy darkness and doubts, and fears, thou scarcely knowest, (or at least with certainty,) which is right. In this state and condition, how acceptable would a messenger be, one of a thousand, to show unto such a one that which might deliver his soul from going down into the pit, and save his life from the destroyer? (Job xxxiii. 23.) And truly very many are in this straitened state in these days; for whose sakes I am drawn into a deep exercise many times, by day and by night; and my cry to God is, that his glorious power may more and more arise to open these doors that are shut and folded upon such, and to bring forth the imprisoned spirits out of the prison-house, and out of the bondage of this spiritual Egypt, where our Lord was, and is crucified spiritually; and that he may expel the clouds of darkness, in which the fears and doubts, and questionings arise; and that he may make a clear way in all such, for his light to break forth out of obscurity, in which the answer to those doubts and questions doth arise.

And by that same Spirit that labours with you, am I moved to send this forth unto you all, as a word of exhortation and counsel, in the name and fear of the Lord God, by which as many as do rightly receive it, and make a true use and proof of it, shall find help and benefit; and shall know the mouth of the questioner stopped, and the answer of peace witnessed to their immortal souls, in the Lord's due time. Therefore consider this, that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of Lights and Spirits, who would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn and live. Therefore hath he, out of his infinite love and tender mercies to the sons of men, prepared a way to draw nigh unto them, even while they are in their sins, which he doth not but through Jesus Christ the Mediator of the new covenant, whom he hath freely given to be a light unto the dark world; and that he should enlighten every one that cometh into the world, John i. 9. Of this number thou art one, whoever thou art, and art enlightened by Christ, though thou be yet darkness in thyself, as the Ephesians once were; yet the light shineth in thy darkness, or else there would not be two contrary natures and seeds found working in thee as there are; and this light wherewith thou art enlightened, is the life of Jesus, John i. 4, which he hath given a ransom for man. That was not natural, as some foolishly imagine: for if it were natural, it could not be a ransom for man out of sin. For the sin to be natural, and that which reproves it natural, is contrary to the apostle, who

said, they two that warred in the creature were contrary; and called the one flesh, or natural; and the other spirit, or spiritual. Christ Jesus called that which should reprove the world of sin, the Spirit of Truth; and antichrist and his ministers call it, a natural insufficient light, &c. But know this, thou who art inquiring, that that in thee which doth make manifest to thee things that are reprovable, is the light wherewith Christ Jesus hath enlightened thee withal, as the apostle of Christ said in his epistle to the Ephesians, chap. v. ver. 13, 14. That principle which leads thee to do or say such things as thou art secretly reproved for in thine own conscience, that is the darkness, and the enemy of thy soul's peace, which, who walks in, doth not know whither he goeth. This doth minister a peace and pleasure to thee, and a delight to thy carnal mind for a season; yet the other, to wit, the light, the reprover hath power to take away peace from thee again, and to judge thee, and to make that which was sweet to thee to become bitter; and neither the darkness, nor lust, nor vanity of thy mind, can deliver thee from this stroke.

Now, that thou mightest be resolved in such a state what to do, consider thou that hast these strugglings in thee about the light in thy conscience, and whether it be true or no, or whether thou shalt own it or no, and art thinking in thyself what is best for thee to do, whether to go on stoutly against it, or to submit to it: I say consider, if thou rebel against it, thou canst never know whither it would lead thee: as it was said of old, Job xxiv. They that rebel against the light, know not the way of it. So that if thou dost take that course to rebel, it will but increase thy ignorance of the way that the light leads in, and make it more terrible to thee every time it doth appear in thee; till thou comest to that state spoken of, Job xxiv. 17, That the dawning of the day will be as the shadow of death. The more thou rebellest against it, the more dark thou wilt daily grow, and so the less able to resolve thyself in those doubtful things that fill thy mind; but as darkness increaseth in thee, so the power of it will bind thee down as a chain, and smother every good desire in thee.

Thus by rebellion against the light, do some men lose the very sense and knowledge of it, and grow past feeling, and strangers to it, though it be in them; for the custom of sin, taketh away the sense and the feeling of the burden of it. But to you I write that are not yet come to this state of hardness of heart, but are brought daily into a sense of the burden of sin; and that are ready to say, if you were but sure that were the Truth and Way of God which shows you your sin, you would follow it, and love it, and own it; but are kept off by doubts and questionings. Verily, I say unto you, before these doubts be resolved, you must try this, as, to your sorrow, you have tried the other, before you can be effectually informed; for arguments will not do sufficiently in this case. Therefore try and prove what this principle can do for thee, when thou obeyest it, which ye know hath power to condemn you, and break your peace when you disobey it. Why should ye always be shut up in unbelief and in doubts, and so kept from trying and proving the light, as well as ye have proved the darkness, that so ye might reap the fruit of it to salvation, as well as you have done the fruit of the other unto condemnation? Oh, dear people, consider ye cannot obey this light of Christ Jesus in your own consciences, but by taking up a daily cross to your own wills, lusts and affections, for that is contrary thereunto. That which leads to obey your lusts, leads to disobey the light; and that which leads to obey the light, crosseth the lusts and vile affections, which are at enmity with the light, and must by it be judged and condemned. That which leads thee to slight it, and call it by some slighty name, is also an enemy to it, and must be judged by it.

As the light comes to rule over those things in thee which are enemies to it, thou wilt know that it will lead thee contrary to thy corrupt nature; and as thou feelest the thing so in thyself, thou wilt come to be wiser than those teachers that have called it a natural light. For that which is natural, leadeth according to nature, but that which is spiritual, leadeth according to the spirit; which the apostle said was contrary to the flesh, and warred against it. And so that objection will, by thy obeying the light, come to be answered, far better than words and arguments could have answered it. Likewise the sufficiency of the light thou wilt come to feel, if thou dost not oppose it, but give up to be guided by it; and wilt know that it is able to deliver thee when thou art tempted, as well as to judge thee when thou hast yielded to the tempter. For thou knowest already, that it is able to condemn thee when thou sinnest against it; but thou canst not certainly know it sufficient to give peace, and to justify, till thou obeyest it. So then, the plain pathway to the answering thy doubts, about the Spirit of Truth in the inward parts, is, by obeying of it, and yielding to it. They that do evil grow into hatred against it, and it judges them. As they deny to obey the light, so the light denies to justify them, and so coming justly under the condemnation of it, by reason of transgression, they grow afraid of it. But, alas! this doth but prove that it is sent of God, for it doth God's work, which is righteousness. For to justify the wicked, and to condemn the

righteous, both these are an abomination to the Lord. And so is it with his witness in thy own conscience, which God hath placed there to bear witness for him concerning all thy actions whether they are good or evil. Thou thyself, whoever thou art, whether high or low, rich or poor, professor or profane, shalt confess unto this, that this hath never condemned thee for that which was good, nor borne witness against thee for that thou wast not guilty of.

Therefore, all you that have been hurried and tossed with doubts and questionings about the Truth, come hearken to the counsel of God at this time once more sounded forth unto you from his spirit, by a servant of his without you, and answered by the measure of his good spirit within you, which hath the same voice and cry in you, for obedience to what is made manifest of God in you. Obey the light, and ye shall see daily more of it, till it break forth as a morning unto you, and till it shines unto a perfect day; yea, a day of gladness and rejoicing to your poor distressed souls.

Arise, thou that sittest sorrowing, and thou that art crying out in secret, because of the bonds and fetters that are yet upon thee. Arise, arise, I say in the name of the Lord God of Sion, who draws nigh to thee by his quickening spirit, and hearken to his voice, who saith to the prisoner, come forth; and to the bowed down, arise; and to the feeble ones, put on strength, and follow me, and obey me. I will confound your foes, and break the strength of your enemies. As I have done for my people, who have forsaken all to follow me, and obey me, so will I do for you. If ye in uprightness walk before me, and keep my covenant, as they have done, no power or strength of the enemy within or without shall be too hard for you. And when the Lord doth thus arise in your souls, and stir up his pure witness, and his arm awakens in you, and his pure light breaks forth: oh! what consolation is it to you, and how have many of you seen your vain doubtings expelled, and a clear convincement hath prevailed upon your spirits concerning the way of God? At such a time you have begun to resolve to follow the Lord in his pure way of holiness, thus opened to you in the light, though to the loss of all; and though it be to the bearing your part of the great reproach that lies upon them that love him more than their lives. And at such a time there was felt a secret joy in a hidden ground in your souls, and the Seed of the kingdom that had been long buried, began to spring up in you, in which Seed your souls felt some touchings of that heavenly life and joy, which for the time exceeded all things that this world could afford.

Whensoever you come to feel this refreshing dew upon your souls, then take heed and wait singly in the sense of it. Keep your eye to the joy that is now set before you in Christ Jesus, the Seed; for if you let your minds wander, and your eyes gad abroad, there be objects on every hand to lead you out from your soul's beloved, and to bring you to defile your hearts, and make yourselves an unfit place of residence for him who is holy and pure, and will not dwell nor take delight in a polluted temple; but will withdraw himself as he did from Israel of old, and from their temple, when it was polluted and profaned.

Besides, when your minds are taken hold of, by any of the corruptible things of this changeable world, there will presently kindle a desiring, longing, and lusting after the enjoyment of those things, though contrary to the will of God. And then next, the reasoner and consulter gets up in thee, and starts a question; may not I enjoy the Lord and this? May not I keep in the way of Truth, and yet do this or that thing which my heart desireth? And though it be not perfectly according to the Truth made manifest in me, yet I will have my will, my lust, my desire, satisfied but this one time, and that is not much, saith the consulter; and this is but a small matter, and there be others that do greater things than this. Such like reasonings enter the mind, and this grieves and vexeth that good and righteous tender spirit that moved in thee, and brings a weight and oppression upon the pure in thee, and that withdraws itself again from thee, in which thy light did arise unto thee, and so a night comes upon thee. For where the serpent can bring any to make a question of obeying the Truth, he is as ready to frame an answer, as to beget the question. But his answer always comes with a liberty and persuasion to disobey, as it did by Eve in the beginning; and when transgression is finished, then death enters upon thee with its dark power, and manifold sorrows pierce thy poor soul. Though the fruit was desirable to be eaten, yet now it is eaten, thou cannot come at life, to eat of that too, though thou desirest it; but art driven out, and kept out with a flaming sword that turns every way against thee.

Here is now a ground laid for doubts and questionings of a higher nature than before, to arise in thee. Before thou doubtest of the Truth itself, whether it were the Truth, but now having tasted of it, and received a convincement of it, [thou hast] yet let forth thy mind from it, after other lovers, and thy ears after the voice of the adulteress, and so caused the pure light to withdraw from thee, through thy rebellion. Now thou desirest thou mightest but see again what thou hast seen, and feel again what thou hast felt, but doubtest and fearest that thou shalt never see, or feel, or enjoy the like again. Now thou wishest, oh, that thou hadst stood in

the cross to thy own will, and that thou hadst denied thyself, that thou might not thus have lost the sight and sense of thy soul's beloved. Now thou seest by woful experience, whence doubts and fears and sorrows do arise, even [from] thy joining with the enemy who brings forth reasons against thy obedience to the light.

Therefore now hearken to that which remains in thee, though darkness and sorrow encompass thee, yet there is something remains which gives thee a sense of thy state and condition, and makes thee to know thy loss and want. Hear the voice of this, and it will humble thee, and bring thee into true brokenness of heart and contrition of spirit. As thou comest to know that state, then thou hast something to offer to the Lord of his own preparing, which will be far more acceptable to him, than a multitude of words, and performances, and duties, so called. As thou in the true lowliness of mind dost come before the Lord, and offerest up this offering, God will hear in heaven, and will answer the cry of the poor and needy soul that cannot be satisfied without his presence; and he will remember his mercies of old, which never fail, for his Seed sake, which is not yet brought forth in thee. And when God doth again shine forth unto thee, and make his power known, thou must expect it to be in judgment, because of the transgression thou hast gone into, that he may consume that in thee, which led thee into the sin, from his pure law, which is light: for Zion is redeemed by judgment.

Therefore take heed lest thou be offended at his appearance. Take heed that thou limit not the Holy One; but if his appearance be with more sharpness and bitterness to the carnal part than before, it is but just it should be so. It is the Lord, let him do what he will. He sees more cause now than before, by how much more thou hast sinned against his goodness; but bow to his judgments, bear his indignation, as Micah said, because thou hast sinned against him, Mic. vii. 9. And as thou yieldest to his righteous judgment, thou wilt know the coming to the midst of them, in which the mercy is remembered and made manifest. Therefore the hasty and impatient, that fly the judgment as soon as it begins a little to appear in them, never find the true deliverance, but get ease another way, which lasteth but for a moment. But they who come to know a thorough work wrought in their earth, and the floor thoroughly purged, come [also] to know the true and lasting peace to their immortal souls: and although this is not obtained by ease and liberty to the carnal mind, which must die, yet the end crowns all that hold out to it; they are the saved ones, as Christ said, Mark xiii. 23. They find the returning with sheaves, as the prophet said, Psal. cxxvi. 5, 6, They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy: they went forth, said he, with weeping, and bearing precious seed, but they shall return with joy, and bring their sheaves: and as Christ said, they that forsake father and mother, wife and children, house or lands, yea, or their own lives for my sake, shall have an hundred fold in this time, and in the world to come, life everlasting.

Forsaking and self-denial have always been the way to life, and to true blessedness, and are the way unto this day. Therefore all you who have wandered in your own ways, and have not yet learned to deny yourselves of what is contrary to the witness of God in yourselves, but have desires, and those strong ones too, to keep and hold that still, which the light in you doth reprove, and yet have desires of life and peace too, and so are in many doubts and straits about these things; to you all this is the counsel of the Lord, and the cry of his pure spirit, Come out of the Babylonish confusion of your own thoughts, and touch not that which is unclean, and the Lord will receive you. What God by his pure spirit hath called unclean, let no man presume to call clean, and to join to it, lest they be found fighting against God, and nourishing and keeping that alive, which God hath appointed to die and be destroyed. Ye cannot serve two masters, nor partake of the table of the Lord, and the table of devils. Oh! feed not that birth that hungers after evil things, and delights in them, but what is for famine, let it be famished, and what is for the sword, let the two-edged sword that goeth out of the mouth of the faithful and true witness cut it down, Rev. i. 16, and iii. 14. So thou mayest see the giants in the land slain before thee by one that is mighty to deliver, and to bring thee out of this spiritual Egypt with a high hand. This thou canst not come to witness, but by diligently following him; and if thou willingly yieldest to his gentle drawings, when thou feelest them in thy heart, thou wilt find them to be effectual and profitable to thy soul. And the more thou followest him, the more thou wilt feel his goodness break in upon thee for thy encouragement, and the less thou wilt doubt of his love and mercy, in leading thee still further, even unto the end, and unto that rest which will satisfy thy soul.

Therefore lay aside all consultations that are against thy obedience to the gift of God in thy heart, which reproves sin in thee; and give not way to vain and needless doubts about it, but as thou findest that thou hast been condemned and judged in thy disobeying of it, now try and prove whether by taking up thy daily cross, and obeying of it in thy words and actions, and in all things, thou dost not find the answer of sweet peace and joy. And when thou shalt

ind it so, then will there be no more room for loubts and questionings against thy obeying of t; but as any questions or doubts do arise in hee, or shall be cast in thy way by any with- out thee, thou wilt feel the answer of it in thy- self to thy refreshing. So thou wilt come to witness the effectual operation of it daily in thy soul to work thy change and translation out of thyself, into itself; and so thou wilt come not only to know the light in thee, for that one may do and perish, for this is the condemnation, that light is come, and not loved, but thou wilt know that thou art in the light, and walkest there with God, and in the holy fellowship, where thou feelest the Lord near thee in his light, and his reward is with him. So coming to walk and dwell in the light, thy conversation is now in heaven, as the saints of old was, and thy unity s witnessed with the Father and the Son, as theirs was, who said, if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with him; and if any said they had fellowship, and walk- ed in darkness, which all sinners do, for sin is the work of it, such, they said, were liars.

Such as walk in the light, as he is in the light, such come to know the blood that cleans- eth and washeth from the sin, and from all un- righteousness; and such as feel this work wrought in them, are brought into such a knowledge of the blood of Christ, that they need not doubt about it, nor have the occa- sion to raise a question where it is, or what it is, or what the efficacy of it is; for having the work and witness of the blood in them, this forthwith resolves all doubts that would arise. Likewise those that come to know the light in all things to be their guide, to lead out of dark- ness and sin, and imperfection, and to bring into the innocent and blameless conversation which becometh saints, and so come to know their footsteps directed before the Lord, such have done doubting and questioning about per- fection. For such see that which is perfect to be come, and they, from the belief which they have of attaining it, are labouring to conform themselves unto that rule, and endeavouring after it, not as the carnal professors, who say they labour after a conquest over their sins, with a belief they shall never attain it while they live; but they so run, that they may at- tain, and have the true hope in them, which they that have, are purifying themselves, as he is pure, that is their hope, as John said, he that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself as God is pure, that so, even as he was in this present world, they may be also. And here the sub- stance will come, and will cause the shadow to flee, and will answer all thy doubts and ques- tions far beyond what arguments can do.

And again, the many doubts and disputations that have arisen about the resurrection, [will be silenced] as thou comest to be faithful in the daily cross that doth slay and crucify that na- ture in thee, that hath resisted the Truth, and held the soul in bondage. As that comes to die, and to be buried down in the true baptism into Christ's death, thou wilt feel the pure to spring up in thee, and thou wilt be made a par- taker of the new life, and of the true resurrec- tion, which is Christ. All that are in him, are in the resurrection, and in the life; for he said, I am the resurrection and the life, he that believ- eth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and they that live to God, in the Spirit of his Son, have part in the first resurrection, which whomsoever come to witness, the second death hath no power over them. They come to know the thing as it is in Jesus, and their doubts are all answered about that also; for he that knows a death and a resurrection after this manner, to be dead to sin, and to be risen with Christ Jesus in the new life, even while they are in this earthly tabernacle, before it be dissolved; such will never question their ap- pearing at the judgment seat of God after it is dissolved, but do believe it with joy and glad- ness, and have a fervent hope concerning the resurrection of the dead, and have their expec- tation unto God in that matter, that he will ac- cording to his promise, raise them up at the last day, and will give unto every seed his own body, even as pleaseth him. The creature is not care- ful then about such foolish questions and doubts, as to inquire what manner of body God will give them, but leaves it to the Lord, in full faith that he will raise them up according to the Scriptures. So here all thy doubts will flee away, and are answered with that that was before them, as it comes to rule in the creature, and death that is the root and ground of them, comes to be swallowed up in the victory of the life.

As thou feelest thy part in this resurrection, all the doubts and fears of thy own condition will be answered effectually, which cannot otherwise be answered, but by that good Spirit of God that strives with thee. When it doth prevail with thee, and thou becomest subject to it, then it witnesseth for thee; for that there is a state in which there is a danger of falling away, thy daily experience teacheth thee to thy sorrow. Besides, Christ said, every branch in me that beareth not fruit, must be cut off; and the many examples in scripture, of them that departed from the faith, and made shipwreck of it, and turned with the dog to the vomit, and the sow to the mire, sufficiently prove it. And if thou dost stand, it is by faith, and thou must take heed, and so mayest thou come to the crown, and seal, and assurance, and an estab- lishment in the kingdom, where thou shalt no more go forth, but shall have thy soul's desire answered.

When thou comest to know this state, and to receive this white stone that hath the name within, thou wilt then be without doubt or fear, given up in thy will to God, to do and to suffer all things, according to his blessed will. And here is the true and perfect rest to thy soul, whoever thou art, that art now labouring in the iron furnace of thy own thoughts and doubts, in which the more thou givest thyself up thereto, the darker thou art, and the fuller of doubts, for they will beget and multiply one another. The more thou reasonest against obeying God's witness in thy heart, the less able thou art to obey it, but the little strength that God gives thee, thou consultest it away, and then when thou wouldest be strong, thou becomest feeble, and when thou wouldest in some measure obey, thy own consultations stand in the way, and hinder thee. The more thou increasest in knowledge in this state, the more thou increasest thy sorrow and condemnation; so that sometimes thou art ready to wish thou hadst never known so much of Truth; and sometimes wishest thou knewest more concerning such a point, or such a doctrine, or such a scripture, or such a mystery, and art apt to think, because thou art yet ignorant in some things relating to Truth, therefore, thou art the more excusable if thou be disobedient.

But alas! poor soul, consider, the way to know more, is to be obedient to a little which thou hast received; and then that mist and fog of thy own unfaithfulness will vanish away from before the eye of thy mind. It is that which hinders good things from thee, and makes thee go daily with a burden upon thy shoulders, and a guilt upon thy conscience; and thou canst not in any case of thy necessities, come before the Lord with an open face, but art covered still with thine own iniquities. In this state thou knowest neither sabbath nor new moon, nor holy-day to the Lord; but all labour, toil and travail, and wearisomeness of spirit, till many even come to wish an end of their days, and yet are in great fear that the end will be worse too.

Oh! how my soul pities you whose state this is, and I have a great sympathy with your sorrows, and in bowels of tender love am I drawn forth to reach out a hand to help you, as one that hath obtained mercy to know deliverances, and to witness the way of it, and have the testimony of God in my heart, to witness for the coming of the Saviour to the poor and needy souls, to the relieving of them, and comforting of them. My soul's desire is, that your bonds might be broken, and your souls might escape. But this I say in the name of the Lord to you all, there is no way for your deliverance, but your giving up in single obedience to that faithful and true witness of God, which stirs and moves in thee against thy sins. Therefore wait thou to feel thy mind and will subjected thereunto, that thou mayest feel thyself to be one of those willing people in this the day of God's power; and cease from thy reasonings against obeying the Truth, and from saying thou canst not, thou wantest power; and when God gives thee grace, then thou wilt obey; for these sayings are in vain.

For though it is true none can obey the Lord but by his grace and power given unto them, yet he hath made his grace, even that which bringeth salvation, to appear unto all men, as in Titus ii. 11, and it hath appeared unto thee, and in thee to whom I write, and is a reprover in thee, and thou must turn to that that smites thee, and then thou turnest to the grace of God. It is his grace that strives with thee, to lead thee out of the evil that it reproves in thee, and so out of the world that lies in the evil, up to God from whence the grace cometh. Whosoever doth give up to the drawings of the good Spirit of God that moves in them, and in obedience thereto do deny themselves of their own wills, and lusts, and evil desires, and pleasures, such want not power, but feel Him near them that works the willingness first, and then the deed according to his pleasure, and so the glory comes alone to be his. And then thou knowest the mystery of the cross, and how it is the power of God, which all that reject the cross, complain for want of. So long as thou livest in the cross, thou livest in the power, and thy obeying is easy, and all things are possible to thee through it; and as long as thou art daily dying to that which is corruptible, thou feelest the more life and joy and pleasure in that which is everlasting, and thy desires grow more and more fervent, after a full and perfect enjoyment of it, in the pure unity of the Spirit. And those desires growing strong in thee, it grows a lighter thing to thee to part with that which hinders, though it be thy bosom sins, thy Delilahs and darlings, yet all must go, for the love thou hast to Truth.

Such only as have this love, and continue in it, are counted worthy to be heirs of the kingdom of God; for so long as anything he hugged and loved beside the Lord, if the Lord should manifest his love to thee, thou wouldest play the harlot, and abuse his mercies, and cleave to thy old lovers, as Israel of old did, that was after the flesh. Therefore think it not strange, to be brought through manifold trials, that thereby thou mayest be purged and prepared as a bride, for the true husband Christ Jesus. There are many that desire acquaintance with him, but are not fitted for him; they must be washed first, and trimmed, and must put off the vile raiment first, and must come to know the white linen put on. While this work is doing, what need of patience and quietness

of spirit is there? what need of subjection to the workings of that Holy Spirit in all things, that thou mayest not be setting limits and bounds to that, which must bound and limit thee in all things; nor say in thine heart, if my trials were but so, or my exercises so or so, I could then bear them; but rather submit in all things willingly to do and suffer, and to be tried and exercised, even as it please the Lord to order, or suffer thee to be tried; and in all his dealings say with the good man, it is the Lord, let him do what he will with thee.

Whosoever gives up thus to him, though he slay them, yet shall they live; though he wound them, yet he will heal them again: therefore learn patience and stillness of mind, for by taking thought, thou canst add nothing in this work. Remember Israel of old, who were commanded to stand still to see the salvation of God in their greatest straits, and they were a figure unto thee. In the light read this figure, and wait for the substance, the true Seed, that it may bring forth peace and rest to thy immortal soul, and may set up righteousness in thy earth; which is that I travail after, on the behalf of all distressed and afflicted souls everywhere, to whom I am a friend and well-wisher, as one knowing their trials, straits, doubts and besettings; and also through the rich love of God in Christ Jesus, do witness the delivering, answering, and satisfying life made manifest and revealed in its own eternal light, which lighteth every man.

In true desire that you may all know the same, and in discharge of my duty towards God and my generation, have I sent forth this word of counsel and exhortation, and do remain in my rest with the Lord, being thus far clear of the blood of all men, whether they hear or forbear. And though in bonds for the gospel's sake, yet the Lord's free man, waiting in patience and full assurance for Zion's full redemption.

Known by the name,

STEPHEN CRISP.

Ipswich County Goal, this Third Month, 1668.

A BACKSLIDER REPROVED, AND HIS FOLLY MADE MANIFEST, AND HIS CONFUSIONS AND CONTRADICTIONS DISCOVERED.

In a short reply to a book lately published by Robert Cobbet, called A Word to the Upright; who being turned from the light, now makes it his work to war against it, and them that walk in it: but his weapons are broken, and in his own snare is he taken.

Written for the Truth's sake, by a servant thereof, known by the name of Stephen Crisp.

He that hideth hatred with lying lips, and he that uttereth a slander is a fool.—*Prov.* x. 18.

The lips of the righteous feed many, but fools die for want of wisdom.—*Ver.* 21.

A good man obtaineth favour with the Lord, but a man of wicked devices will he condemn.—*Chap.* xii. 2.

Unto which is added, A brief Answer to a pamphlet, stiled, A Brief Discovery of the Labourers in Mystery Babylon.

IT is not a new or strange thing, to see the old enemy of the light, viz. the prince of darkness, diligent in raising up as high mountains and towers as he can, to keep it from shining; and as he can bring forth no evil to man of himself, without some instrument into which he gets an entrance; therefore he is diligent in persuading and tempting from the light, even those that have seen the appearance of it, and not become so subject to it as they should have been, whose foolish hearts he darkens, and fills their minds with vain imaginations; and then are they choice instruments for his purpose, as bearing something more of his image, who himself abode not in the truth, than others. Such as these he always spurred on in a blind zeal against the light, as that which was most destructive to his and their works of darkness.

Among this sort of instruments, one Robert Cobbet, hath presented himself as an enemy to the doctrine of the light, though he is indeed but as one of the meanest and most shattered of that camp, and hath attained to but a small measure of that subtilty which this father and prince of darkness doth use to furnish his children with that are capable to receive it. But however, what he hath, or thinketh he hath, he hath adventured to present to public view; though indeed it is as a rod for his own chastisement. I heartily wish there [may] be so much sense left in him, that he may feel the smart of it, and may amend and leave off his folly and blind zeal, and submit to that which comprehends him, his spirit, and works. For I knew a time when he could not have believed that he should have been led to such a depth of confusion, in opposing the light, as now he is, though he was never faithful to it as he ought, but sought in his fallen corruptible wisdom to have comprehended it; but I desire he may yet see a death upon that which hath unto this day kept his soul in death and darkness.

In order thereunto, and for the Truth's sake, I have written these few lines, briefly to show him and others his confusions, contradictions and absurdities; or at least a few of those many which he hath uttered, and printed in his book, called A Word to the Upright, &c. Therefore, reader, take notice, that after his book called God's Truth attested, was made public, and

something was written in answer thereto, showing him how he contradicted himself and the scriptures too; in a seeming reply thereto, he published this, called A Word to the Upright, which, he saith, is to establish them in these erring days, and to keep the young sprouts of the nation from corruption in opinion. Whether R. C. hath written a piece that is likely to prove an establishing of the upright from error, or to prevent the young sprouts from corruption in principle or opinion, will more appear anon to the considerate reader, when he hath rightly weighed the consequences of letting in all his doctrines for truth, whether it will not render them more like to distracted men, than principal Christians.

At my first sight of this book, it arose in my heart to write something in answer to it, and to take off the reproach which he hath endeavoured to cast upon the blessed Truth and way of God, which he hath turned his back upon. But when I came to make a diligent search into the matter, I found much of that labour spared, the most part of his doctrines being answered and confuted by himself, in the same book, so that it might have been called, Robert Cobbet, answering and confuting Robert Cobbet, as will appear in this ensuing rehearsal of his doctrines and principles.

Therefore let the upright, to whom he writes, consider what he propounds to them as an establishment against the errors of these erring days.

And first, as to the light in the conscience, he saith, page 22. In that the light is a sparkling glimpse in the soul, it doth convince the soul of what is done amiss, which being discerned by the soul, serves for a director of the soul to Christ Jesus, where only lies its help. In his 10th page saith, that the soul hath knowledge from this light to eschew evil, and do good; in the doing of either of which stands his woe or peace. And in his 22d page he saith, that this spirit or light in man, is the candle of the Lord that searcheth the innermost parts of the belly. In his 4th page saith, did not this light in thy conscience condemn thee of all that ever thou didst before the day of God brake forth? In his 3d page he saith, that the end of Christ's coming was to beget unto communion with the Father and himself, by giving them his life, which is man's light, which, my brethren, being our salvation, we have it by him who is our Saviour Jesus Christ. And in his 11th page saith, the light serves to condemn for unbelief, and to justify the creature in his obedience of faith, &c.

By this time we see what a large testimony R. C. hath borne to the light in the conscience, and to its original; to wit, the Life of Jesus, and to its power, efficacy, and influence; and also to the effects that follow both to the obedient and disobedient; as woe and peace, condemnation and justification, and how it is the soul's director unto Christ, and that by which the soul obtains the knowledge of what is good, and communion, &c.

Now will or can any, that take in and receive this doctrine from R. C. doubt or question his being a friend to the light, and to the Quakers too, seeing he hath so strongly asserted their principles, with so many illustrations? Well, suppose that now thou dost believe R. C. in these things, and be settled in thy mind that he hath written the truth, and so come to find a need of loving and obeying this light in thy conscience. He further affirms in the 21st page thus; the Word was God, by which all things were made; in him was life, and that life was the light of men, and he it is that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. I say, if thou dost come to be settled thus in these erring days, as he calls them, and dost come to have an esteem of the light according as R. C. hath written; my counsel is unto thee, that if R. C. or any else, shall deny this doctrine again, and write or speak against it, that thou believe them not, but keep single to this Truth and thou shalt find the good effects of it, beyond what he hath or can declare; yet thus far R. C. hath against his will witnessed to the Truth.

Now mark what follows as to this doctrine, that R. C. may sufficiently appear to confute himself: he saith in the 22d page, the light in the conscience cannot lead the followers of its dictates further than its own centre, which is the centre of nature, and its power felt, [is] but the power of the centre of nature; and that man's internal light hath no more power to give salvation, than the soul hath to save itself, as in the same page; and that the sinking down into it for a manifestation of the salvation that came by grace in Christ, is a doctrine that turns away the creature from Christ the Redeemer to a property of nature, wherein can be no saving health, as in page 10. And again, in the same page he saith, the light in the conscience being a property in man, as man is a creature, its office in the soul is not appointed to give salvation. And in the 21st page he saith, Christ the Word that maketh all things, is not the light; and although he be goodness itself, and sends forth his love, to wit, his life, which shed in the heart, is a light which he calls his spirit, which light is not Christ, though of his nature. And in the 5th page saith, that the spirit of man is of the principle of light, and is a spark of that nature, which having lost its life by the transgression of the man, to God is dead, &c.

By this time where is the settlement for the young sprouts of the nation? Who must, if they will believe R. C. believe that the light in the conscience is to lead to Christ, and yet can lead no further than the centre of nature. That it is salvation and hath power to minister woe and peace, to justify or condemn; and now must believe it can do neither, it being but a property of nature, and dead to God. [They] must believe that the light of men, is the life and Christ: and now must believe that though this light is his life, and is his spirit, and of his nature, yet it is not he. Oh, horrible blindness and sottishness! Is this the way to settle people, for such double-minded and double-tongued hypocrites to take in hand to doctrinate them thus backward and forward, to believe and deny the same thing, and all in one hour's time?

One thing more I have to note, which R. C. goes about to settle us in, in these erring times, about what we should and ought to believe of Christ, what he is that is the Saviour, in which mark; first, he affirms in the 3rd page, that Christ is everlasting as he is the Word. And in the 16th page saith, the Seed is Christ, to whom the covenant was made by God, as written, my covenant shall be with thee, and with thy seed, and he is Lord and Saviour. And in 17th page he quotes the saying of Christ, they have believed that I came down from thee. So here thou mayest see who R. C. acknowledgeth to be the Saviour, even the Seed of Promise, with which God's covenant stands for ever, which Seed came down from God, &c. This is good sound doctrine according to scripture; but that thou mayest be unsettled from this, R. C. saith again in the 18th page, that the Saviour is in nature and creaturality like him; and that the Seed that broke the serpent's head is not something that this R. C. is not, as he is nature and creature, but is the offspring of Adam, consisting as he doth: and saith in his 12th page, The body was Christ: and in his 6th page, Behold I show you a mystery, you men in the clouds, Christ being the product of the Holy Ghost to a coagulated substance from the properties of man in Mary. And in the 18th page saith, Being out of doubt that the soul of Christ was of and from the properties of nature and creature, made by generation of the properties of Mary, is that Seed God promised to break the serpent's head. And in the 19th page, Is it not the body of Christ by which we are reconciled unto God? Yes, verily.

So now let all people see if this man be like to settle any, and to keep the young sprouts from being deceived, who is thus confused himself; one while telling it is the Seed that is the Saviour, and the everlasting Word of God, and he which came down from God, &c., and then presently saying it is a thing produced, a thing formed of the properties of man, a body that reconciles, a coagulated substance, a thing in nature like himself, consisting as he doth both in kind and substance; and much such like, as may be seen more at large in his book.

If R. C. had known Christ Jesus, and the power of his death and resurrection, he had not written so confusedly. Then he had known the virtue of the Seed, and the service of body and soul too, and had known the offering to be made by the Eternal Spirit, and then he would not have said that it was the body only that reconciled, or that the body only was Christ, seeing that the body without the spirit is dead, and that could not give life. But the Son of God that took the body, hath life in himself, and can give life to them that believe, and was, and is, and is to come; and he is in the faithful, and they are in him and in his body, bone of it, and flesh of it; and the life which they live is by faith in him, and not by talking of him.

These things R. C. is a stranger to, and so imagines about him, and intrudes into things which he hath not seen, and is vainly puffed up in a fleshly mind, and fleshly knowledge which is for judgment. This jumble and confusion is the way to bring into atheism indeed, if there were no better asserters of the doctrine of Christianity than he is. But let all sober people wait to feel a measure of that life and fulness that dwelt in that body of Jesus, for which it was prepared, that so they may by the power of that Life be settled in the knowledge of the Saviour Jesus, and may daily wait for his appearance to save; for he ever liveth and is ever needed, and none are safe but under the government of his Spirit.

Now as to what substance he was of, R. C. saith in his 6th page, His substance was from the properties of man in Mary; but in the same page, he saith again, That the body of our Lord was of an heavenly substance. And in his other book saith, He is the Son from the substance of the Father, and was, he saith, of the nature of heaven. So then the properties of man in Mary were heavenly substance, of the nature of heaven, or else R. C. is here unsettled and in error and darkness himself; nay, that which is more, R. C. himself must be of this heavenly substance, this nature of heaven; for he saith, Christ consisteth as he doth. But lest ye should believe what he saith about the heavenly nature, he saith, His soul was made by generation of the properties of Mary. R. C. wilt thou not blush at these things when thou reviewest them?

And then for the form of this subtance, he saith, page 8th, That while he there stood, he differed nothing from the form of a servant:

but in the 6th page he saith, that as he was thus circumscribed, and thus consisted of soul, body and spirit, he was that form of God.

How now R. C.? What! is the form of a servant, and the form of God all one. And is the form of God a circumscribed form? Hast not thou learned this of Lodowick Muggleton, that false witness and notorious blasphemer? who saith God is but the bigness and compass of a man, whose steps thou art treading, and whose end will be thy end, except thou repent.

Then again concerning the blood that saves and does away sin; hear what R. C. in his 11th page saith. My brethren, you are bought with a price, not of blood of bulls, and goats, nor heifers of a year old, but by the blood of God. But in his 13th page he is of another opinion, and saith quite contrary; these are his words, viz. Which blood being the blood of his humanity, as he was creature, was that which did with God expiate for sin. So now which of these two doctrines shall we believe, that we are saved by the blood of God, or the blood of the humanity? Or shall we suppose them to be both one, and so God to be human, and the doctrines indifferent?

R. C. will do well to clear up these things; or own his condemnation upon his folly and presumption; for it is unlikely he should ever be reconciled to the people of God, who is so at odds in himself in this manner. Alas! Robert! dost thou not yet see whither thou art gone, by going from the light, and now staggers and reels, and dost not know whither thou goest? Oh! that a day may be yet found for thee and thine, and that thou mayest come to bow down to that, which thou now kickest and spurnest against.

And in page 21, thou sayest, if the light in the conscience be Christ, then so many men as are in this world, so many Christs. Why so, Robert? Hast not thou thyself answered this, in confessing that one Christ hath with his life served to lighten every man that cometh into the world? What need is there then for every man to have a distinct Christ, seeing he is the Christ of God, thou sayest, that enlightens them all? Thou sayest in this same page, that Christ, as he is the Word and maker of all things, is not the light in the conscience; but in the next line or two, thou sayest, but the Word that was God, &c. in him was life, and the life is the light of men, and he lightens every man. How dost thou mean by this? dost thou not mean that he lightens them in their consciences? or where else?

As to the soul of man, thou sayest in thy 4th page, that it is a spark of God's eternal nature; coagulated into a spiritual substance for a centre of his insensitive life; and as thus compacted, is a creature of an eternal being, of an own self-subsisting consistency.

Answer. R. C. hath here described a creature that subsists of itself contrary to the scripture, that saith all things are upheld by the Word. And besides this eternal creature, as he calls it, this spark of God's eternal nature, this coagulated substance, (he saith,) was to be a centre for God's insensitive life. What Robert! had it not a centre before? But if this coagulated substance subsists of itself, then not by the life that centres in it. And if the soul be a spark of God's nature, how comes it to be created? If it be his nature, how comes it to be corrupted in the life-time as thou sayest it is? How can a spark of God's eternal nature, let into itself the poison of the serpent and so die? Where is its own self-subsistency now? is this thy explaining the matter? or, where is its being a centre for that insensitive life of God?

And further in thy 5th page thou sayest, this spark, this coagulated substance, this own self-subsistency dieth; and in another place speakest of its perishing; and yet talkest of an eternal creature. But R. C., what life of time is that which corrupts the soul? and how came it to have its abode in an infectious life of time, seeing it is an eternal creature as thou sayest? But what man's soul, or the soul of Jesus either, is, thou knowest not; for if thou hadst, thou wouldst not have thus befooled thyself to say, man's soul was a spark of God's eternal nature, and yet say the soul of Christ was but of the properties of nature made by generation; nor yet have affirmed that to be the Seed of promise which came by generation of and from the properties of Mary. Is not that the Seed of promise mentioned in Isa. ix. 6, who is called the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace? And what! is Mary the mother of God? This will please the papists well. Is this the way to settle Christians, and preserve the young sprouts of the nation from corruption? Where is thy scripture to prove that Jesus the Saviour was created, as in thy 6th page thou sayest? But oh! this darkness and confusion, that thou mayest see it, and be ashamed of it.

Again, Richard Cobbet, in his 26th page, saith in plain words, that Christ and his spirit are not one. His argument is, that Christ said, I go away, but I will send you a comforter. Which argument is sufficient to prove, that Christ, the Messias and Saviour, is one with the Spirit of Truth, and not distinct. If one should ask R. C. how many were mentioned in that text, where he saith, he that dwelleth with you, shall be in you; would he answer that there was more than one. If not, then here is

no more, (to wit,) Christ and his spirit, which eternally are one.

But that he may sufficiently manifest his folly, he tells us in the same 26th page, that the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, are all one, both in respect of consent in their testimonies, and also in respect of their eternity of being; so which of these shall we believe? that Christ and his spirit are one, or that they are not one? R. C. will do well to tell the people which he will stand by.

And for R. Cobbet's pleading or hoping, that the powers will keep up a charity to us, upon the account that thousands of us do, (he hopes,) believe his narrative of God; and his desire altering the matter for a corporal form, into a nature for production of creatures, speaking forth the model by his word, &c. page 26. Truly we need not R. C. to set forth an account of our faith and belief in these things, neither can we own it or him; for if we should we should soon be brought under the judgment both of God and man.

And for his pleading, that in the soundest bodies, there sometimes breaketh forth a boil; truly if he aims at us by this body, (as I think he doth,) we do confess, that so far as ever he was of us, so far he is that boil which we confess is now broken forth. But they that know him in particular, know how little he was of us, and how little while he professed himself to be of us: so his breaking out, and running like a boil or sore, the corrupt matter that was in him, is no great disparagement to the body; for the body is sounder without him than with him; and whilst he was amongst us, he was often breaking out with his whimsies and imaginations, so that he became nauseous unto us, but not in so gross a manner as now.

And for R. C. saying, that some of us knew that he counted our language but a cant language; we know that from the first of his coming among us, he was far enough from our language or life either. But it is no great matter for him to call our language a cant, who replies to our works thus, viz. when we said, the Lord is one, and the name is one; he answers, Friends, do not caper, as in his 2d page. And he saith in his 31st page, that he is no Quaker; of which, all that ever saw or heard any thing of the Quakers' books or doctrines, will bear him witness; for never did Quaker appear in such a heap of confusion as R. C. hath done. Yet for that malicious saying of his in this 31st page, that to be a Quaker is to deny his Lord and Master, God will judge him; if by Lord and Master he means the Lord Jesus Christ, as I think he doth. But he that really and truly is *his* Lord, viz. the prince of the air that rules in the hearts of such disobedient children and apostates as he is; I confess, he must deny more than ever yet he hath done, before he can become a Quaker, or have unity with them, who are scornfully so called.

But why doth R. C. in his 30th page, come with a kiss, Judas-like, and say, brethren, I will ask you a question, &c. when as the matter he intends there to insinuate to his reader, is, that we deny that Christ that was born of the virgin Mary, to be Christ. Is not this on purpose to betray us and beguile his reader? and that with a lie? For we never yet denied him that was born of the virgin Mary, and suffered under Pontius Pilate, to be the Lord and Saviour. But indeed we never did believe him to be produced by coagulation, as R. C. doth; nor by generation of and from the properties of man in Mary: for then some might have declared his generation, which the scripture saith, who can do? And besides, we believe him to be the eternal Son of God. But if R. Cobbet's doctrine be true, then he was not before Mary: but his ignorance of Christ, is sufficiently manifested to all that have an eye opened.

As to his saying, that the apostle saith, 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3, that the sufferings of Christ is the power of God and gospel by which we are saved; that is false and a belieing the apostle and scripture too. For all that read the text may see, that the apostle speaks of his sufferings but as one part of many of that gospel which he had preached; but it was the resurrection of Christ he most of all pointed at, as the principal thing they must come to feel the power of; as in verse 12.

Many more of R. Cobbet's absurdities and contradictions I might note down, as also those noted in the answer to his first book, which yet remain unanswered, nor so much as an attempt made thereof; he, (it may be,) despairs of ever reconciling them in the sight of rational men. But these at present may satisfy the ingenious reader, what spirit it is in Robert Cobbet, that hath taken in hand to settle people in these erring days, and to preserve the young sprouts of the nation from corruption. Let Robert Cobbet mind, if he writes again, to keep more within the bounds of moderation, and not to let his envy against the light so captivate his reason, as to bereave him of the use of it, as it hath done; for truly is that scripture fulfilled in him, He that walketh in darkness, stumbleth, and knoweth not whither he goeth.

CONCERNING THE LIGHT THAT LIGHTETH EVERY ONE THAT COMETH INTO THE WORLD, WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT IS NOT, AS ROBERT COBBET SAITH.

PAGE 1. Which doctrine of the light in the conscience, had it been kept in its office, as a schoolmaster, to bring unto Christ, had been a doctrine of good morality.

PAGE 3. I deny not, but the end of the coming of the Lord into the world, was to beget his children into fellowship, by communion with his Father and himself, by giving to them his life, which is man's light, which, (my brethren,) being our salvation, &c.

PAGE 10. But a light of reason man hath, as man is a rational creature, from which his light hath knowledge of good and bad; as also knowledge from his light to eschew evil, and to do good; in the doing either of which stands his woe or peace.

PAGE 22. But in that the light is a sparkling glimpse in the soul, doth convince the soul of what is done amiss, which discerned by the soul, serves for a director of the soul to Christ, where only lies its help; which spirit or light in man is the candle of the Lord, which searcheth the innermost parts of the belly, and comes down with every man by generation from Adam.

PAGE 11. The light serves but to condemn for unbelief, or to justify the creature in his obedience of faith.

PAGE 21. But the Word which was God, by which all things were made, in him was life, and that life was the light of men, and he it is that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

PAGE 4. Did not this light in thy conscience condemn thee of all that ever thou didst, before the day of God break forth?

PAGE 22. Be not deceived, the light in the conscience cannot lead the followers of its dictates further than its own centre, which is the centre of nature, and its power felt, but the power of the centre of nature.

PAGE 22. So hence I conclude, that the spirit of man being his internal light, hath no more power to give salvation to the soul, than the soul hath to save itself.

PAGE 10. Therefore the light in man, being but the light of man, as man is a rational creature, sinking into it for the manifestation of the salvation that comes from grace, by covenant from God, by Jesus Christ, is a doctrine that turns away the creature from Christ the Redeemer, to a property of nature, wherein can be no saving health.

PAGE 10. The light in the conscience being a property in man, as man is a creature; its office in the soul is not appointed to give salvation.

PAGE 21. Christ, as he is the Word and Maker of all things, is not the light in the conscience.

PAGE 21. The Word being goodness itself, sends forth his love, (to wit,) his life, which shed in the heart, is to it a light, and this he calls his spirit, which light is not Christ, though of his nature.

PAGE 5. The spirit of man being of the principle of light, is a creatural spirit from the principle of light, as a spark of that nature, which having lost its life, by the transgression of the man, to God is dead.

PAGE 11. If the light in the conscience be Christ, then may Christ be darkness.

CONCERNING CHRIST, HIS BODY, SOUL, AND BLOOD, AND WHAT HE IS, AND IS NOT, AS R. C. SAITH.

PAGE 3. He is the everlasting Word, but as he was the man Christ, he was in time.

PAGE 6. Which body of our Lord being of a heavenly substance, as it was circumscribed, was the body of his personality that he gave for an offering, for the ransom of the world; which body being of the nature of heaven. Thus have I given you an account of Jesus, his body, soul and spirit; who as he thus consisted, was that form of God, and express image of his Father's substance.

PAGE 7. We have proved before the personality of Christ, and that he was the express image of God in his person.

PAGE 16. The seed is Christ, to whom the covenant was made by God, as written, My covenant shall be with thee, and with thy seed, &c. He is Lord and Saviour.

PAGE 17. They have believed that I came down from thee.

PAGE 5. And the soul of Christ, that was of and from the soul-like properties of man's nature, as Christ consists personally from his mother Mary.

PAGE 6. Behold, I show you a mystery, ye men in the clouds; Christ being the product of the Holy Ghost, to a coagulated substance from the property of man in Mary.

PAGE 8. Who while there stood, differed nothing from the form of a servant.

PAGE 12. Which body was Christ.

PAGE 17. He came of Abraham's lineage, of the loins of Mary, begotten by the Holy Ghost of his mother Mary, for the Saviour.

PAGE 18. That the seed which is the Saviour, is Christ in person; for if he had not been creature of soul and spirit as I am, as I am nature, it had not availed me; but the seed that broke the serpent's head, is not some strange thing that I am not, as I am creature, but of kind and sub-

PAGE 19. This Christ being born of Mary, proceeded from David and Abraham, according to the line of the covenant, Christ coming from Mary, and God forming himself in and with that body Christ; for its saviour to man, was the power to Christ, by which Christ brought forth man's salvation; but could he, or did he, without the body of Christ reconcile?

PAGE 11. My brethren, you are bought with a price, not of blood of bulls, and goats, nor heifers of a year old, but by the blood of God.

stance as I am, he being made so from the nature of Mary, by which she became creature, as the offspring of Adam, of soul and spirit consisting as do I.

PAGE 18. Being out of doubt that the soul of Christ was of and from the properties of nature and creature, made by generation of the properties of Mary, is that seed that God promised to send to break the serpent's head.

PAGE 19. Is it not the body of Christ by which we are reconciled unto God? yes verily.

PAGE 13. Which blood being the blood of his humanity, as he was creature, was that that did with God expiate for sin.

A letter from Germany to Friends, exhorting them to diligence in meetings.

ALL Friends every where, who have tasted of the goodness of God, keep in the savour thereof, and let not your minds be stolen away from that which is living, for that which is living cometh from above, and makes you lively, but that which is corruptible, cometh from the earth, and brings death with it over your souls. Therefore watch in diligence to retain the savour of the life of Truth, that you may live, from a sense that Christ liveth in you, who is the seed, the truth, the noble plant, and grows, and bringeth forth fruit in you.

All Friends, every where, who thus keep and retain the savour of life in them, will come to feel daily quickenings thereby, and will have power over the nature that is dead in Adam to all good works, and especially to waiting upon God with a steadfast and staid mind. Nothing so hard as this to that old and corrupt nature which is soon weary. This is that nature which cannot watch with Christ one hour; but let his trials and sufferings be ever so great, this leads from watching to sleeping, this hath no fellowship with the seed of God in its sufferings, and shall have none in its dominion. Where this drowsy nature stands uncrucified, it keeps you in the weakness, out of the power, and this brings out of the savour and feeling of the goodness of God, and so makes meetings unprofitable. As it comes through custom to be allowed and subjected to, it leads into hypocrisy, that is to say, into a professing to wait upon God, and a presenting the body in the meeting, and then letting the heart, which God requires, depart from him, even into the ease and liberty of the flesh, in which the apostle said, they that lived could not please God.

Therefore, dear Friends, in the name of God I exhort you, consider what you do when you assemble together; and let it be in the name of Jesus, that is, in his power, not in the weakness, nor in the flesh, like a fleshly meeting, but in his name and power make war with the flesh, and with the drowsy spirit that lodgeth there, and in the faith overcome it, and be not overcome by it, for that is bondage. Hold your meetings in the spirit, where every one is made alive, and flourish, and grow in life and in dominion, and shine forth to the glory of God, and to the comforting and refreshing one of another.

For as any one suffereth himself to be overtaken with sleep in a meeting, he loseth the sense of the power of God, he becomes a grief to the diligent, and an evil example to the negligent, and brings himself under the judgment of God's power in his own conscience, which when he awaketh, riseth up against him; and also he is under the judgment of the power in the whole meeting, which, when he comes to a true sense of, will be no light thing. And further, if any that are unbelieving come in among you, and see such things among you, who make a profession of an inward power, and an inward quickening spirit, and a worship that is inward, in the Spirit and Truth, this causeth the name of God to be dishonoured, and the way of Truth to be holden in little esteem, by such who know it not in themselves, and a stumbling block is hereby laid in their way, to hinder them from any further seeking after the truth.

Oh, Friends! consider these things, and be all diligent in this matter, and let not that earthly part have liberty, but let it be kept in the cross till it dies, or else it will keep and hold you dead and insensible of God or one another. This is that which hath hindered the growth of many, namely, their carelessness in coming to meetings, and their slothfulness when they are there. Therefore for the time to come, let every one that bears the profession of Truth, be diligent in the work of God, and be good examples to each other; and observe your time and hour of coming to meeting; and set not one hour, and then come at another. Neglect not your middle week meetings, by reason of your outward occasions, for that will not bring a

blessing upon your affairs, but let all things give way to the service of God, and then all things shall work together for good unto you, and there shall be no lack of any thing that is good for you.

So, dear Friends, in the true love of God have I written this unto you, as it lay upon me from the Lord, as a word of exhortation, to stir up the pure mind in you all. The God of power and strength, give you of his might, and of his power to help you in all your necessities, and in all your combats, and strengthen your faith, in which, and by which, the victory is obtained, which is the desire of my soul for you all, who am your friend in the fellowship of the gospel. STEPHEN CRISP.

A WORD OF CONSOLATION, AND A SOUND OF GLAD TIDINGS TO ALL THE MOURNERS IN GERMANY, AND THE PARTS ADJACENT.

With a tender visitation and salutation of love to all that wait for redemption and freedom from the burden of sin: with an exhortation to love the appearance of the day of deliverance which is now dawning upon them.

From one that seeks nothing more than the spreading of the everlasting gospel, that the meek and poor may be comforted thereby; known by the name of Stephen Crisp.

ALL ye who hunger and thirst for the fulfilling of the promises of God made unto his holy and beloved Seed, in the latter days to be raised, and in the latter age to rule; and all you that are come to a sense of the great oppressions of the just, both in particular and in the general, and feel pure groanings within yourselves, to see deliverance brought forth unto your souls immortal from under the bondage; unto you is this salutation of my tender and dear love flowing forth, by the operation of the Eternal Spirit, by which God worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will.

Dear hearts, I am sensible how that pure Spirit of the living God is searching out the habitations of them that sit in solitary places, sighing; for the delight of the everlasting gospel which we have read, must be preached again in the latter days; which gospel is Christ the power of God, that opens the prison doors, and brings forth the prisoner out of the prison. But Christ Jesus visits them in prison also; so that it is one thing to feel your spirits visited with living breathings after perfect freedom, and the glorious liberty of the children of God. This you may have and feel in you, and yet be in prison. And then it is a further work to know the desire answered, and to know the freedom obtained; and this none come to witness, but those who come to a love and sincere waiting upon the God of power, for an opening in the things that are truly spiritual; which the carnal man, with his carnal counsel and book-learned wisdom cannot understand.

Therefore in the aboundings of the love of God in my heart towards you all in the parts of Germany, and in the provinces, dominions, and states adjacent, am I drawn forth to visit you with these few things, that you may be prepared to meet the Lord in the day which is dawning upon you; that you might not be as the foolish virgins, contented with the lamp, and sleeping whilst ye should get oil. This I say unto you all in the name of the Lord God of heaven and earth, that a day, a glorious day is breaking forth, and shall break forth upon your nations and countries, even a glory that shall stain the glory of all professors that are out of the holy life of the Son of God. A day of gloominess and darkness shall this day be unto all who are established upon their own mountains; but a morning of gladness, with a refreshing dew unto all that long for a habitation in the mountain of the Lord, which is rising over all the mountains; yea, this day shall discover the mountains on which every sort of men have fed, and the kind and sort that have trusted therein.

Esau, the profane man, hath had his mountain, and that a den of dragons. Ishmael the mocker had his mountain, he mocked at the seed, and is cast into the desert, with her that bore him. Cain hath a city, who slew the just, but was filled with fear, and his plagues more than he could bear. In these cities and mountains where the plague enters, the dragons lodge, the wild beast seeks his prey; and where the wicked builds a wall for his defence, in these have nations trusted. But the thundering power of the Lord is arisen, to lay waste these mountains, to raze these cities, and destroy all wild beasts of the forest, and to bring anguish and desolation upon all murderers about religion, upon all the mockers, and upon all the idolaters, upon all the oppressors of the pure seed. In this day shall anguish take hold of many professors of Christianity, whose religion hath stood in names of things, and words of godliness; but at the appearance of the substance, they shall fret themselves, and resolve if they can but kill the heir, they shall have the inheritance; but if they should let the heir live, they should be cast out. Now will the wisdom, and strength, and arm of flesh, with its power and policy, seek by all means to stop the spreading of this glorious day, lest their high religion which is accompanied with sin, the work of darkness, should be discovered.

Howbeit, this I say unto you who sigh and

nourn because of the abomination and spiritual oppression which you feel, fear not, the day of he Lord shall break forth, and nothing shall be ible to stop it, but he that shall come, will come, nd none shall let him. The heavenly manifestation of the life of Jesus Christ, which is the ight of men, shall fill the earth, and a Goshen hall be found for the true Israel, in the time of Egypt's plagues. Therefore rejoice you, and e glad, and let your heads be lifted up, for the lay of your redemption draweth nigh.

But now, dearly beloved, I have something o say unto you more particularly, concerning the way of the breaking forth of this glorious day, lest any of you that wait and hope for it, should be mistaken, and should be offended at his coming in one appearance, whom ye may look for in another, as the Jews of old were. Therefore in the fear of the Lord consider these following things.

1. Consider what it is that must be destroyed in this day of the Lord that cometh to visit your nations; it is the works of the devil, who is the author of sin, and his work is not destroyed, so long as sin remains. The prophet said, the day of the Lord shall burn as an oven, and the wicked shall be as stubble. So that if the appearance of God in this your day be in judgment and burning, and consuming even those things that have been delightful, yet take heed you are not offended thereat; but that, in you, all that is for the sword, let the two-edged sword that goeth forth out of his mouth, that hath the brightness of the morning star, cut it down. And what God hath appointed to be famished, take you heed of feeding it, lest you strike against God, and it happen to you, as once it did to one to whom God said, because thou hast saved one alive, that I had appointed to die, thy life shall go for his life. Now God hath appointed the death of every sin and lust that liveth in your souls, and hath appointed his Son Christ Jesus to be the killer and destroyer thereof. He cometh to the earthly part, not with peace, but with a sword; and when ye feel it cutting off your pleasures, your delights, your worldly friendships and fellowships, yea, your hope and confidence, which stood on a sinful ground, or a ground where sin also stood, you must not be offended thereat, but wait in humility to feel that you are the slain of the Lord, which the prophet said should be many, in his great and notable day; and fear not, for he that kills you to what is old, shall raise you up in the new life of righteousness that never waxeth old.

2. Consider what it is that must be set up in this day of the Lord that is visiting the nations; it is righteousness and truth which have long fallen in the streets, and equity could not enter; but God hath determined to exalt righteousness even in the earth, that it may run down as a stream in abundance, bearing all before it that is contrary to it. And the way of exalting it, the blind world cannot see, and so fight against it: but they whose eye is open to mark his footsteps, shall see it is by the shining forth of its own glory. For as it ariseth in the particular, to rule the whole man in the fear and pure wisdom of God, that man ceaseth to act of himself, or speak of himself, and is brought to wait upon the good spirit of God, to know what to do and say, as the hand-maid upon the hand of her mistress; and such the pure spirit keeps in a pure conversation without sin, for no man by the spirit of God is led into sin.

If any come to live in this pure sinless conversation, this differs from the sinful world, and so shines over the world, and brings a night upon their glory; for this shining and beauty of holiness is answered by the measure of the grace of God in all consciences, where it shines; and so many come to be gathered to the brightness of the arising of this righteousness, and become subject to the love of it. And so shall the borders of its garment be daily enlarged, and the borders of the possession of the wicked one shall be daily lessened, and the Seed of God shall possess the gates of his enemies, according to his promise of old made by his holy prophets.

And now Friends in the third place, consider the place where this alteration is to be wrought, where the kingdom of the man of sin is to be destroyed, and where the kingdom of Christ is to be set up. It is within you that this great change is to be wrought, and a great power must be felt to work it; for in this case, in vain is the help of man, without the power of God. Therefore that which leads to the knowledge of the power, you must come to love and to obey, which is the light of Jesus Christ in your consciences, wherewith Christ Jesus, the free gift of the Father, hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world; which light doth discover to the soul, when the dark power doth begin to stir and operate, to lead into evil.

Those that love the light better than their lusts, come to take up the cross to the lust whatsoever it be; and standing faithful in the cross and denial of themselves, they come to witness what the apostle said, the cross of Christ is the power of God through faith unto salvation. When this cross is thus taken up and self thus denied; then that soul is not without the power of God, which is the ground of their faith; and the more they are herein subjected, the more power they have, and the more doth their faith increase, and being obedient to the light of Jesus, the faithful and true witness of

God, they feel peace, and encouragement, and a loving hope doth sustain such as cast an anchor, till God makes a perfect work on their hearts. And here will arise the great difference between your hope, and the hope of the hypocritical world; they hope to be set free from the condemnation due upon sin, but you will hope and wait to be set free from sin itself, which is the cause of condemnation, and to be redeemed out of evil, into the life of innocency, that was before sin was.

Dear Friends, you that have attained already to this hope, hold fast your confidence, waver not, but hope and wait to the end; though the seas roar, and the waves make a noise, yet let this hope be your anchor, for it is sure. And seeing this great work is to be wrought within, and you are to be made witnesses of it to the sons of men, oh let your eye be kept diligently to the power, that ye may be true witnesses of his glory, who is your soul's beloved. Oh, keep the eye of your minds, which the god of this world hath blinded, and which now the God of heaven hath opened, and is opening, always within, that ye may see the appearance of every evil, and every good in you; and be able to put a difference and may learn wisdom of God to choose the good, and eschew the evil; that thereby you may know that vessel cleansed and purged, in which this great work is to be wrought. For ye know whilst the vessel is filled with wrath, envy, or with unrighteousness of any kind, such are not yet fit for the glory of God to shine forth in.

When that is removed out by judgment; and Zion is set free from oppression, then the creature returns to God a pure vessel in the righteousness that was before the fall. So a man or woman may come to Adam's state he was in before he fell, which was without sin. And against such the judgment of God doth not go forth, but they have peace with God, and fellowship in that which is pure, before sin and transgression was. They that come to this state, may be tempted again as was Eve, and if they watch not, may be entangled again; but if such be faithful to the power that redeemed them from the sin, and in the power resist the temptation, then do such receive the seal of eternal life in Christ Jesus, who never fell, though he was tempted, and so come to an establishment in him that never changeth.

Therefore, dear Friends and people, you upon whom the glorious day of our God has dawned, and the day-star arisen in your hearts, which gives you a hope this day is at hand; or you that have but a sense of that sure word of prophecy in you, which you are to take heed unto, till the day-star arise, I say unto you all, in all your states and conditions, it is faithfulness to what you know, that God requires of you. It is those among you that are willing and obedient, that shall reap the desires of their souls; for he that is faithful in a little, shall be ruler over much. Therefore Friends, put not the day of the Lord afar off, when God hath brought it nigh, for on such it will come as a thief; but all that wait for it in sincerity of mind, shall see his salvation and be glad. For the hills shall flee at his appearance, the mountains shall be removed and laid waste, that which hath been as the world's element, shall melt away with fervent heat, and their heavens pass as a scroll; but the poor, the mourners, and the oppressed in soul, shall rejoice and sing because of their deliverance.

My Friends, think it not hard, that ye meet with many sore trials, and deep afflictions, for bearing witness to the light of the glorious day of God; for all your cruel sufferings, your cruel mockings, and your heavy and grievous reproaches, shall tend to the furtherance of the gospel; for thereby are the hearts of many open, to inquire concerning you; and as they come to look towards you by way of inquiry, then let them see nothing of you but meekness, love to enemies, patience, and an assured hope. This will win many to the love of your life, and will daunt your foes, and in time make them hopeless of extinguishing your light again; for after this manner have we in England been exercised from the beginning. Nevertheless the gospel doth abundantly flourish, and the light and splendour of it break forth; and many are daily converted to the faith, and made partakers of the heavenly grace of God, and joy of his salvation with us: and we have great encouragement, both by the feeling life and power, and presence of God with us, and in us daily, and also by the fruit of our labours, which we see daily coming up to our joy.

And this I say, that you also who have believed, may be encouraged, that this day of the Lord, and dispensation of the light of his Son Jesus Christ, arisen and manifested in and among the people called Quakers, shall never be extinguished or brought to an end, but shall spread through your and all countries; and blessed are they that can receive it. This I have received from the Lord, therefore be strong in his might, and quit yourselves like men; be faithful to the death, and Christ shall give you a crown of life. My heart is full and abounds with love to you all, and to the whole regions round about you, to whom I send this as the salutation of my love and tender greeting, in the feeling of the mercies of God that are breaking forth unto you that mourn and are afflicted, and wait for redemption.

My prayer to God is, that this my love may have acceptance among you, and that you all may consider how clean you must be made,

ore you can be vessels in the house. So I remain in the covenant of God, in the comnion of saints, and in the earnest expectan of the redemption of Zion's oppressed ed, for the sake whereof I do labour and suf- both in body and spirit, and will yet wilgly labour, until my course be finished.

I am a lover of all men's souls, known iong men by the name,

STEPHEN CRISP.

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n Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends in Colchester.

DEARLY beloved friends, brethren and sis-s, who are come to know and feel the life d virtue of God refreshing your souls, which u once longed after, and sought with heavy arts, and knew not where to find it; but now ve tasted of the heavenly manna, and are mforted.

My dear Friends, who can express the great-ss of the mercies of our God in this particu-? But in a sense and feeling of my fellow-ip with you, and you with me herein, am I this time drawn forth to salute you, in love feigned; as being present with you in your awings nigh unto your God and my God, ur strength and my strength. Friends, ough you know these things, yet it is in my art to put you in mind how that your stand-g is not by knowledge, but by your faith in Son of God; and whosoever is born of him, lieves him through death, and finds him faith-for ever, and so by faith and obedience, mes to the joyful resurrection and inheritance light. The Son of God is made manifest, it you having seen his appearance, may be ide like him; and that power that can do it, the same that raised up, and brought again r Lord Jesus from the dead.

Therefore dear hearts, you who have be-ved in the light, be diligent to feel the power which all things are possible, that so the ssed work begun in you, may be perfected, the praise of God, and your comfort and es-blishment. This is it that hath gone before u in all your sore combats and conflicts, and u were never weak, while you eyed the wer of God, and marked which way it led u; for it always gave you power to accom-sh your testimony, though with your lives your hands. Friends, this glorious blessed wer is the same to-day as yesterday, and ll always be the same to you. If you abide it, you will feel no weakness; that will be iong your enemies; and among you, God ll ordain strength, courage and nobility; and will appear worthy of your name, to wit, people and children of God. He hath none to stand up for him in the earth, but they that trust in his power; they that trust in their own, their strength is as tow before the fire. Ye are his little heritage in the sight of the heathen; if ye appear valiant, many will believe, and the name you profess shall be honourable, and you with it.

Therefore Friends, seeing how great goodness is bestowed upon you, and how greatly your soul's desires are answered, in that ye are brought from the barren mountains to the pastures of life, and remembering how you have been kept from being again scattered by the violence or subtleties of the enemies of Truth, and of your souls; and feeling to this day and hour, the continuation of that blessed power with you, warming, comforting and refreshing your souls; oh! be encouraged to follow the Lord with your whole heart, though to the loss of all that can be lost. Heed not the darkness of this world, nor its times and seasons of ebbing and flowing, or appearing more or less; but mind the power of God, and observe diligently the times and seasons in which you are called to bear a testimony for your God, and to show forth the faith you have in him, and the love you have to him, that the world may see you constrained, though they cannot see that which constraineth you.

Dearly beloved, my heart is enlarged towards you, beyond what words can declare; and as you feel the love and goodness of God springing up in your hearts, then feel ye and read my love, which is in the same root by which I am, and have been supported in all my travails and sufferings for the Seed's sake; and my joy doth daily increase, because I see daily the captivity of Zion to return. Rejoice you with me, be glad in the Lord, and meet diligently together in his power, to praise and magnify him for his goodness, as in times past, when ye met together to be made partakers of it, and to be acquainted with it, that so unthankfulness may be found in none of you; but ye all may be clearly and singly given up to do and suffer his will, that hath chosen you to be a people to himself. Lay by and cast aside all earthly mindedness, and all fleshly consultations; for that will but darken you and veil your understandings, and bring in doubtfulness and weakness; but mind the power over all, which was before all, and must remain when all that is contrary to it is hushed and gone; and in this, I say again, is your strength and my strength, and the strength of the whole heritage of our Father.

Therefore the supplication of my soul to the God and Father of my life, is, that you may be kept and preserved single to the power of God, minding always its leading and guidance, which will at last lead every one that believes and

obeys into perfect rest. So dearly beloved in the Lord, fare ye well, be faithful, be of good courage.

Your friend and brother in the Truth.

S. C.

An Answer of Stephen Crisp, to Thomas Loddington.

Friend, thine I have received, though until now I had not opportunity, or convenient time to signify the receipt of it to thee, nor to reply any thing thereunto; but now I shall as briefly, as well I may, give thee to know my sense and judgment of what thou hast written, and turn back what of it is thy own into thy own bosom. As to what thou writest of my exaltedness, or high-mindedness, &c. in this particular, I shall not say much, because God knoweth that work of humiliation which himself is the author of, in which he hath made me willing to be a servant unto all men in his love, and it is he that justifies me, and who art thou that condemnest me? Shall thy judgment stand? Nay surely, it will be thy own, and out of thy mouth shalt thou be judged with that measure which thou hast meted out to me. Thou sayest, that my judging thee whom I, (as thou sayest,) know not, savours of the accuser of the brethren's spirit; then surely thou, that hast run so high in judgment against one whom thou as little knowest and less, hast manifested the savour of that accusing spirit, to purpose. But let me tell thee, I do know thee, and can very well trace thy path in which thou walkest, and see the place of thy standing; and I do not deny but that the grace of God hath shined or appeared in thee in times past, which might raise up some fear of God in thy heart, and might in measure wash thee from the gross pollutions of the world. But how much thou hast licked up that which once thou hadst vomited, and how often thou art tumbling in that from which thou wast once, as it were washed, God and his witness in thy own conscience knoweth, to which testimony thou must stand in the day of his judgment.

And as to thy letter in general, it is but as a heap of rambling words, run out together without asserting any thing of what I have either said or written to thee, except in that I said thy carnal reason must be famished; and that is true enough, and thou wilt find it so. For the things of God were never appointed as food for it, as saith the apostle, The world by wisdom knows not God, and the carnal mind is enmity to God, and discerns not the things of God, neither can, for they are spiritually discerned; and dust is the serpent's meat, and he must creep on his belly, read that; he goeth not uprightly, mark.

I never said faith was a thing separate from reason, that is but thy own false suggestion. For we do desire that all that have received of the like precious faith with us, may be ready to give a reason thereof to him that asks it, as I shall be ready to do to thee or any man when asked thereof. In the mean time, this is my testimony, that as man stands in the fall, simply considered, as a vassal and servant of the wicked one; in that state, his reason, will, and understanding, are all corrupted, and his affections are vile, and he an enemy to God and Christ. In that state, as so, he cannot see nor understand the way of salvation, nor the true reason of it, nor perceive how it is according to the nature of God, but with that reason, judgment and will, will strike at the appearance of the true way of salvation, as the wise of this world ever did; and as thou according to the hardness of thy heart art still doing. But the light hath always broken forth another way, than their reason hath taught them to expect, and so they were left in darkness, still groping for the way, and changing and turning this way and that way, while others entered into the kingdom, and they were shut out, which is very near to be thy portion.

Wherefore, friend, we say, that before the way of the Lord can be acceptable to a man, that is, before a man can receive that measure of faith which God hath offered unto all men, in that he hath raised up Jesus from the dead, he must know that of God in him, to enlighten, or clear his understanding, and to rectify his reason, and reduce it from the gross darkness in which he hath been ready to call evil good, and good evil; and yet used his reason, as it was, to maintain this his opinion. And as this enlightening principle of God is known to work in him, and he giving up his will and judgment unto the manifestation of the light, then his reason comes to be rectified or reduced to its original principle of pure equity, in which he seeth that his reasonable sacrifice and service to God, is to give up all that he hath to the Lord, and thereupon he comes to wait for the gift of his Spirit, to order him and his affairs, that now he may live to God, and not to himself any longer. When he comes to feel the gift of God's holy Spirit working upon his spirit, then thereby he hath a right understanding of his duty, and believes that to be the will of God; and so believing, this belief or faith working in him by love, he becomes obedient.

This kind of faith, though it be separate from the corrupt reason of the world that lies in wickedness, yet it is not separate from the reason of an enlightened understanding, which through faith doth receive a perfect evidence of things which are not seen, and the sub-

tance of things that are hoped for. This kind f faith which is the substance, thou art a tranger to, who art yet in the changeable shaows and imaginary worships, which men of orrupt minds have invented, and such backliding hypocrites as thou can conform unto. adst thou had a true living faith mixed with thy ormer zeal and religion, it would have made hee more single-hearted and less self-interestd, and more constant and steadfast in thy rinciples now. But this day is come to manifest such a faithless generation, whose preaching, praying, and worshipping, was for honour nd advantage, and hath suffered that which ou so much preached and prayed against, to ome upon you, to make manifest how long our faith would hold you, when the sword was aken from you; and how far your zeal would ead you, when you had not an arm of flesh to ean upon; and now it is made manifest, and e see you, and we can trust neither you nor our church-faith any more.

And whereas thou hast fallaciously insinuted in thy paper, that I had denied the ascension of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, nd the general judgment; these I turn back gain as lies upon thy own head: some of hich are also wilful, because I testified so ar as I was required unto these things; especially unto that about the resurrection. To hich I said, I did believe, that all both good nd evil, must have or know a day of resurrection. But if thou wilt be such a fool, as ot to be satisfied with a scripture-like confession, but will be still pressing to know with hat body the dead shall rise? Then I say oncerning thy carnal imagination of a body; hou sowest not that which shall be now; what ody shall be shall be as pleaseth God, and one knoweth what that is, but he who knows he seeds that must receive their own bodies om God: go learn what that means. And as o a general judgment, I did express my mind, hat God had appointed a day in which he ould judge the world, by the man Christ esus; whom he had made the judge, both of he quick and dead, and warned thee to take eed, that in that day thou mightest have a ame and place among the righteous. Now lo I again exhort thee to believe the least apearance of his light that now is as well as is o come; for it is by the light that the works f darkness shall be judged in that day, and so re they now, and this judgment of the light he righteous love, but the wicked and the rebellious come not to it, but reject it.

And whereas thou sayest it is the mark of eresy to gainsay the essay or standard of the orld, scripture and right reason, what is all hat rambling stuff to me about Turk and Pope, c. I have neither denied any scripture or sound argument produced naturally from scripture. I did not say that the scripture was the standard of the world, for the scripture saith, the world is upholden by the Word of God, and that was in the beginning, and was God, and all things were made by it, as well as upholden by it. But I think thou wilt not say all things were made by the scripture, for itself is also a thing which is made, nor by right reason neither, except thou be of the ranter's principle, that there is no God but reason, which indeed thou savours too much of in thy discourse.

If the world hath no other standard but scripture, then where it hath no scripture it hath no standard, and so consequently cannot err; or else their error cannot be manifest. Is this good doctrine thinkest thou, oh, thou blind hypocrite? Hast thou not here done thy worst or greatest endeavour to shuffle out the knowledge or remembrance of that ensign and standard of the world, which I say was prophesied of, which God would set up unto the nations? Or was that scripture or reason, which God would give for an ensign and standard to the nations, to which they must be gathered, and by whom they must be tried? He saith of him, he shall bring forth judgment to the gentiles; and the same He that was the ensign and standard, should be God's salvation unto the ends of the earth.

Dost thou think scripture and reason are God's salvation to the ends of the earth? If thou dost, I tell thee thou art deceived, and art expecting life, where it is not to be had, as thy fathers the old pharisees were, who were willing enough to have eternal life, but would not come to him who was the light of the world for it, but run to the scripture to seek it, which could not give it, and perished in their hypocrisy, as thou wilt do without speedy repentance, and turning unto him who is the light, who is able to search thy heart, and judge thy thoughts, and show thee what thou hast done in thy life-time, which thou must confess is the faithful and true witness. Is not this the Christ, whose name is called the Word of God, by whom God upholds all things, and tries all things, and manifests all the secrets of men's hearts? Yea, and this is He thou must bow unto, and confess unto; and well will it be for thee, if it be while there is a place and time found for mercy, which my soul desires thou mayest find, if it may stand with the will of God.

But this I know, that before ever thou comest to know an entrance into that kingdom thou talkest of, that which is head in thee must be broken, and that which keeps house in thee must tremble, and that which now seems good and beautiful, must be spoiled; for this is my testimony to thee in the word and spirit of God,

that God will stain thy glory, and make thy shame and nakedness to appear in the sight of many, if not of all men that know thee. And inasmuch as thou hast stretched forth thy hand against the eternal Truth of God, the Lord will stretch forth his hand against thee, and will not draw it back till he hath humbled thee, or utterly confounded thee; and then thou shalt know it is hard to kick against that which pricks thee.

Though I have been somewhat large, it is love to the Truth and to thy soul, which hath constrained me, and my service unto God I know is acceptable. I could desire it might be so to thee also; but, however, whether thou wilt hear or forbear, I am clear of thy blood, and my conscience I have cleared in giving testimony to the Truth, which is dearer to me than my all in this world: blessed be the God of my life, who hath made it so, to him be the glory ascribed for ever and ever. And, Thomas, although, as thou saidst, my mind has been as a cage of many unclean birds in days past, which I do confess to his glory, who hath appeared to cleanse the unclean, and purge and sanctify a sanctuary or tabernacle for himself to dwell in, and walk in according to his promise; I say, this being wrought in me, and for me, through the effectual working of his power, who hath separated me as a vessel to bear his name; I now dare not let the testimony of his holy power be trodden under foot of the unclean beasts of the forest, who would obscure it as in days past, that so night and darkness might continue still, and they might still prey upon the simple, and not be seen. Nay, I had rather that this body were trodden under foot, and I as a man ever to be despised by all, as I have been by thee; than that this precious testimony should in any measure fail: for I know the God of heaven hath decreed to set it over all your heads, both priests and people, episcopal or presbyterian, &c. And he is able to do it, and to him I leave thee, who must judge both thee and me, who knows I have nought in my heart towards thee, but love to thy poor immortal soul, and remain thy friend, S. C.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends.

Dear plants and babes of an immortal generation, who are sprung from him who is before Abraham was, and partake of the strength of his Word, by which all things were made; that in the power of that ability and might, ye be made able to reign over all things that are made, and might not be subject unto any thing which itself is subject to change, alteration or end. Oh ye sons of strength, consider unto what you are born, that the nobility of your generation may be manifest in the valour of your minds, that the noble acts of the ancients may arise in you, and the wisdom of the elders may appear, who were mighty through God, in confounding his enemies wisdom, and in the word of his patience overcame their strength, and through faith in the covenant, put to flight the aliens, and through the strength of his power, ran through the troops of the uncircumcised. In their day they were faithful in suffering, and God, even their God, was faithful to give them dominion.

Now brethren, and dearly beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to the end that all may be kept in him that hath the promise and blessing of the Father, feel the word that did beget the first breathing Godward, for that was not worldly, but before it [the world] was, in the beginning; neither doth the world satisfy what the Word hath begotten. Whosoever receive satisfaction in the things of this world, are not the noble seed of inheritance, unto which appertaineth the kingdom which is not of the world. Again, my beloved, that which is begotten by the Word, partakes of His nature, which is meek and lowly: and this seed and birth grows not but in meekness, neither seeketh to exalt itself, but humbleth itself to serve for his friends, and suffer for his enemies. Therefore whosoever willeth to exalt himself over friends or enemies, the same is degenerate from the root of the life that is in the Word, and must return to the Word in meekness, and wait to know the lowliness thereof ingrafted in his soul, lest the heights do separate him from the love of God, that is in the lowly seed.

So let none of the olive-plants leave their fatness, nor the fig-trees leave their fruitfulness, in the places where God hath set you, to seek a dominion to yourselves; for this is your glory and your crown, to be what you are in the Word, which abides for ever. Let none put trust under the shadow of a bramble, which will be most subject to reign; neither delight yourselves in his fruit, for the end will be bitterness. But oh, thou tender seed, and beloved of thy mother, which hast been brought forth with bitter pangs, ever since her return from the wilderness, behold, thy king is the Lord of Hosts, the Mighty One of the ancients; and the counsellor of the holy priests and prophets of old is the oracle of thy wisdom and understanding. Therefore let thy eye be always to him, and let the steps of thy feet daily be directed unto his holy place; let thy ears be open to his words, and thy heart shall be taught in wisdom; let the increase of his power be thy strength, so shalt thou never be confounded.

O ye sons of the morning, and daughters of

the brightness of his arising, who live not but as he reigns, and die not while he lives in you; my heart is filled with his love and breathings of his life to you-ward. Wherewith shall I express, and how shall I signify unto you, the strength of that love, which he hath by his divine power raised up in me toward you. I am straitened, in that words are too strait and narrow, to utter the joy that my spirit hath amongst you night and day, when I behold your order, your feeding, and your clothing, yea, and your armour, which is light. Who is like unto thee, O thou beloved Jacob and Israel, God's chosen, terrible as an army with banners, strong as a fenced city, whose dwelling is the munition of rocks. The archers have shot against thee, but their bows were broken; the mighty men, the princes, the captains, and the nobles have risen up against thee, and they have fallen by the edge of the sword, even the word which proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lamb, thy light, oh Zion. The wise men have added their wisdom, and the strong man hath added his strength, the scribe and the learned have brought forth their devices, but God, even thy God, in the midst of thee, hath done wonderfully.

And now brethren, herein am I enlarged, knowing you can read the lines of my dear and entire love, beyond what I can write, because the finger of God hath been felt to write me in your hearts; an epistle, not read, but in the light, where the name is recorded, which is one. This is the salutation of my very life unto every one of you that knows me in that one; that ye live in purity and peace; then shall love abound amongst you, and my joy shall be full concerning you. Dear babes, and everlastingly beloved children, whom I feel near me, though far off outwardly, with the arm of sensible love I embrace you, and with the undefiled lips of innocency I salute you, and in the arm of his strength that hath loved you, I leave you, yea, and lie down with you, I having no other strength than that which is your strength, nor food, nor riches, nor wisdom, nor glory, but what are yours also, being anointed with the same oil of gladness, and joined together in that body which is, and shall forever be glorified at the right hand of the eternal Majesty, whose is the kingdom, and the glory, and the worship for ever.

And this further, brethren, is in my heart to signify unto you, that your joy may be full: that since my coming southward, I have seen the prosperity of Truth, and the people that God hath made willing, in this the day of his power, are many. Glory be to the Lord God of Zion, who turneth her captivity, and restoreth again her inhabitants from far; and Truth hath a good savour in these parts; and Friends keep fresh and living, and many in a readiness to go out in the Lamb's warfare, to overcome violence with patience, and the force of the enemy with faith, and to wait for their saving through suffering, and feel the rock that upholds, and the anchor that stays their souls, which hath never failed us, nor ever will, but will last until adversity cease, and tribulation come to an end, and sorrow be no more; yea, until the kingdom of our Lord be over all the kingdoms of the earth, and his name over every name, in which is your strength, and the strength of your dear friend and brother, in the kingdom, life and patience of the Lamb and holy seed. STEPHEN CRISP.

Let copies of this be carefully written and sent forth among Friends in the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire, to be read in the sensible feeling life of the holy and beloved Seed of blessing, when Friends, in it are met together.

John Furly's translations of two of Stephen Crisp's Epistles, in Dutch, to Friends at Amsterdam.

Amsterdam, the 28th of the Fourth month, 1667.

DEAR FRIENDS,—For this end hath the Lord God of heaven and earth made known his everlasting Truth to you, that you should walk therein, in singleness and uprightness of heart, and not to live any longer to yourselves, nor to this world, but to the Lord that hath called you. Therefore dear Friends, wait with all diligence upon the Lord, in the light of his Son Jesus Christ, with which every one is enlightened, but in you, through the gospel, is made manifest, by which you are called out of the world, to seek and wait for an inheritance and kingdom that fadeth not away. And as your minds in this light of Jesus are stayed, you will feel the heavenly power of God, which will give you a discerning of that which is of the world in you, and also of those that are yet in the world. As you are obedient and subject to this power, you cannot join with the world, nor with their worships nor manners; but such live in that clean and unspotted life that shall judge the world.

You that have believed in the name of the Lord, wait to feel the working of the power of it in yourselves, and to be baptised into his death, that being dead to the world and the flesh, you may live to God in the spirit, and your minds may be set upon things that are above. For the world and all things therein must pass away as a scroll, but the word of God, by which you have been convinced, is everlasting, and by its power shall all things be subdued, and the throne of wickedness brought under, and righteousness shall be established in the earth;

and all that come to know this effected in themselves, shall see this day and be glad. Friends, be not discouraged at the clouds and darkness that yet remain over the nations; but keep the faith, and walk in the law of God, so shall light be in your dwellings, and your borders shall be enlarged, for the darkness of this world shall never extinguish that light that is broken forth in this day, in which you have believed. My dear Friends, to whom my soul is at this time enlarged, in the love of God beyond words; be strong in the Lord, and walk before him in a single and upright mind, for that is well-pleasing to the Lord, and keep all things under your feet, that would dishonour the holy name of God. Let your conversation in the sight of men be inoffensive, answering the witness of God in the consciences of all men, that the mouth of gainsayers may be stopped, and may be made to acknowledge to the power, truth and righteousness that are found in and among you.

So God Almighty keep and preserve you by his almighty power, to whose fatherly care and protection I leave you, dear hearts, to be preserved by him out of all the snares of the enemy of your souls, which will daily be discovered by the light to all such as diligently wait in it.

In the fellowship of which pure everlasting light of Christ Jesus, I am your friend, and a lover of your souls, and a servant of the everlasting gospel of God, S. C.

Friends, keep your meetings in the name of the Lord with diligence, and let this be read among you in your assemblies.

Friends,—Our fellowship stands in the gospel of peace, which is the power of God which is everlasting, and which is not of this world. If you keep low in this power of God which is not of this world, then have you fellowship, and the gospel of peace is felt, and the things of this world cannot break your fellowship, but you will mount over the world, and over that which would disquiet and disturb you in yourselves. So will the power bring you to rest, and to the true sabbath, and to the true joy, and to the true dominion of life: and you shall know an entrance to be administered into the kingdom of God, over the devil and his power, and the least among you shall rule over him. But neither the least nor the greatest is to rule over one another, but the power of life over you all; this is the requiring of God: and where all that is contrary to this power, is brought under, there is peace, rest and stillness enjoyed to the soul.

Therefore, my dearly beloved Friends, feel after the power that preserves your fellowship, and let the law of God go over the fallen reason, in which the world can see you. But in the seed you are hid, and your life is hid, and your glory is hid, and kept from spots, and your crown is sure in immortality. Therefore, dear hearts, love the power, and depend upon it, that you may feel perfect deliverance by it from all that which will bring weights and burdens. So walk in the power and dominion of Truth in the life of righteousness over the prince of this world, the serpent and his earthly wisdom which you are to know an end of; and when you come to know an end to that, you come to receive the wisdom that is from above, which is first pure, then peaceable and without end; through which you will be led to a right spirit, and to walk in the path of the just, which is holiness; which brings us to see God.

The Almighty God keep and preserve you all to the end, Amen. S. C.

London, 6th of the Twelfth month, 1667.

Let this be read in your assemblies, when you are met in the name and fear of the Lord.

AN EPISTLE FROM STEPHEN CRISP TO FRIENDS,

Against such as cry out against the form of Godliness, as against meeting at set times, on first-days, &c.

Oh my dear friends,—My soul with love unfeigned salutes you, even in that very love which the Father hath bestowed on me, of which love and goodness he hath also made you sharers and partakers through Jesus Christ our light and counsellor, whose paths have become paths of peace, and his right hand has been a support and refuge unto you, in the days of your weakness and infancy; so that when the enemy within, or enemies without, sought to destroy your hope which you had in God, lo, you felt his power near to sustain you. Thus you became valiant for the name of your God, and his eternal love that sprung up in your hearts, constrained you to suffer much, rather than his name should in the least suffer. By the operation of his power, ye became so united and joined together, that your hearts stood open one for another; and if any thing happened through weakness and childishness, ye could feel in that day how God for Christ's sake had forgiven you, and could in the same forgive one another. This was that, dear children, that gave you an understanding, and a discerning of the false power, and airy spirit, in how great a glory soever it appeared. As you dwelt in that blessed power which kept you low and broken in yourselves, ye could see both yourselves and others.

In those days were the hearts of the righteous made glad among you, and ye were enriched with heavenly benefits, and your assem-

blies were a delight unto you, because therein your souls were satisfied with the appearance of his likeness. Oh, my Friends, that this glory might ever rest upon you, and that you might say, the government and the peace of our Lord Jesus is still increasing amongst us, and that as the Lord hath called and chosen you, to be his witnesses of his arising, you might none of you fall short of this testimony; to wit, to know him raised up in you all, who bruiseth down satan the scatterer and defiler, and destroys his whole work, though ever so crafty. Oh, that Seed which never fell, which cannot be beguiled; wait to feel it in yourselves, for this is meek and lowly, long-suffering, and full of patience. This is that which puts to silence the birth of the flesh, yea, though it would plead to advance the spirit; for wisdom is justified of her own children.

Oh, my Friends, my heart is full towards you of the love of my Father, yet am I pained and in heaviness concerning you, lest that old enemy of Israel's peace, should beguile any of you and lead you from the simplicity of the gospel, to follow seducing spirits. And, therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus, I charge you all to wait in that same eternal light of Jesus, which at the beginning was a sure guide unto you, and led you into the form of sound and uncondemnable speech, and into an inoffensive life towards all people, and made you watch how to ease the burdens of the oppressed, and so through believing ye were preserved. Therefore by doubting, let not any be shaken or removed, though the enemy in these days hath prepared the seeds, men of doubts and questionings, as well ye have known them that have sown the Word of faith and soundness, yet know them asunder, whenever they appear. For the ministers of righteousness have from the beginning sown but one manner of doctrine, and in that you have received us, and we have sought to establish you, both in the power and form of Truth. Whosoever strikes at either, is a seducer, and if any let in his doctrine, it will cause divisions among you; and when you are divided, then the carnality will arise, to feed and maintain the division. So your love to God will wax colder, and iniquity will unavoidably abound, which separates from God, and scatters from the true church, and brings the soul into desolation. That which draws forth the mind about days, and places, and outward things, leads into animosities and heats; whereupon false fire comes sometimes to be offered up.

Oh, my Friends, my heart is broken in remembrance of you, and what the Lord hath done for you, and how he made you a dread to the heathen, while ye retained the love and simplicity that ye learned in Christ. Oh! how meek, how tender, how subject were your souls unto the Truth, and one to another in it? Oh! let it neither be lost nor forgotten, but fulfil my joy in the Lord on your behalf, and with one consent judge out that which is wicked and abominable, and let none spare that which appertaineth to the uncircumcised: but it let be done in fear and trembling, that the fleshly part in all may feel the stroke. But, dear lambs, let your concord never be broken, nor your agreement, in things appertaining unto godliness, any ways be removed from you; for if it be, then is your beauty marred, and your crown defaced. But meet together on the first days, and on other days, as formerly you have been led, and the former blessing and presence of God will be felt among you; which some not feeling, have gone into questionings and reasonings, to their own harm.

Dear Friends, the Lord knows the integrity of my soul, and true love to you; and that for his glorious Truth's sake, and for your sakes I write these things to you. Oh, receive my advice: hearken and hear, and let all self-willedness be borne down by the meek Lamb's power, for it is that which gives life, and restores, and heals and makes up breaches. Therefore make haste to an hearty atonement in the seed Christ, the head of every true and living member, and let none have cause to glory in your flesh, or in your weakness, but make glad your hearts who seek no glory, but the glory of God. His witness is in your hearts, bearing us record that we have laboured among you, to bring you into the unity of the faith, and into the knowledge and practice of such things as tend to your edifying. Therefore lend not your ears, I beseech you, unto that, in any, or in yourselves, that would, under pretence of formality in times or places, draw you aside, from the good and blessed testimony of assembling yourselves together to wait upon your God.

And what there is in any of you that would not condescend unto each other as brethren, is not of the nature of the true birth, but must by it be subdued. As that ariseth and prevails in and among you, so will you again feel the Lord ministering to his own in you, and your eyes will be open to see the wiles of our subtle adversary more clearly; who though he may appear masked, with a show of more holiness, with a promise of a further glory, higher dispensations, new discoveries, yea, and with a pretence of leading out of formality into the power, and many such like baits and snares; yet my dearly beloved, beware of such pretences, for he comes but to bring you into a disesteem of what you have received, and to draw forth the expectation after something else; that so you might be robbed and spoiled of your portion. Then when you come to a want in yourselves, having lost the former, and missing the latter, you will be

tempted to end in the earth; and the latter end of such is worst of all.

So, my dear Friends, in the largeness of my love, have I written this large epistle to you, in which if you receive my advice to your benefit, I have my end. And though heaviness hath been upon me, yet my rejoicing in you will return unto me again, and my spirit shall praise the Lord with yours. The Lord God of power preserve you, and keep you steadfast to the end, in the doctrine of his Son, and in the obedience of his Truth, unto the fulfilling of your testimony, and to the obtaining the crown immortal, which never fades away. In the earnest of which, and in the blessed fellowship of his power, in which my soul desires you may be kept, I bid you farewell; who am your Friend and companion in the Truth, and acquainted with the burdens of them that cause trouble, whom God will repay. STEPHEN CRISP.

AN ALARM SOUNDED IN THE BORDERS OF SPIRITUAL EGYPT,

Which shall be heard in Babylon, and astonish the inhabitants of the defiled and polluted habitations of the earth. And the power of the prince of darkness called into question, and he himself examined by the Truth, how he came to reign over mankind, and how long his time shall be, till he come to be cast out of his dominion, and the creatures be delivered from under his tyranny, to serve God in spirit and in Truth, as Christ the Prince of Peace has ordered them. Also the number of him whom the world has wondered after, found out and demonstrated to be near at an end; and withal, that it is no ways unlawful nor in vain, both to hope and expect the utter desolation and destruction of sin in this life, and the setting up of perfect righteousness in the souls of men, where sin has too long reigned.

Written in a testimony to the Truth, and against the false position of the devil and his servants, by a servant of God, Stephen Crisp.

Then came his disciples, and said unto him, knowest thou that the Pharisees were offended after they heard this saying, —but he said, let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind, &c.—*Matt* xv. 12, 13, 14.

He that commits sin is of the devil, &c.—1 *John* iii 8.

TO THE READER,—Courteous reader, this small treatise does not appear with the approbation of the learned doctors of this our age; neither do I believe it will be received in the academies, or universities, or among the rabbies, whether they be Papists or Protestants; and considering the subject, it is not like that it should get such patrons. Therefore, must I singly recommend it to the witness of God, in thy own conscience, whoever thou art; by which witness thou knowest, that as long as the devil reigns in thee, it is not as it ought to be. If thou be at all desirous that it should or might be as it ought, it will be no ways offensive unto thee to hear of the overthrow of him, that has brought out of order; and withal, of the appearance of him, who is the Restorer of Israel, and the right Heir of the Gentiles.

This one thing I do desire of thee, of what profession, religion, or judgment thou mayest be, to wit, That thou layest by thy own interest in the controversy, for a little time, and read without prejudice or partiality, and be not offended that another is not of thy judgment; but consider, that thou in thy own particular, art in one and the same transgression, in the matter aforesaid; seeing the greatest part of mankind is not of thy judgment; and they have as much power to judge thee, that thou art wrong, as thou hast to judge me that I am wrong. Therefore read in coolness, and consider what thou readest, as knowing that it is God that must give an understanding. And whereas the subject or matter of the treatise comprehends much, and many things are but hinted at, therefore look up to the Lord, who can enlarge thy understanding in it, as it pleaseth him.

As concerning the priests, who are so busy to make complaints against sectarians, heretics, and heretical books, desiring the magistrates would abuse their power, to defend them and their doctrine by persecution; they would do better to employ their time in the answering of these positions. And whereas they are called spiritual, let them fight with spiritual weapons, (if we have them,) and bring forth something in defence of their old master, and his kingdom and power, now in a time of need, when it is near come to an end.

And whereas the words government, dominion, reign and kingdom, are often used, by which some of perverse minds may conclude, that I intend thereby the overthrow, or changing, or subverting of outward government; to prevent such a momus, I do declare in the sight of God, and before all men, that I have no such thought or intention; perfectly declaring my judgment, viz. that a Christian ought to live peaceably and quietly under all sorts of government, which the Lord permits to be, or is pleased to set up. And I do believe, that the ruling or government of an emperor, king, prince or state in itself, is not repugnant to, but consistent with the government of Christ, whose kingdom is spiritual, and the more he reigns in the hearts of people, the easier will it be for the rulers of this world to fulfil their office. And if the devil were wholly dethroned, yet notwithstanding, they might still rule, decreeing justice, according to the words of him, who said, By me kings reign and princes decree justice; by me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges

of the earth, Prov. viii. 15, 16. And then they would be under him, who is their King and Lord; and the people would live a pleasant, godly and peaceable life, under their respective kings and lords.

And seeing these things are promised, and that he is faithful that hath promised them, why should we not then hope for, and expect the fulfilling thereof? And so, courteous reader, having given thee this short caution and instruction, I leave thee to read the following discourse, and remain a friend to thee and all men.

S. C.

An alarm sounded in the borders of spiritual Egypt, &c.

Many are the devices of satan, and great is the subtlety which he furnisheth his children and servants withal, by which he seeks to uphold his kingdom, pleading now a right to that which he got by subtlety; and has taught his whole family, that it is impossible for any to be freed from under his service, even as if all men that are created of God, were created to the service of the devil; and although he can make no man, yet that he is able, after they are made, to keep them in his service; yea, although their maker calls for them to serve him. By this supposed necessity, (which is a doctrine well-pleasing to the flesh,) he keeps nations, kindreds, tongues and people, in bondage to his will. And not only so, but he has so bewitched and besotted his whole synagogue, and every sort in it, that they cannot endure to hear that they should be made free. All that come to declare liberty to these captives, and an opening of the door of this prison house, (the darkness,) unto those that are shut up within it, they cry out against such, away with them from the earth, let them be crucified, stoned, hanged, burned, imprisoned and banished, or at least, derided, and mocked at, and all manner of evil be spoken of them. And what have they done? They have preached against sin, that it must come to an end, and have preached that that which is perfect, is to be found in this life, by which men might come to the acceptable year of the Lord, unto whom there is nothing acceptable, which is imperfect.

Certainly, there is no manner of slaves so well contented with their bondage, as the devil's are; and therefore it is worth the considering, what right he has to reign over mankind, and what work it is, he gives his servants to do, that is so well-pleasing unto them, that they cannot endure to hear of being set at liberty, as long as they have a day to live. For my part, I have considered what right the devil can claim to the government which he has among the children of men, reigning over kings and princes, priests and people, from one sect to another, setting them all to work in blind zeal one against another; yet all agreeing in this one question, to wit, is there any man or woman upon the earth, that is free from under the reign of the devil, that he can live without sin? or is it possible for any to be so? The general answer is, no; we are all, and must all be, his servants, all the days of our lives. But some might say, seeing you are all fellow servants, and that both you and your work do belong to one master; why then are you disagreeing with one another about the work? But oh! my soul longeth that some might be awakened, once to consider and to bethink themselves, how they came to this state and condition, and by what right and authority their master keeps them in this bondage, and whether it is not both lawful and possible to come from under it?

In the first place it is to be considered, that this spirit, which is called the devil and satan, had no dominion over man in the beginning; for God gave man power over all beasts, fishes, fowls, and over every creeping thing, that he should rule over them. In that time the devil, that old creeping serpent, was kept under, and could not speak or command as with authority. He being but a subject himself, sought to have dominion; having lost the glory of the everlasting kingdom; and so he came to the woman, who was made, and brought forth in a time of sleep, and persuaded her, (mark, not commanded,) and his persuasion was, that she should break the command of God, under pretence that she should be profited thereby. So here was but a sneaking, underly spirit, coming to the woman in a deceitful, feigned manner, with a lie in his mouth, to see if he could deceive her, and lead her to be disobedient to her God and Maker. Who could then have thought, that this spirit that was subject to all sorts of misery, should have reigned and ruled over so many millions of thousands of men both high and low, young and old? Well, the woman hearkened to a lie, and broke the command of God, and went to try whether this serpent had found out a way to make her better or not; and not only so, but went to the man, and gave him also, and he did eat. Mark, this devil, the old serpent, did not go to the man, that was a work too high for him; but there comes his companion, (who was given of God,) who was of his flesh and bones, to tempt him. He did not hearken to the devil, but to his deceived wife, and he did eat, and their eyes were opened, and they were ashamed, and hid themselves. Here were the two first subjects which the devil had in his kingdom, he having before this time no dominion among the creatures which God had made.

Now it is to be observed, that there are but four ways to come into dominion, to wit, by descent, by election, by conquest, and by treason.

Now which of these it is, by which the devil got his entrance, is easy to be concluded. All that are wise will say, that it was by treason and falsehood, and that man thereby came to be deprived of that dominion and rule which he had before, and his boldness was taken from him, and he was ashamed. So now see for whom you are pleading, all you that are so zealously pleading for the devil's kingdom, viz. for an old traitor, that came into his government by a lie, and spoiled our predecessors of their dominion, glory and power at once by sin, for which you are now pleading. Oh! blush and be ashamed every one of you, and let your mouths be stopped for ever.

But now, seeing that it fell out so, what was the determination of the Lord in this matter? Hearken to his sentence; and to the serpent he said, because thou hast done so, thou shalt creep upon thy belly, and art cursed above all cattle; and above all the beasts of the field. See, he must creep upon his belly, and not stand upon his tip-toes, lifting up his head above the nations; he must eat dust, and the other beasts must eat the grass of the field; but he, dust all the days of his life, and not the fat of the land, and to have the tenth part of the fruits of the earth bestowed on his meanest servants, having also the other nine parts of it bestowed and ordered to his will. And so shall it be with thee as long as thou livest; that is not to say, that he shall live for ever, and to have dust to eat, and a belly to creep upon: but at last God has determined that his head should be bruised, there is his end. Oh! all ye pleaders for sin, behold your prince, and hear his sentence, and be ashamed, and stop your mouths for ever.

And now, when he had gotten a little dominion, let us examine a little, how this traitor used his rule in the beginning. His first lesson was, to teach his new subjects to hide themselves from the presence of God. That which before was their chiefest joy and crown, was now their greatest fear and dread; and so they run under the trees, hiding themselves, as their posterity now do at this day. But the Lord found them out, and spoke to them, and caused them to hear that dreadful sentence; and not only so, but drove them out from where life was to be found, into the earth, where there was nothing to be gotten without pain and labour. And whereas they were before in dominion, and had nothing to do, but to dress the garden in which the life was, they must now till the ground, which brought forth unto them briars and thorns. In that state man's misery was great, and his sorrow unspeakable, and his darkness not to be expressed. He had lost his discerning of things that differ; and having an expectation of a Seed which should destroy the serpent, and bruise his head, he was apt to think that birth to be that Seed, as his children in the fall do at this day. So when Cain was born, his mother said, she had gotten a man from the Lord; but poor woman, she knew not the seed, and how that that seed which is born of the flesh is a persecutor, and that the enmity is great in the first birth. He grew up to be an offerer, yet he did not grow up in dominion over the serpent, nor over the quality of the destroyer in himself; and that sort of offering was more acceptable to the devil than to God. And now mark, that man was a sinner, and yet religious, his sin and religion were consistent, and could have place together at one and the same time in one man, as it is now with the professors of this age; who say, they are sinners, and that their best works are polluted and defiled with sin, and that they must remain so whilst they live; and yet they will seek acceptance with God in these polluted offerings, notwithstanding they do profess him to be pure to whom they offer. Thus was this first sacrificer blind and darkened, and so are many thousands after him, and the dominion of the devil was over him.

First, Deceiving him by leading him to expect an acceptance, because he offered, though with an evil heart.

Secondly, To lead him into the evil which had kept him from acceptance.

Thirdly, By making him wroth and angry, (because he was not accepted,) against his brother that did well, and was partaker of the one sure faith of the elect seed of God. The serpent having thus darkened his mind, then he durst come before him with a lie, (though he was a man, of whom Eve thought that she had gotten him from the Lord,) persuading him, that if faithful Abel was out of the way, then it would be better with him; so he hearkened to the counsel of this evil spirit, and shed innocent blood about religion. Here persecution got its entrance into the world, by one that was an offerer, and evil doer together; a fit instrument for such a work. But behold, what became of this man? The blood which he had shed, and the earth which had drunk it up, cried for vengeance against this bloody offerer, and he feared exceedingly; and said, he could not bear his punishment; and said, every one that finds me, will slay me. To prevent that, he went and built a city in the land of Nod. Here was the beginning of fortifications, which was to defend the transgressor; for the righteous have a tower, namely the name of God, and there they are safe, without such gates or walls.

Now let every one consider how little right this spirit had in all these things; but he entered by a lie, and reigned by a lie, and darkness and deceit were his defence for his government; and how little reason there is to plead for such a spirit, let the wise in heart judge.

It would go beyond my present aim and purpose, to trace this spirit, who is called the devil and satan, the dragon, an old serpent, through all ages, since the beginning, to see with how little truth, right or equity, he came to reign among men. The understanding reader of the scriptures of Truth can see it clearly enough; and it is a great wonder, and one of the greatest, that is in that part of the world called Christendom, that there are so many men, being men of knowledge in other matters, and such as set up the scriptures, so much as they seem to do, calling it the word of God, the rule of Christians, the light of the world, the guide of life, &c. That they should go with such a book in their hands, pleading for the devil's kingdom, and for a necessity that it must continue as long as there is a man upon earth. Whereas the scripture in substance is nothing else but as a declaration against him and his government, and showeth how he ought to be forsaken, opposed, resisted, and cast out; and withal, how that primitive, pure and holy, and righteous law of that Spirit, which is called God, and is holy, pure, and blessed for ever, how that ought to be embraced, received and exalted in the whole creation. I say, this is a very great wonder, of which, and of the consequences thereof, the Christians so called, have cause to be ashamed; yea, are a reproach to the whole world; and it is high time that some do arise for God; and the call is gone forth, Who is on the Lord's side? Exod. xxxii. 26.

The devil has an innumerable host to plead for sin, some with arguments, and some with cruel weapons; but who is on the Lord's side that can say, The Lord reigns in righteousness, and in truth he judges the earth? Oh! all ye carnal professors of God and Christ in words, but [who] in works deny him, and say, that sin must stand, and remain as long as you live; be it known unto you, in the name of the God of heaven, that where sin remains, there the devil is prince and ruler, and if that must remain as long as you live, the devil desires it no longer; for he that will be his servant in this life, must be his companion in the world to come.

But hear ye the word of the Lord, oh great host, and mighty army of the devil, beast, serpent, and the old deceiver, who plead that his government shall stand as long as there is a man to live upon the earth. The controversy of the Lord God Almighty is proclaimed, and begun against you all, and your prince; yea, the arm of the everlasting God is stretched out against you, and henceforth ye shall not be prosperous; but the dominion of your prince shall be lessened, and both his and your power shall be weakened, and your weapons, both of deceit and cruelty shall be broken, and come to nought. The inheritance of the wicked shall be laid waste, and the design which hath been carried on so long, shall be frustrated. Deceit and falsehood shall fall before the Truth, and darkness shall flee before the light. Your fortified city shall fail you, and the land of Nod will not be a hiding place for you: for the arm of the mighty God of Jacob shall scatter you as a reproach, and make you ashamed of your work and of your prince.

Now, to touch a little at your arguments, which the servants of this spirit make use of, to hold up his kingdom, of which they say it is impossible that it should be brought down; even as if God had given up all mankind, which is the best of his creation, unto the devil; and that he should keep none of them for himself to serve him, till they have fulfilled the devil's work to the full, and can serve him no longer. Certainly the heathens, Moors, and Indians, have a better doctrine than these in the ground: though darkness is over their understandings, as concerning God and heaven, and such things, yet many of them do not judge that there is such a necessity to do evil, as long as they live; but abstain from that which they know to be evil, and they that do so, are esteemed to have their pleasure and delight in the Elysian fields, after they are dead. Lucillius said, know ye not what grievous punishments and torments the wicked and evil men are to suffer after this life; or in what great happiness the good men shall live? The heathen Epicharmus said, If thou art godly in thy mind, thou shalt, being dead, not suffer evil: and many such sayings are among them. But these fallen Christians, who plead a necessity to serve this spirit, whom they call the devil, whose place they will confess is in hell, and in the everlasting fire; yet they notwithstanding, without doing good, expect to enjoy their Elysium, to wit, a heaven where God and the holy angels dwell for ever.

Now let us examine a little what reason there is for this great mistake.

First, they say, that sin is rooted and planted in the nature of man; yea, so that a man must cease to be a man, before he can cease from being a sinner.

Answer. That man in his natural state is so united with sin, as that he thereby is separated from God, I do not deny; and also that there is a natural inclination in man to commit sin, is also true; to wit, as long as they remain in their natural state and condition. If these champions for the devil's kingdom, had blotted out, out of that which they call their rule, all

those precious sayings, that make mention of a state of grace, of being under grace, of being changed or translated of being redeemed and made free, of being washed, cleansed, and sanctified perfectly in soul, body and spirit; and many more such places; then they had had a plea for their prince. But seeing there is such a large testimony of the mercy and goodness of God, and of his power and all-sufficiency to redeem and save; therefore it is worthy to be pleaded before we allow the devil such an unlimited power in and among you, yea, over all the sons and daughters of men.

Therefore, as concerning the first part of this objection, to wit, that sin is rooted in the nature of man, how came it to be rooted there? whose work was it to make it so? was it the work of God? or hath he ordered it, that it should be so? if so, why is any man or woman punished or condemned for its being so, seeing it could not be otherwise? But none else but such as are wholly blind from a true sense of God, will dare to say so: for then the manifold calling of sinners unto repentance, to wash them, to cleanse them, to put away the evil from them, to cease to do evil, &c., must all be against his will and ordering, and so consequently but a mockery. But God forbid that any man should say or think so. Well, if it was not by the ordering or appointment of God, but that God has made man righteous in his nature, will and affections; yea, in the image of God he created him; then it must needs be another that has wrought this great work, to plant sin in his nature. When it is examined, it will appear that it is the work of a cursed outcast, an unclean, lying, treacherous spirit, who was rejected of God, and had no place in the whole creation; but by framing a lie, he brought a poor woman from her integrity and obedience; and so from that, came a great alteration to be in her, and a ground or foundation was laid for the devil to build upon; and from that time he has always had a rule in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

But now that this rule and government should not only be universal, but also irresistible and unalterable; yea, though God Almighty stretch forth his power, to redeem any out of this kingdom, to bring them into the kingdom of his dear Son; yet they say, it is impossible for him, till he dies. It is as much as to say, if God will have any man to serve him perfectly, he must first kill him, and then he shall have him to his service in another world. Oh horrible ignorance of the power of God, and of the end for which Christ came into the world! namely, to destroy the devil and his works. When his work is destroyed, which has a tendency to corrupt man's nature, then the nature of men and women come to be again holy, clean and pure, and man comes to be restored to his first image, and the glory of the first body is again known, of which all the bond-slaves of the devil are ignorant; and this power to restore the nature of man again is the Lord's alone. It was the devil that corrupted it, and it is God that sanctifies it again, and delivers it by the spirit of judgment and of burning, which the hypocrites cannot bear.

Now, the manner how the nature of man came to be corrupted, you have heard, that it was by man's joining with that spirit that was fallen and cast out from God, and had only a power in the darkness, and could not reign over any thing, but over that which he could draw from the glory of God, into the darkness. God who dwells in the light, being moved with infinite compassion, sent his eternal Son, that was with him before the world, that he should be made partaker of the same nature in which man was created, that by the virtue of the eternal power, he might restore him unto God, and might minister unto the spirits of all such, to whom this darkness and corrupted state, was a prison-house. This Jesus received not the nature of angels, that was not his work, but he received the seed of Abraham, which was in captivity, that he might redeem it from captivity through death, suffering under the weight of that which oppressed the creature, and caused it to groan after redemption. So that although it could not deliver itself, yet it might come to be delivered through faith in him, who is mighty to save.

And this Jesus, which was of the seed of Abraham after the flesh, purifieth the nature of all those that join with him; for the work of the devil, is to bring in corruption, and the work of Christ is to destroy it, and instead thereof, to bring in everlasting righteousness. Where sin is remaining in the nature, there the covenant with hell and death is not broken, neither are such in covenant with God, but are yet under the power of the prince of the air, whatever they may profess. The death of Christ is yet of no value to them, because they are yet in their sin and corrupted nature, unchanged, untranslated. So that those that hold this plea for the devil, that because he once got a place in the nature of man, and has corrupted it, therefore sin must remain, so long as the life or nature remains; such are strangers to the work of God, and to his power, by which he worketh, and also to Christ Jesus, through whom he works. They have more faith in the power of the devil, than in the power of Christ, believing that the devil is more able to keep the creature, and to hold fast that, which by deceit and treachery he has gotten in it; than God, who made the creature good in his nature, is able to restore it to his first purity, that the creature might come to serve him in righteousness and

holiness. Such as so believe, are no true Christians, nor true believers; but are standing in the corrupt nature, that has unity with the devil, and pleads his cause, who is willing that his corrupt birth should live in man, as long as he lives in the world; for he knows, that so long no acceptable sacrifice can be offered up to God. You cannot bring forth a clean sacrifice, out of an unclean vessel; and as long as nature is defiled, the works will be unclean that are wrought in that nature.

Secondly, The second pleading is, that never any man was freed from sin, since sin first entered into the world; and that therefore it is presumption to expect such a thing in this life.

Answer. If this position were true, that there was never any man freed from sin, yet it would be presumption to say, that God should not be able to do that which he never did; and it is also presumption to conclude, that never any man was freed. But if this position be false, then not only the consequence is false, to wit, that none can be freed, but also the argument itself is proved to be a lie, and so is swept away, and a door is opened unto all, that have more love to righteousness than to sin, both to hope and to expect, that the same work should again be wrought in and for them, without presumption.

That all men are sinners by nature, is evident; and that some were changed out of that natural state, is as evident; so that the question is only, whether those that are translated out of that sinful nature, remain sinful, yea or nay? Which if it be so, what advantage have they beyond others, if after they are translated, they must remain unfreed? But I answer with the words of the apostle, 1 Pet. iv. 1, He that hath suffered in the flesh, hath ceased from sin. Here he spoke of such that were yet in the body, but had suffered with, and were made partakers of the sufferings and death of Christ, by a dying to a sin; through which every one must pass, before they can come to the resurrection that is in Christ, by which, said Peter, they obtained the answer of a good conscience in the sight of God, which he calls the baptism that saves. Now some having been partakers of that death, baptism, and resurrection of Christ, by which they came to cease from sin, and to have an answer of a good conscience, without offence either to God or man, which none that sin can have, then may some lawfully expect to come to the enjoyment of the same state of freedom and clearness, as well now as formerly without presumption.

Secondly, I answer with the words of the apostle John, 1 John iii. 9, He that is born of God sinneth not, because his seed abideth in him, and he cannot sin, for he is born of God. Now, whereas, there have been some that were born of God, and have been his children, and they that were so, had overcome the wicked one, so that he could not touch them, but they had kept their garments white and unspotted, and that some have been freed from the law of sin and death, and that some have walked unblameably and without spot, and had put off the old man with his deeds, and had known the new birth, and could by the Holy Spirit call God Father, which things are all manifest in the scriptures of Truth, which none can deny, but those that will deny the scripture; why then should any man question, that the same work of redemption should not now again be brought to pass? Therefore it is lawful to expect it without presumption, this argument being confirmed by the experience of the saints.

Thirdly, The faith of God's elect is but one in all ages; and that faith has purified the hearts of many in former ages, and has taught them to walk with God. As for instance, Enoch walked with God several hundreds of years, Gen. v. 21, and it would be a horrible thing to say, that he walked with God when he walked in sin; as if God walked in a sinful way; for the prophet said, the bloody man, or the worker of iniquity, dwells or walks not with the Lord. But Enoch dwelled and walked with the Lord, and did not iniquity; for if he had, he should not have obtained a testimony that he pleased the Lord; for sinners and evil doers do not please him. By faith Noah walked with God, and was a preacher of righteousness in the old world; 2 Pet. ii. 5. Also Lot in Sodom; which they could not have been, if they had been sinners, except they had been such preachers as the preachers at this day; but they were owned of God, though they were mocked of men; and it is said of them, that they did inherit the righteousness which they preached. And of Lot it is said, that his soul as well as his doctrine was righteous.

By the same faith, Job was kept in the fear of God in the land of Uzz; Job i. 22, for that taught him to eschew evil, by which he obtained a testimony of God, that he was perfect and upright, which no sinner is. If he had not been free from sin, it would have been false to say of him, that he eschewed the evil and was perfect; and though his trials were many, yet he sinned not with his lips, neither did he charge God foolishly. And in the end of all his trials, God cleared him of having sinned, witnessing that he had found him faithful, and received a sacrifice from his hand, for those zealous professors that had charged him with sin, whom God had cleared.

The same faith caused Abraham and Sarah to be partakers of the promise. Abraham was a friend of God, of which Christ said, that none could be, but by fulfilling his will; and those that do so are no sinners. By this faith, Moses

chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin, Heb. xi. 25. So, mark, he left sin and its pleasures, and then he must be without sin, by which he obtained a testimony that he was a servant of God, which sinners are not. By faith, David's heart was made after the mind of God, and that is not sinful, but free from it, for in him is no darkness at all.

By the same faith the prophets were chosen vessels of God, and were upheld in their testimony for God, till they came to obtain that testimony, that they were the men and servants of God, which they could not have been, and withal servants unto sin. And the scripture beareth record of Zachariah and Elizabeth his wife, Luke, i. 6, that they were both righteous before God, not by an imagined righteousness, but in regard to their conversation, walking in all the commands and statutes of the Lord unblameable. But if they had been under the power of sin, and not freed from it, they had been neither unblameable nor righteous; but must at least have transgressed some of the commands of the Lord, or else they could not be sinners.

Also Nathaniel, in whom there was no guile, John i. 48, which could not have been, if he had been under the power of sin. Much more might I write upon this subject, to show, how that many by this one faith in all ages, have been delivered from sin, and become the children and servants of God; and therefore, those that are partakers of this faith in this age, may hope and expect, that the same work may be wrought in them; and this is no presumption. If these sin pleaders should say, that there is none partaker of this faith at this day, and therefore cannot be made free from sin, they will exclude themselves, which they will hardly do, because they would fain have a name of being believers, though they deny the works of true faith in themselves.

Further, let us consider what these strong pleaders for sin have to fortify themselves withal. They say, they have the scripture to plead withal for sin, which certainly was never the intention of the Holy Spirit, by which it was given forth. But, say they, it is written in 1 Kings viii. 46, For there is no man that sinneth not.

Answer. This is very true, neither do I plead that any man is free from sin all the days of his life, (except Christ,) but have confessed they are all sinners by nature, until they be changed. Besides, there it is but spoken of a people that were under the law, of which the apostle says, that it made nothing perfect; but, said he, the bringing in of a better hope did. The law did not purify the comers thereunto, according to the conscience; but when the offerers had offered, there remained an evidence of sin in the conscience; but what is that to the Christians, who are come to know a better hope, and the blood that purifieth the conscience? For that same apostle that said, the law made no man perfect, (under which law Solomon was, as also that people concerning whom it was said, there is none that lives and sinneth not,) notwithstanding the same apostle said, that it was the bringing in of a better hope that did it. And what, are these fighters for sin, and sin pleaders become so zealous, that they will rather deny the better hope, than to cease from sin? If not, then there is a possibility to be made perfect by the blood of Christ, which the blood of bulls and goats could not do.

Another objection is brought forth, that is, that the apostle Paul said, that sin lived in him, and that the good that he would do, he did not; and the evil that he would not do, that he did.

Answer. That Paul knew the passing through such a state, is without a question, and is not denied. But this does not prove at all that he never knew a better state; or that he never came to perfection, for in that place he makes mention of three states. First, how it was with him when he lived without the law of God in his liberty to fight against the Truth, and he thought he might do many things against the name of Jesus. Secondly, he declares of his convincement, and how it was with him then, when he knew he should not do any more against the Truth; and yet, not being wholly changed, he did things which he knew he ought not, by reason of sin living and dwelling in him. That state he did not call happy or blessed, as these blind professors do at this day, that take up a rest in this state, and say they can never be redeemed out of it, for he, speaking of such a condition, cries out for deliverance, calling it a miserable condition; which plainly showeth, that his eye was upon a further and better state, unto which he also beareth witness; saying he was made free by the law of the spirit of life, from the law of sin and of death, in which time he was yet in the body.

Now what reason have these pleaders for sin to believe that Paul was in all these three states at once? And if not, why not in the last? seeing the other two are but foregoing states, leading to the third; especially considering the many other testimonies which he gives of his being perfect, and of those that by his ministry were brought to perfection, saying, concerning himself, Timothy and Sylvanus, we can do nothing against the Truth. In another place he testifies, that he has fought a good fight, kept the faith, and finished his course. Now, if it was finished, then there was no more

to run; and if the fight was fought, then the enemies were no more alive, as they were, when sin lived and dwelt in him. Again, he says in another place, we preach wisdom among them that are perfect; that is, after the explication and sense of these sin pleaders, we preach wisdom among none, except among those that are already departed out of this world, and gone to heaven. And again, as many of you as are perfect be so minded; that is to say, after their explication, let none be thus minded, before they be dead. Again at last, brethren be perfect, and of one mind, &c. But this, they say, cannot be in this life.

Again he says to the Hebrews, you are come to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to God the Judge of all, &c. But where were these Hebrews? were they yet alive, or were they dead? if dead, how came his epistle to meet them? But a wilful blindness is come over many of these servants and ministers of darkness, and they have rebellious hearts against the light, that discovers their sin, and would lead them out it.

Because they have more love to sin than to the light; therefore they seek to cover themselves so much: but the day is come that has discovered them, and their deceitful coverings will no longer cover them.

Another pleading is of that which is spoken by the apostle, 1 John i. 8, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us.

Out of which words, every miserable and pitiful soldier of this great prince of darkness, thinks he may arm himself sufficiently to fight against that which would deliver them, and make them free. But if this scripture were seen and read with that spirit by which, and in which, it was written; then it would appear, that this John was not such a great friend to sin and the devil, who is a father of lies, as they would have him to be. For in the same chapter he had showed before, into what state they must come, before they can come to have fellowship with God, viz. to walk in the light, as Christ was in the light. Those that said they had fellowship with God and Christ, as the priests and professors do at this day, and did not come to attain unto that state, to walk in the light, but instead thereof, walked in darkness; such said he, were liars, and did not the Truth.

He said, his fellowship was with the Father, and with the Son; which could not be, if he had walked in darkness, or was a sinner, or that he had not walked in the light, as Christ was in the light, for then he would have made himself a liar, if he had been a sinner, when he said, that he had fellowship with God and Christ.

Therefore it ought to be well observed, that John speaks there of a sort of men that were not yet brought to confess their sins; and if such came to that conceit and pride, as to say they had no sins to confess, and so exalted themselves above the witness of God that reproved them, then such deceived themselves. But if these that are so sinful, come to own that which brings them to a confession of their sins, then God is faithful to forgive such their sins, and to cleanse them from all iniquity. When this is done, to wit, when the creature has confessed his sin, and God has forgiven it, and cleansed him, what must then that man say? must he then say, that he has his sin still, when he has it not? must he say, that he is filthy and defiled, when he is cleansed from all that? This would be a lie; and if he should be cleansed from all sin he must certainly be cleansed from lies. If it was his duty to confess the work of the devil, when it was standing in him, which were his sins, may not he now, being cleansed, confess God's work that has cleansed him, he being cleansed by him freely? Must he therefore be cried out for a deceiver and heretic? Who is so blind that cannot see that it is as serviceable, as needful, and as lawful for a man that has known the power of God to cleanse him, to confes that, and to bear a testimony to that work, as it is needful and lawful, when the devil's work is manifested in him, to confess that, and to bear a testimony against that.

Yet saith John to those that were thus washed, If we say that we have not sinned, we make God a liar. It is as much as if he would say, that even those that are saved, must confess to the power of God, by which they have been judged for sin; and not to exalt themselves above it, as if they had never sinned, seeing that the witness of God testifieth in all, that they have sinned and come short of the glory of God. So that now the understanding reader may see, that John hath not written here of an impossibility of being delivered from sin, but absolutely the contrary; namely, that those that cannot say they are without sin, may come, by confessing their sins, to be cleansed and made free from it; yea, from all that which is unrighteous. Yet some will say, that the apostle in that place useth the word we, as if he included himself; as if he would say at that time, if I should say, that I had no sin, &c.

Answer. This is no proof at all, because the contrary is proved before, to wit, that he had fellowship with God and Christ; which no man could have, that walked not in the light, as he is in the light. Such may as well, by the same manner of speaking, prove James to be a curser, when he said, with the tongue we bless God, and with it we curse men that are made after the image of God. Many more

such instances might be brought forth of the lamentations and complaints of the prophets, concerning the house of Israel, which is translated so, in that manner of speaking; which does not prove at all, that the prophets were guilty of such sin and rebellion, of which they complained, Neh. ix. 37, &c. But how zealous are these pleaders for sin, to find out words which they think do serve for the upholding of the kingdom of their master, when there is not one word that properly belongs, or was written, to their purpose, except that part of it which the devil and his servants, their predecessors, have spoken or written, and that indeed may serve them? I once heard a priest, that was exhorting the people to employ their time and ability to gather knowledge, confirming his exhortation with the scripture, viz. Gen. v., You shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.

Another, a Menist preacher in North Holland, whilst he was warning the people to take heed of being deceived, exhorted them to imitate the deaf adders, Psalm lviii. 4, and so to stop their ears against the voice of the charmers, that charm never so wisely. So the one hath his proof from the adders, and the other from the devil. Such scripture places as these, I do confess, these pleaders for sin may find to strengthen their arguments; but that which was written by the motion of the Holy Spirit of God, is a perfect testimony against them all; against their work, and against their prince.

Having answered their chief objections, which they draw out of the scripture, by which they endeavour to prove that none can be free from sin in this life, contrary to Rom. vi. 22, I make haste to the third great argument of these captives, which they lay down against their own freedom.

Thirdly, That is, that it is the will of God, to let some sins remain in the best of his people, to keep them humble thereby.

Answer. If it be the will of God, that his best servants should sin, then his will is done when they sin. And what reason have any men to be humbled and cast down, because they have done the will of God? but rather to rejoice and be glad that the will of God is done, and that their will is conformable to the will of God, that the will of both can be done together. This is a very easy way to the joy of the Lord, if this brings to that sentence, Well done good and faithful servant, &c. But woe unto those that are given up to believe this lie.

Again, let the understanding reader, I mean those that are weary with their sins, and are willing to be freed, consider, for as concerning the other, they are my opposers, how can God properly be called Almighty? And how can the work of the conversion of souls properly be called his, if he is necessitated to borrow something from the devil to keep his children humble withal? Certainly we must conclude, that if God had a better way to do it, he would do it in the best, and not in the worst way, viz. by sin; which is so very contrary to his nature.

But let these sin-pleaders suppose, that God should stretch forth his power so far in man, that it should destroy all the works of the devil, and cast out sin; and cause his soul to take as great delight and joy in well-doing, as ever it had in sin; and should plant humility as naturally in the soul, as the devil has planted pride in it: now the question is, whether this power that works this change, be not as able to keep the creature in this condition, as to bring him to it, without any help of the devil, or his work? But they will say, to suppose a thing that is impossible, is either against reason or presumption.

I answer, all things are possible with God, except to lie; and as concerning this, it is not only possible, but the contrary is impossible, because God hath so often promised it, to make a perfect work, and to finish his work in all them that trust in him. And for this end is Christ Jesus come, that he might destroy the devil and his works. And in the parable he saith, When he comes that is stronger, he shall bind the strong man, and spoil his goods, and cast him out. This seems as if Christ who is the stronger, had no need of the devil, or his goods either, to keep his people humble thereby: but the apostle said, That they were kept by the faith, through the power of God unto salvation. Except you will say, as the priests in Scotland say, Cursed is he that says, Faith is without sin; and let all the people say, amen. Then the words of the apostle must be read thus; You are kept by a faith, which is mixed with sin, in the power of God unto salvation. But if you will have it so, speak it out, as they have done: but seeing you profess, that faith is the gift of God, we may well say, it is able to cleanse the heart, and to give victory over the world, and also over the devil and sin, and then there is no need of sin to keep us humble. For if humility was a fruit of sin, it would not be so acceptable to God as it is; for the prophet says, He giveth his grace to the humble, and dwelleth with such as are of a contrite and broken heart.

Again, if a few sins, yea, though they be but a remnant, can keep men humble, then a great deal of sin must needs make a man more humble: so then let us plentifully sin, that we may be plentifully humble. But God forbid that such doctrine or such teachers should go unreproved; for they have exalted the work of the devil beyond the work of God. It is because such teachers have been countenanced that the people have been led into so

much blindness, ignorance, and hardness of heart, and that people have wholly lost the hope and expectation of a day of deliverance, and have taken up a rest in a sinful and slavish state.

If any come to preach the gospel, which brings deliverance and freedom to the soul, their souls being in a rest already, though a false polluted rest, such are looked upon as disturbers of their rest, and breakers of their peace, and such like; even as it was with the prophet Micah, when he cried out, Mic. ii. 10, Arise ye, and depart, for this is not your rest, because it is polluted; it shall destroy you, even with a sore destruction.

But blessed be the Lord God of heaven and earth for ever, for he hath brought forth his day of salvation, which many have longed after, and are longing, and are in travail that they might come to know it, to whom a sinful state is no resting-place, but is unto them as a strange land, in which they cannot sing the songs of Sion, but still have Jerusalem in their remembrance, which is free-born from above, longing after the day of gathering, that the Lamb, and not the changeable priests and teachers, may be their light and leader. Unto such I say and testify in the name of the Lord God of heaven, Lift up your heads, for the day of your redemption draweth nigh, and deliverance shall come out of Sion, the city of our solemnity, Isa. xxxiii. 20. A mighty voice shall be sounded forth from the holy mountain, from the Lord of hosts, and those that hear it shall live, and the dead bones in the valleys shall be enlivened, and the joy of that day shall be greater than the joy of the harvest.

How, and in what manner these things will be brought to pass, is a great dispute among many, that are yet seeking in the carnal wisdom to conceive and comprehend spiritual things, and so they come to be scattered and divided in their imaginations. Therefore, in the mean time, those that are become willing to sit down in quietness, in the light of Christ Jesus, that showeth every running-out of the mind, they come to feel the pure fear of God to be planted in their hearts; so that they dare not think their own thoughts, nor speak their own words. There is the beginning of the true wisdom, by which wisdom it is given unto them to understand those things which they could not find out in all the time of their travail and pains in the fallen wisdom.

Whilst they were hearkening after the different voices of men, they never could have a certainty; but now hearing him by whom God speaketh, who is manifest within them, whom their ears are inclined unto within; they come to know certainly that which they know, through the testimony of the Holy Spirit, who alone is able to reveal unto those that fear him, the mysteries of God's kingdom; and he shuts them up from the wise and prudent of this world.

Therefore, you that desire to have an understanding of these things, come down from your high-builded towers of knowledge and comprehension, and sit down in that pure light, that brings a death upon the earthly wisdom, and become as fools, that you may be wise. That wisdom that is so received, shall lead to know the number of the beast, which the whole world, with all their academical wisdom, and all the sects, with their inventions, are strangers unto at this day, and are carrying about with them his name, and the number of it, or his mark, by which they are accepted among men, and yet do not know what it is. But when they come to be wise enough to know it, and honest enough to forsake it, then they will see that the friendship of this world comes to be broken, and the enmity to work against the Holy Seed; and the seed comes to arise and bruise the head of the enmity, and to nail it fast to a cross till it die. Then comes freedom, then there is war no more, then there is peace on earth, and nothing but good-will towards all men, yea, to enemies. Then anguish and sorrow flee away, and the perfect love of God casts out fear, and there is death no more; but that is overcome by immortality. Blessed and happy are all they that come to know that state, and blessed are they that believe and wait to enjoy it; and blessed is that hope which leads thereunto.

Concerning the chief matter of this treatise, to wit, concerning the reign of the devil among men, there is yet one thing worthy to be considered, of which there is made mention in the scriptures of Truth, in which it appears, that in the beginning and setting up of the reign of Christ, the everlasting gospel was preached, and that many thousands believed and obeyed it, so that they came to be witnesses of the kingdom of Christ; and that the devil was cast out, dethroned, and put under their feet; and some were made priests and kings to God. I say, after all these things aforesaid, there came an apostacy from the faith, by which all these things afore-mentioned were brought forth. Of that apostacy Paul prophesied to the Thessalonians: and John by the spirit saw that the devil should get a great dominion over men, by many changeable means and ways executing his power, as a dragon; then as a strange beast with seven heads, and ten horns; at another time, as a little beast with two horns. Then with an image, &c. And that the Almighty God has set and appointed a time, a certain time, to this dreadful, dark, changeable govern-

ment, and gave John to know, that it should last and continue but one thousand two hundred and threescore days or years. And this is a set time, and hath its beginning and its ending; but the kingdom of Christ, and also his priesthood, are both after the power of an endless life.

Now, seeing that this last power which the devil has gotten, is but to continue his appointed time, why should any be his friend so far as to say, that it must continue always, and that it must never come to an end; and that people no way can get freedom from under his tyrannical power? Certainly these men that plead so strongly for his continual reign and power, have more reason and understanding than they use. As for instance, suppose that one had hired a house or farm of another for several years, and the years being come to an end, that man to whom that house or farm belongeth, has a desire to live in it himself; and the in-dweller not being willing, and they both should come to one of these sin-pleaders, to hear his judgment and determination. I believe they would soon say to the in-dweller, thou must depart, the other is the landlord, and thou hast had thy full time, and he now desiring to have his house, he must have it; and especially if the in-dweller was come into the house as a thief in a dark night, and had kept it by violence, and had brought no profit to the landlord at all.

This is properly the cause between God and this prince of darkness. For he has possessed the inheritance of God, and ruled over it, not to the advantage of the Lord, but to his disadvantage and dishonour. Yet these men will not do so much right to God as they will do to their neighbour; but on the contrary, they say, that this usurper or thief, that has stolen away the hearts of men from their Creator, must set there as long as there is a man upon the earth, and not any man redeemed. Oh! blush for shame, ye hypocrites, can you make a difference between good and evil among men, and will you not judge for God? Come, take your books into your hands, and read the number of the years, it is called 1260 days; reckon after the reckoning of the ancients, 30 days to a month, and see whether that does not make out 42 months; and see whether 42 months does not make a time, times, and half a time; and see what things are ordered to be in those different times; and see whether you can find out the beginning of those times that so you may find the end of them. All those that had their confidence in the number of the year 1666, are now confounded, ashamed, and their hope is frustrated. And now it is high time to wait upon the Lord, to get an understanding and knowledge which makes not ashamed.

The first thing to be considered, to the opening of this thing is the first appearance of this man-child, that was born in heaven by a woman, that was clothed with the sun, and had her feet upon the moon, and was crowned with the stars. The first, I say, that appeared against this child, was a great red dragon: mark, this was no substitute under the devil, but was the devil himself; though he appeared in heaven, as you may see Rev. xii. 13. He it is that has given power to all those that have persecuted this woman, or her seed; but as long as he was in heaven, he was no perfect persecutor; there he had no power, but only to be an accuser of the brethren, and therein he busied himself night and day. By this it is evident, that there was a power over him, to which he accused them, and so long they could not sing; but when he was cast out with his angels, then they sung, now is salvation come, and power, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren that accused them day and night before our God, is cast down, &c.

But then woe unto them that dwell on earth, where the devil got his power, that is, in the earthly ground. There he rules with great wrath, anger and fury, and indignation, persecuting the woman and the least appearance of her seed. And because he cannot do harm enough of himself, he makes him a substitute, to wit, a beast with seven heads and ten horns. Mark, just the number of his own heads and horns, only he came out of the pit, and this out of the sea or waters, of which waters you may read in Rev. xv. 17, that they are peoples, tongues, languages, and nations. Out of them came this strange beast, which the devil counted worthy to have his perfect power, because he knew that he would do his work for him to purpose. He received his power for the space of forty-two months; and his first work was to persecute the saints. Secondly, to set up the worship of the devil. Thirdly, to bring the dread of this seven-headed beast over the whole earth. Fourthly, to blaspheme the name of God and his tabernacle, and them that dwell therein. And fifthly, to make people believe, that there is no overcoming of his power.

These works are spread, and carried on by three unclean spirits, which came forth out of the mouth of the dragon, beast, and false prophet, over all kindreds, nations, tongues, and people, and there were none able to resist them, except those whose names were written in the book of life of the Lamb. And as concerning them, because they would not receive the mark of the beast in their forehead, or right hand, they must be banished, and must not have liberty to buy or sell. Those that would worship nothing but a living substance, and not

n image, though it was alive, those must be illed. When that sort were all killed and banished, and the whole world being brought, sometimes to worship the dragon, sometimes to worship the beast that had as many heads and orns as the dragon himself; and then to worship a little beast with two horns, that came out f the earth; and then to worship the image of he old seven-headed beast: when, I say, all hings upon the whole earth were thus disposed, hen was it as the devil would have it. For ow had every one subjected himself unto his ower, and received that name or mark, or the umber of the substitute, and admired his great ower; and set him up as the chief among nen, whom none could overcome, except some ew, that had the word of God itself, for the ther had the scripture, and durst seal their testimony against the dragon and false prophet vith their blood. And because these were but few, and were soon killed, they being dead, here was a joyful and merry world; the devil vas well pleased, and they did send their gifts o one another abundantly. Those that had een most busy, and serviceable to kill the witesses, that dared to speak of another kingdom r dominion, besides that of the dragon and east, they had the greatest gifts. In those lays there was no prophesying, but in sackloth, and that did not continue long neither, ut the prophets were killed, and being dead, heir dead bodies were kept above the earth, and vere more esteemed than their living testimoy, for that plagued all the worshippers of the east.

In such a time have the nations been so long, hat they are so used to the power and reign of the levil, that they plead for it, as if he had an unloubted right thereto. If the devil might speak imself, he would not desire of the world to rule my longer than the world alloweth him. They ave forgot that it is but to continue for forty-wo months, whilst the man-child was caught p unto God, and whilst his mother was in the vilderness; and also, that it was to be expectd both should appear again in their appointed ime.

But whilst it was thus with the world, viz. hat the true church was not to be found upon earth, but was fled away, as upon eagles' wings; nd he that ought to rule over all, was caught p into heaven; the devil was in his place, the old serpent ruling and giving his power to whom he pleased, to a great beast, or little beast, or to my thing like him. Whilst great and small, high and low, bond and free, did wonder at his power, and were ready to worship any one that had his power; let those whose eyes are open, consider in what a lamentable state the miserable world then was, and whether that abomination that made the world desolate of God and all good order, was not then set up in the holy place, where it ought not.

Was the world without a religion, or without a profession of God and Christ in those days? No: they bore a profession of Christ who is unchangeable, in all their changeable ways; and this was a time of gladness to many. They had many sorts of religions, and when they came to be weary with one, the devil furnished them with another. When they had been exercised a long time in the aforesaid worships of the dragon, the seven-headed beast, the little beast, and of the living image, then there came forth yet a deeper mystery of iniquity than before, the mother of all these abominations. She showed herself as a queen decked with scarlet, purple and precious stones; and that very beast, which none could overcome, but the whole world had wondered after it, he himself must be under her command, and must carry her up and down upon the waters, which are peoples, lands, tongues, and languages. This queen has another design upon the poor blind world, mark, she comes with a preparation to make all drunk, that they might not make use of their senses, to bethink themselves where they were. And that they might not have any suspicion against any thing, she furnishes herself with a golden cup, which there was none that had any thing against, but every one could well receive it. This was but to deceive them, for any potsherd of the dunghill had been good enough, yea, a hog's trough had been too good, to drink that out of, which she had to give them. But she must give her drink to kings and princes, and nobles, and captains, and merchants, and to all sorts of men; so she proffered them her cup, and they have all drank: but what have they drunk? All abominations of the earth. How much? Till they were drunk. What did they then? They committed [iniquity] with her; they were drunk of abominations, and she was drunk with the blood of the saints and witnesses of Jesus.

Yet the name of Jesus was still professed upon earth; that was not persecuted; but those were persecuted, that witnessed Jesus himself that takes away sin; such were persecuted. For she being the mother of harlots, and having nothing to proffer to her customers but abominations, she could not endure to hear, that sin which is an abomination to the Lord, should be taken away, and that men should live without sin, and be perfect. For if so, then she must be childless, and as a widow, and must lose her high place on the top of the beast. Then they would not be so drunk of her cup, and that would not tend to her advantage. Therefore, if any came to be witnesses of Jesus himself, she drank the blood of such; but if they would be content to drink her cup, and

so would please themselves with good and precious words, and in the mean time drink in her abominations, then they might live and flourish as long as she flourished.

But alas! what do you think who read with understanding, was the state of the world in those days? Was it not high time that plagues, indignation, and vengeance should be poured out upon this bloody [queen,] and upon the seat of the beast upon which she did ride, and upon the whole earth, which had committed [iniquity] with her? Is it not high time that the carpenters should come, Zach. i. 20, to cut off these horns? For at that time the power of darkness was spread over all, and the will of the devil was done, and his one thousand two hundred and sixty years, were prosperous to his kingdom, and he did what he pleased. If any spoke against him, and against his kingdom, he would have them killed, and then she would drink the blood of such; and there was none left, neither great nor small, neither bond nor free, high or low, neither young nor old, but they had submitted themselves all of them, and said, who is like him? None are able to overcome him; it is impossible to be made free from under his power; he must reign as long as we live; it is possible for us, cry they, to overcome princes, kingdoms, and armies. Therefore we go out and fight valiantly, and many times we get victory, and become conquerors; but to overcome sin, which the devil has set up in us, is impossible, and therefore it is in vain to trouble ourselves about it. We will not do any thing concerning it, seeing we have drunk in a faith, that it is impossible to perform or accomplish it.

Thus has the whole world been bewitched, in the time when the devil reigned. And will he and his servants make us believe, that it must continue so always? Though never any other time was given him, but such as was limited; and in the end of that time we understand there is a great alteration to come to pass; to wit, that the church, the true woman, must come out of the wilderness again; the man child must come down again, and appear upon earth, and rule the nations with a rod of iron, and the harlot must be judged; that sorrow, death and famine must come upon her in one day; and that ten kings should agree together, to burn her flesh with fire; and that the smoke of her torments should ascend to heaven. Then the dragon, the beast, and false prophet, that had still preached peace, though it was so, as above-said, must all be taken, whilst they are yet alive in this work and in their power, and be cast into the lake of the wrath of God, which burneth for ever. These princes, and captains, and merchants, and inhabitants of the earth, must howl and lament because of this great alteration.

Therefore seeing that such a time is lawfully to be expected, in which the devil, the old serpent, may be thrust out of his dominion; and that then the time of joy and rejoicing will be for the upright, it is worth the spending of our labour and time, to find out that time, that so it may not come over us, and we see it not, nor know it, and so let it pass by, as the Jews did, doting and waiting for it, as a thing which is yet to come, as they do at this day; when almost two thousand years are passed since the thing has come to pass.

You know the Jews had a prophet, who told them the time when the Messiah should come, aforehand, to wit, Daniel, as you may see, Dan. ix. 24, &c., where he told them, that it was seventy weeks that were determined upon the people, and upon the city, and that the Holy One should be anointed. This was not such a great mystery to them; they knew it was common to reckon a day for a year among the prophets; so that that time was but four hundred fourscore and ten years that the vision should be sealed, and the daily sacrifice taken away, the city be made desolate, and the anointing of the Holy One, and the Messiah be slain for the sins of the people. And since the time that the command was gone forth to build Jerusalem again, in which time the seventy weeks had their beginning, it is above two thousand years ago; the city is since builded again, and also again made desolate, and the daily sacrifice taken away, and the prince of the people that then came, viz. Titus Vespasian the Roman, has destroyed the sanctuary, and the destruction of it was with an overflowing to the end of the war. Yet all these things cannot convince them, nor make them believe that the Messiah is come, or that it was he whom their forefathers killed as a blasphemer.

Now, that we, after such clear prophecies of the setting up of the kingdom of Christ, and dethroning of the devil, sin and antichrist, should not come to be surprised with the same blindness and hardness of heart; let us have a strict observation of the times, that we may not fight against the appearance of Truth, and put it far away from us, and say, the days are not come yet, in which the pouring out of the Spirit can be witnessed; and that the knowledge of God must cover the earth as the waters cover the sea; and that the gospel must be preached again unto those that dwell upon the earth, and that the Lamb and his saints must have the victory over the dragon and his angels. For, such as put the day so far from them, are in one and the same error with the Jews, and do not understand the times better than they do; and so are persecuting the true appearance of that which they seem to expect, and to pray for, as the Jews did, because it does

not appear in their way to answer their carnal expectations, that despise the day of small things: but from such are the mysteries of the kingdom shut up, and are revealed unto those that fear the Lord.

Now to understand these things, let every one come to read the prophecies in a measure of that spirit, by which they were given forth, and that same opens the prophecies, and without it every one understands only according to his own fancy or private judgment. The apostle said, there should come an apostacy from the faith; that is, from the true Christian faith. Now, when was that? And who are they that are thus apostatized, or fallen away? Ask the pope, and the whole Roman Catholic church, and they will tell you, that the prophecy points at Martin Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, Calvinus, Menno Simonis, and other heretics, that have rent many nations from the true apostolic faith, and the ancient Christian church, the infallible foundation and pillar of Truth, &c.

Ask the bishops of England, and the presbyters in Scotland, the pfarherren or pastors in Denmark or Sweden, and predicants in the Low Countries, and they will tell you, that this prophecy signifieth the general apostacy from the apostolic faith and order in the church of Christ, to the pope and popish exercises, and institutions over all Christendom. Again, ask them, who among themselves continue as yet in the true apostolical faith and religion? Then the Lutheran pastors will say, we do; and therefore cry they, join with us. No, say the bishops in England, we will prove that the apostolical church had bishops, and that the apostle said, he that desires the office of a bishop, he desires a good work; and therefore we are they that are the true church, according to the first institution. Then say the presbyterians and Dutch predicants, the bishops in the primitive churches were not such as you are, but such as we are, whose care was over the flock, and did teach and rule in ecclesiastical matters, but not in councils and parliaments, as you do; therefore you are fallen, from the primitive state.

And now, at last, what says Truth of these, and all others who deny that faith which purifies the heart, and can cleanse the conscience from sin, and can give victory over the world? This was the faith which Paul preached, that was nigh in the heart. Therefore all those who say, that the heart of a true believer cannot be made clean, nor that he can come to live without sin, nor to have a purified conscience; and all those that deny the word of faith in the heart, and Christ to be the rule, and set up another rule, and another faith, and another foundation for it, than the apostle set up; all such are fallen from the faith, and are not apostolic, but antichristian. And when the man of sin comes to be revealed, they will come to be revealed with him, and fall with him, and with Babylon the mother of them all; great will be their fall in that day.

There is yet another prophecy of Christ, when he said, When you see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, where it ought not, then let not him that is in Judea flee unto the mountain; nor he that is in the field, go back to fetch his clothes; nor he that is on the house-top, come down to take any thing out of his house, &c. Matt. xxiv. 15. And said he further, ver. 23, 24, Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe him not, &c., signifying plainly, that when the abomination of desolation should be set up, the people would notwithstanding not want divers sorts of teachers of the name of Christ.

What were they made desolate of, by the setting up of this abomination, seeing they were not desolate of a profession of Christ in divers manners? They were desolate of the power and presence of God in all their holy places, as they called them, where this abomination was set up; even as Christ said to the Jews, when they had made the house of prayer to be a den of thieves; then said he, Your house is left unto you desolate. Mark, it was not then desolate of people, of congregations, of religions and worship; but it was desolate of the presence of God; for that was not to be found there. So that abomination which makes people desolate of the power of God, by which they should have power over their sin and lusts, and which makes the ministers and teachers desolate of the spirit of God, by which they should have been led to preach the gospel; this abomination has been set up a long time, and made the people and nations as a wilderness; and this has been since that time, that the Christian religion has been carried on and maintained by the traditions of men.

Then came the poison to be poured out into the church, and thereby it is come to be so swelled and big, that it can comprehend in it the tyrannical and persecuting princes, proud and rebellious bishops, wicked men-slayers and murderers, unclean, wanton and drunken people; they have all room enough in it. Since that time it is counted heresy, that any should make a profession of being purified and cleansed; and from that time it may be reckoned, that the abomination of desolation has been set up. Therefore, let us consider how long it is yet to stand, before the devil comes to be cast out, and the temple of God be cleansed, and the filth of abomination be burned up, that the God of heaven may again delight in his sanctuary,

and that the earth may not for ever be empty of his presence, but that he may be found of those that seek him, and be heard of them that are mourning after him.

John saith, that this time of desolation was to continue a time, times, and half a time, that is, three years and a half, or three times twelve months and six months, that is, forty-two months, or one thousand two hundred and sixty days; which times are agreeing together in one, and do perfectly fulfil the time of the restoration of the church, and of the coming down of the righteous Judge, whose right it is to rule over men; for to him are the Gentiles given for an inheritance, and the ends of the earth for a possession. That time doth also perfectly fulfil the time of the power of the beast; for these times do all agree together, and as they had their beginning about one and the same time, they must also have their end shortly after one another, because they are like one another.

Now to find out the end of those times, the beginning must be first known. The daily sacrifice was taken away long before the abomination, that made the earth desolate, was set up; but from that time that both should be fulfilled, said the angel to Daniel, there should be one thousand two hundred and ninety days, that is thirty more than John writes of. Now the abomination of desolation was not set up in the time of Christ; for, said he, when you shall see it set up, &c. speaking as of a thing that was not yet come to pass; and the apostle said, There shall come an apostacy from the faith; that shows, that it was not yet come, neither did it come till several hundreds of years after. For the true Christians suffered many cruel and grievous deaths for the Christian faith; so that they did not fall away, but endured to the end, and were saved, and so long the earth was not desolate. But when that faith was lost, which did support in sufferings, and that the Christian religion, which was the holy place, came to be corrupted by pride, covetousness, persecution, and worldly pleasures, ease, and the delights and honours of this world; then the abomination was set up, that made the earth desolate. And reckon from that time, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, and add to it these thirty years of which the angel spoke to Daniel, Dan. xii. 11, and see whether we be not about the forty-five years, of which there is made mention in the twelfth verse, where the angel having spoken of the one thousand two hundred and ninety years, adds, Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days: signifying plainly, that there must be a time of patience, and waiting for the blessed restoration, which was promised; and that that time of waiting should continue from the one thousand two hundred and ninety, till one thousand three hundred and thirty-five, which are forty-five days or years; and then they are blessed that come thereunto. So he that hath wisdom, let him reckon: but this reckoning is not comprehended in arithmetic, or the art of reckoning; neither can it be conceived by the wisdom of this world: but such as have the wisdom which cometh from God, they shall understand. It is to such I write; for I have learned to cover the pearls before the swine, and to withhold the children's bread from the dogs.

By what is here said, it sufficiently appears; first, that this intruder or usurper, called the devil, satan, dragon, or antichrist, has no right to rule and to reign over mankind, all the days of their life. Secondly, that his kingdom is a limited kingdom, and was not to continue for ever. Thirdly, that the limits of it have been revealed to several of the servants of God. Fourthly, that the appointed time of his government is nigh come to an end. Fifthly, that there is a blessed day and time to be expected after the end of his reign. And sixthly, that none can come to enjoy that blessed time and blessedness, nor sing the song of joy and deliverance, but those that patiently wait upon the Lord in the days of tribulation; and have that hope to see the salvation which cometh out of Sion.

Therefore for conclusion, I shall say this, that all those that feel themselves in bondage under this prince of darkness, in what manner soever it be, and are not willing to remain so always; believe but in him that showeth you your bondage, and wait in his pure light in your own consciences, which discovers darkness and the prince of it; and then you will feel a hope to spring up in you, that you may be delivered, as I myself have felt: 1 John iii. 3. This hope will lead to a daily washing and purifying, and to a daily crucifying and mortifying of the earthly members. And as this hope comes to work in thee, it will bring thee to an experience of being delivered in some particular things, and that will strengthen thy hope of being delivered from more; and so, at last a faith will arise in thee, perfectly and thoroughly to be made free from sin. When thou art made partaker of this faith, then the greatest and strongest bond of the devil is broken; for, through the unbelief of it, he keeps his kingdom in man and woman.

When this evil root of unbelief is taken away, then his kingdom comes soon to an end, and the government of Truth comes to be set up in thee; and so there comes a change to be wrought in thee, both inwardly and outwardly. So comes his kingdom, who is the intruder or usurper, to be lessened, first in thyself, and then thou comest to see that change in another; and

› it goeth forward, from one to ten, and from ›n to a thousand, and so forth, more and more, ntil the inheritance of the wicked comes to be holly laid waste, till truth and righteousness, nd the reign and government of Christ Jesus ur Lord comes to be set up in the earth, which ıy soul longs and travails for. So I know it ı with many more, for whose sake this is writ-›n; and as a testimony against that proud and resumptuous generation of hypocrites, of what ort or name, or in what nation or kingdom so-ver they may be, who not only have subjected ıemselves unto this prince of darkness, and nto the power of him who is called the devil nd satan, but also pretend, that all mankind nust do so, and continue so all their days, and hat there is no remedy or help against it; nd so deny the power of God, and lead the eople to trust in a lie. But the day of the ower of God is come, and the refuge of lies is wept away; and the deliverance and victory f the Lamb is known unto many; to whom, nd to the everlasting God, by the operation of he Holy Spirit in the hearts of the redeemed, e sung everlasting praises, thanksgiving, re-own, honour, glory, and dominion for ever.

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Postcript.

Something further comes up in my heart oncerning this matter, which I think good to ommunicate unto you.

There are hardly any ignorant how com-nonly it is said, that we cannot live without in, and that we cannot be made free from it, ıs long as we live in this world; even, as if ur sin and our life were so knit together, that hey cannot be separated from one another; ut must end together, and not the one before he other. Now all those that believe there is ı God, they also believe that he is the Fountain f Life, and gives life unto all that live. And ll that believe that there is a devil, they also elieve, that he is the author and original of in; as Christ said, When he speaks a lie, he peaks of his own; for he is a liar, and a father f lies, John viii. 44, and so he is of all other ickedness. Now he gives life to no man, for hat comes of God; and he having made them ive, then comes the devil, and betrays them nto sin.

Now are men and women become such fools, hat they seek to bind together inseparably that hich is of God, with that which is of the devil; nd that is great foolishness; for what fellow-hip has Christ with Belial, or light with dark-ess? So also the life of men, simply consid-ered in itself, has no fellowship with sin; for hey come forth of two different originals. He, ho is the original of life, is stronger than he, who is the original of sin: and though he has brought in sin, and has corrupted nature, which first was pure, by sin; and men in that corrupt nature, do abuse their life, which they have from God, to his dishonour, and to their own perdition; yet that life is not so joined unto sin, that they are inseparable. For, though it be true, that men cannot sin, if they live not; yet it is not true to say, that if men sin not, then they cannot live; for the life that some lived, they lived by the faith of the Son of God, Gal. ii. 20, and that is in dominion over sin, and over the devil, the author of it.

There is another common position, that we must live in sin, so long as we do carry about with us this body of sin and death; meaning this substantial and corporeal body; alleging the words of Paul, Rom. vii. 24.

This is also a blind and foolish position, as if the fault of all sins which they commit, were in the body, or the members of it; whereas, on the contrary, the body, simply in itself, is not guilty of that which through the body is done, it being altogether passive, having no will in the members. They are as instruments, that are ordered or disposed of according to the laws of God, or of the devil; the one or the other being set up to rule in the will and mind of the creature; and the members have no power to do, or to leave undone, any thing, but as they receive it by the will or understanding.

Also, there is no member of the body, but is made to serve the Lord, and is also made fit for it; and they are as ready and willing to do, and to fulfil the will of God, as to fulfil the will of the devil. Yea, they are more properly in their right place and service, and have more joy and freedom in it, than in the service of the devil; for the service of the devil is but bondage, to which the creature is led captive by a lie, as is aforesaid. Those that call the corporeal bodies, the bodies of sin and death, please the devil well enough; for he well knows, that as long as they so believe, his birth and seed will remain in them without hindrance, when the eyes of men are led out to suspect their own bodies, as being the cause of all sin and evil which they commit. Which bodies are more fit to serve God; but are capable to be given up by the will and affection, to serve either God or the devil; as is manifest by the words of Paul, Rom. vi. 19, As ye have yielded yourselves servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity, unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness.

There every one may see, that the same members, that before were given up to serve unrighteousness, must now be given up to serve righteousness. [Mark,] they had them still; they did not say, we would we were delivered

from these members and bodies, that were used to commit sin, that so we might come to be made free; but the apostle said plainly, that they were free from sin, and were become servants unto righteousness, and that therefore they should give up their members to the service of him that had made them free, as formerly they used to do, to him that had brought them into bondage.

These people that so complain against their own bodies, calling them the old man, the body of sin and death, and of corruption; how will they understand the apostle, where he says, mortify your members which are upon the earth? What, will they mortify their hands and feet, and pull out their eyes, and cut out their tongues? I suppose not. But how will they fulfil the words of the apostle, except they find out another body of sin, and the members of it, which ought to be crucified with the daily cross? But the apostle hath named the members of that body, which must be mortified, Col. iii. 5, to wit, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence and covetousness, which is idolatry, ver. 8, anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth, and lying one to another, &c.

These are the members that make up that body which is called the body of the sins of the flesh, Colos. ii. 11, and this is a sort of flesh which God has not made; for that which he hath made, is good, and it is for himself and not for sin, 1 Cor. vi. 13. And though the devil hath his seat in the heart, commanding the members of the body to do his will, yet the same members could serve to do the will of God, if the devil were cast out, and truth and righteousness were set up in the heart. Then these sin-pleaders would come to see, that the fault was not in their bodies, but in their corrupt hearts, and that there is another body to be put off, before they can come to do the will of God, and not the corporeal body, which God has created to serve him.

Besides that, these people show themselves to have but little love to God; that all his kindness and manifold mercies cannot draw them to serve him. On the contrary, they will serve his greatest enemy, as long as they have members to serve him withal, using those members which God has given them, against him and his ordering. And if he will not permit it so to be, he must take away those members again; even as if there was no other remedy to put an end to sin. This is as much as to say, if the Lord will not have them to swear, to lie, or to speak evil, he must make them dumb; and if he will not have them to do bad works, he must make them lame; and if he will take away their life from them, then they will leave off sinning, but not sooner. They cannot endure to hear of putting off sin sooner; that, they say, is the grand error of the Quakers, to speak of ceasing to sin, before we cease to live.

Oh! where is the sense of the love of God, that his people should feel in their hearts shed abroad to God, to constrain them unto obedience? Alas! they are strangers thereunto, and the covenant with hell and death is so strong, and the unbelief is so rooted in them, that they think this covenant cannot be broken. But blessed be the Lord, that faith is now manifested, that giveth victory, and breaketh this covenant.

Another great plea, which these sin-pleaders bring, is this: if people can come to perfection in this life, then they have no need of Christ to be their Saviour; as if the salvation by Christ, and a perfect and pure life were inconsistent with one another. Ye fools and blind, know ye not that all good and perfect gifts come from the Lord, and that none can come to perfection, but by his gift? And if God be the giver, is it not then by grace? Where are works then? But these pleaders for sin, are as great strangers to the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, as they are to perfection, otherwise they would see their ignorance. When Christ said to his disciples, Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect; that is as much as to say, according to explanation of these people, there is your command, when that is done, you have no need of me. The apostle spoke wisdom among them that are perfect, but not such wisdom, or rather foolishness, as this, to persuade them that they had no need of Christ to be their Saviour, because they were come to perfection. On the contrary, he said, that he could do all things, then he could be perfect, but not as of himself, but through Christ that enabled him; and those that come to a perfect state, know that their salvation is not of their works, how good and pure soever they may be, but merely by grace through Jesus Christ, and that in respect of these three following observations.

1. First, That it was the appearance of Christ Jesus, who is the power of God, that brought them off from their sin and imperfection; and that they have not left them off of themselves, but do own, that it is the grace of God, as the apostle did; Tit. ii. 11, 12. For the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world. So here you may see, that it is the appearance of the grace of God that leads to perfection; and this perfection is not yet a perfect salvation; for those that have it, may fall from it again, and so not be saved; but those that endure to the end shall be saved.

2. But Secondly, It is Christ who is the preserver and keeper unto the end, of those that trust in him; and the apostles testify, that those who were delivered from the corruption of this world, must know him to be their keeper, that had gathered them out of the world. Therefore said Jude in his epistle, ver. 24, Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, &c. Peter testifieth, 1 Peter i. 5, You are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, ready to be revealed in the last time. And Paul testifieth, that the keeping is by Jesus Christ, Phil. iv. 7. So here you may see, that the bringing to the state of perfection, and the keeping from falling from it again, are both the work of Christ; and yet, this is not a perfect salvation; for this does not put away the former sins.

3. But Thirdly, Whoever comes to perfect salvation, he comes to know Christ to be an offering for sin, and to obtain reconciliation with God, and forgiveness of his former sins. For all the holy conversation and perfection of life, can be counted no more but his duty; and therefore he cannot obtain remission of one of his former sins. But those that confess their sins, and forsake them, such come to forgiveness by Jesus Christ, and come to know his blood cleansing them from their former sins; and so they come to perfect salvation by grace, not by works, but by faith, that works in the love of God unto obedience; without which, faith is but dead, and makes no man saved. But those that have this true faith and hope in them, purify themselves, as he is pure, 1 John iii. 3. He that has not this hope, does not purify himself, neither does he believe that he can do it; and by this we know the true believers from the false; and by this sinners are made manifest, that cannot stand in the congregation of the righteous, Psal. i. 5.

So now let all the pleaders for sin, stop their mouths for ever, and let the devil stand for himself, and plead his own cause; and henceforth do not despise and revile the innocent, that are travailing and striving after perfection, with a faith to obtain it, that they think to be saved by their own works. For we hope for no other salvation, but that which is in and by Jesus Christ the eternal Son of God, who is the first-born of every creature, that brings many sons and daughters unto glory, but not by leaving them in their sins; but his name is Jesus, and he saves people from their sins. S. C.

To the Magistrates of Groningen, in the United Provinces.

Ye rulers and burghermasters of Groningen, I have a message unto you in the name of the God of heaven and earth, on the behalf of his truth and people. Therefore hearken to my words, and consider them, for in love to your souls, and to your city and country, do I write unto you. Be it known unto you, you cannot fight against God and prosper; the powers that are, said the apostle, are of God. I am a friend to magistracy and government, and do know that it is an ordinance of God; but that magistrate beareth the sword in vain, that doth become a terror to them that do well, or that endeavour so to do. Therefore, friends, turn not your sword against the innocent, for their conscience sake towards God, for that is not your place; but to protect all that fear God, and to encourage such as depart from the evil of their ways.

And whereas the Lord is pleased in this your day, to visit a small remnant in your city, with the knowledge of his everlasting Truth, and to lead them to take up the cross, and deny themselves, and to leave the customs and ways of this evil world, and to wait upon God in the despised way of the Quakers, so called; what harm is this unto you? What evil have they done since, or what evil have that people done to any prince or government since they were a people? What is this great cry and noise made against us for? Is it not as in days past, if any man depart from iniquity, he makes himself a prey; and for him that reproveth sin in the gate, they lay a snare. Why are the workers of iniquity so moved? Ought you not to inquire of our accusers when they come to you, what evil we have done against God, or the wholesome laws and liberty of the land, before you lay your hands upon us?

Take heed of your priests, who fear nothing more than the breaking out of the light, which as it ariseth, will give men to see their evil works, and the foundation upon which they stand. Oh, let them not deceive you, by stirring you up to persecution, as they have deceived many princes and governors in other lands, who now begin to see them, and to cease from the work to which they have instigated them; and most governors and rulers where we live, have a sense of our innocency. Now your day of trial is come, and I cannot but in love warn you not to run this course of persecution, for if you do, you will bring vexation upon yourselves inwardly and outwardly, and the judgments of God upon you and your city, out of which your priests will not be able to deliver you. And besides, mark, this work of the Lord shall go on and prosper, and as many as are found faithful to the light of Christ Jesus in their consciences, shall feel the daily encouragements of the everlasting power of God, which is enough to bear them up, under all that the power of persecution, which never was of God, can do against them. The divine

love of God, through the faith of Christ, will flow in upon them, which will make them not to love their lives to death, for their testimony's sake. Their innocent sufferings will reach to that of God, in the consciences of others, and they shall come to believe in that which supports us, and so come to be made partakers of that same life of righteousness which judgeth the world; which the spirit of this world hath always sought to slay in all its appearances.

And further, the more you cause this people to suffer, the more shall we be drawn in the love and power of God, to visit them and your city for their sakes; for we dare do no other, being commanded so of Christ, who is the head of our church. If any, the least member of him be in prison, in hunger or want, and we visit them not, he takes it as if he had been so, and we had neglected visiting him. This hazard we dare not run, for all the frowns and threats of men; for we know none, but Christ Jesus, shall ever receive power to say, Go ye cursed, &c. It is not sufferings and tribulations that can now affright or deter us from our service and testimony to our God; for we have learned in all states to be contented. And if our tribulations abound for the gospel's sake, our consolation abounds much more; so that we can in the strength of God, give our back to the smiter, and turn the other cheek; and our face to them that pluck off the hair; and when all that is done, pray for these our enemies, and do them good against all this evil. And this we boast not of, as of ourselves, but as the gift of God, freely given unto us for Christ's sake, in whom our sufficiency is.

Therefore, friends, be wise and considerate in this weighty matter, and take heed what you do; if this work be of man, it will cease, and come to nothing, though you sit still in your places. But if it be the work of God, to break forth in his light, and make known his righteousness to them that have hungered and thirsted after it, then you cannot stop his work, but it will go forth when you have done what you can, as others have done. Besides, your endeavouring to stop the work of God, will render you fighters against God, and kindle his indignation against you, and bring his judgments upon you. Therefore my counsel to you all is, fear the living God, who shows you your thoughts, and love the light in your own consciences, and then you will never persecute it in others, but it will break forth more and more, and become a blessing to you and your city. This is my desire, who am your friend, and one that in obedience to God, and love to your souls, have thus far cleared my conscience to you, who am a servant of God, and one that in scorn is called a Quaker, who have rather chosen, as Moses did, to suffer affliction with the people of God, than enjoy the pleasures of sin, which are but for a short season. So the Lord give you a considerate and understanding heart.

STEPHEN CRISP.

A LAMENTATION OVER THE CITY OF GRONINGEN.

Containing an answer to four papers written against the people called Quakers, two by the Magistrates, and two lies sung in the street, by the wild and ungodly ballad singers, which shows that the spirit of persecution and mockery comes all from one ground.

Hear ye this word which I take up against you, even a lamentation, O House of Israel.—*Amos* v. 1.

And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation, and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head: and I will make it as the mourning of an only son, and the end thereof as a bitter day.—*Amos* viii. 10.

WHAT lamentation shall I take up over thee, O Groningen! that art a great city, increased in riches, people and wickedness, and hast long lived without judgment in thy goings, and thy footsteps have been after the counsel of thy own heart, and the covenant of death hath bound thy inhabitants together with a general consent to walk in darkness, and to obey the power thereof; and to live in sin and ungodliness all their days. In this path have thy leaders, that tell thee it is impossible to do otherwise, led thee; and so they have helped to harden thy heart against thy Maker, and to settle thee upon thy lees, and have for money sold thee a sound of peace, while thou livest in thy sins, and walkest in darkness, which is the way to destruction. Thy rulers have tolerated, if not promoted wickedness, and have not been good examples, nor ruled for God, nor become a terror to thee in thy ungodly and wanton life, as they ought to have been. So that on all hands, wickedness is grown high, the trees of Sodom, and the vines of Gomorrha, bring forth plentifully in thee; but the plant of renown, the royal seed of God, hath long been as a worm trampled upon, and the God of Israel forgotten days without number: although his name hath been in your mouths, yet his fear hath not been in your hearts. Though you have drawn nigh him sometimes with your polluted lips, yet you have not brought your hearts nigh to him, but they have still wandered after your lusts and evil ways; and you have long taken the name of God in vain, and thereby brought guilt upon yourselves.

The Lord hath been patient and long-suffering with you, and hath not been hasty to anger,

but hath waited to be gracious, and hath oftentimes smitten you in the secret of your hearts, and called upon you to leave off the evil of your ways. But ye have rejected his voice, and turned away your ears from hearkening to his reproof; and so by these things, ye have provoked the Lord to anger against you, and he is arising to make known his judgment in the midst of you, which still kindles more and more, till it burns like a flame, and there will be no abiding his presence but by repentance. Friends, a deep sense is upon me of the day of your visitation, and also of the calamity that will come upon you, except you repent, and break off the evil of your doings, and turn your hearts to seek the Lord. I have warned you in love, and again do warn you to consider your ways, while a little time is afforded you; for the wrath of God is ready to break forth against you, and against all the inhabitants of the earth that slight the day of his tender visitation.

There is a lamentation in my heart for thee, O Groningen, that thou hadst a considerate and understanding heart, that thou mightest foresee thy misery, and escape thy calamity! My heart is grieved, and my soul is afflicted, to consider thy present condition, and also to consider what thou art bringing upon thy own head. Oh, be not like the foolish folk Solomon speaks of, who because judgment is not speedily executed upon an evil work, therefore their hearts are set in them to do wickedly. Oh! how do abominations abound in thy streets like a flood! How is thy city filled with drunkenness, with oaths, with cursings, and how are thy streets filled with Ishmael's brood of mockers and scorners, whose bonds must be made strong! Read Isaiah xxviii. 22. What care is there taken to suppress these things? Nay, the greatest care is how to suppress Truth, and keep righteousness from shining forth, lest the day light should break forth into judgment against thy ungodliness.

Alas! alas! the day of thy judgment is come, and that life is arisen that hath the power in heaven and in earth! and ye can no more crucify it, but it must and shall reign for ever, and judge the earth in righteousness and in truth. It is the appearance of this life that comes into the world for judgment, that hath made your city like a sea, into which a tempest is entered. Your rulers are like fierce young lions that roar, because they are troubled, and think to affright the lambs with their thundering out threatenings. Thy priests are like the she-bear that was robbed of her whelps, seeking their revenge upon the innocent, and stirring up the young lions as to a prey. Thy people are like the wild beasts of the forest, which with a confused noise are gathered together to devour. Thy children run snarling to and fro in the streets, tumultuating and halloing, and uttering all manner of reproach and spite against the innocent and harmless people, who are departing from your ungodly course of life, and are called out of your Babylonish worships to be separated from you.

Oh, friends, consider, are these the fruits of a gospel ministry, and a well governed republic? Are not these tumults and uproars, a shame to both priests and rulers, yea, and to all the masters and fathers of families in your whole city? Doth it not appear you have lost the good government that you ought to have over the people, and the children and servants in your city and respective families? Consider these things! whence come uproars? Is it not from the spirit of the Sodomites that assaulted the house of Lot? What was it set Jerusalem of an uproar? and what set other cities in the acts of an uproar, but persecution? And was not Gamaliel a Jew, yet wise enough to still the tumult, by persuading them to leave persecution, and leave the matter to God. Oh, that you who are called Christians, were but so wise! But, alas! it hath grieved my heart, while I was in your city, to see and hear, young and old, given up to an Ishmael spirit, mocking and scorning, and deriding the innocent, and to see how it is happened to you in Groningen, as it was in the rebellious house of Israel of old, they that feared the Lord, were as signs and wonders in Israel. Let all that know thee take up a lamentation over thee, for thy way leads with speed to destruction, and thou makest haste to fill up thy measure. Oh! that thou mightest but stand still a little, and consider thy ways before it be too late. I write these things in the love of God to all that have an ear to hear, and a heart to consider: and as to those that shut the ear, and will not hear, I shall be clear of their blood, and they shall know that they were warned.

And now all you rulers, priests and inhabitants of the city of Groningen, let me treat a little more particularly with you, and inquire what is the reason you are thus moved and driven on heaps, as you are? I know the answer is, here is a people in our city, that men call Quakers, who in their life differ from us. If we pipe to them, they will not dance, and if we mourn, they will not lament. They will neither rejoice in that in which we rejoice, nor grieve at that at which we grieve; but in their worship, and in their manners, and words and all, they differ from us. What then; what evil have they done to you or to your city, or what have such people done against any other city, where they have, and do live? Alas! say men, they are every where spoken against. Well, that is no rule for you to hate and persecute them. Know you not the religion of

the apostles was every where spoken against? yet it was the truth, and after that way which men called heresy, worshipped they the God of their fathers.

The true Christian worship which Christ set up, was to differ from that in the mount of Samaria, and that at the temple of Jerusalem too; must Christ therefore be persecuted? Oh! how blind and ignorant is this generation, that ye should again run into the same error of the Pharisees, to condemn the old persecutors, and prove new ones yourselves, and persecute the same life, as it comes to rise in any, to witness against you and your lusts, as they and their fathers did? So ye manifest yourselves still to be of the same race and stock, and to be born of the same estranged flesh that always persecuted such as were born after the spirit. And as they brought upon them all the righteous blood that was spilt from Abel to Zacharias, so you are about to bring upon you, and upon your children, all the righteous blood from Abel to this day, which will be enough to sink you to perdition. I cannot rejoice in your destruction, but the labour of my soul and my prayer yet for you is, that ye might be wise, and learn understanding, and might consider your ways, and might no longer strive against God, and against his glorious work; for I tell you in his name and his authority, he will be too mighty for you.

The work which God hath begun in the earth, shall prosper and flourish, and none shall be able to stop it, for his seed hath suffered long, and many have cried in secret for a day of deliverance. And now the day is come, glory to God for ever, and the everlasting gospel is preached, and many are thereby turned from the former darkness, to the true light of Jesus, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. And many are brought to know the right way of the Lord, which is a way of holiness, and can no longer be content to walk in the unholy sinful ways, where the priests tell them they must live in sin all their days. But now the hope of redemption is arisen unto many, glory be to God for ever; and some have received the bright and Morning Star; and some are waiting for it in faith and patience, passing their time in fear and watchfulness, hoping for the crown that is immortal, which certainly shall be set upon the heads of all those that faint not by the way, by reason of the tribulations that arise for the name of Christ's sake.

For friends and people, consider this one thing, the Holy Ghost signified unto John, that the dragon, beast, and false prophet, should rule 1260 years. That is not Christ's kingdom, and in that time the whole world should worship the beast and his image. That is not the worship of God, and that the harlot should sit upon the beast that ruled. That is not the true church. And that the world should say, Who can make war with the beast? They were not the saints that said so, for the Lamb and the saints must have the victory, and all that while, while she was a-top of the ruling beast, the true church was in the wilderness, and the true governor or ruler was caught up to God. Now because it hath been thus 1260 years, must it always be thus? No, surely, this is a set time, and hath an end, and the end of it is come; and the true church is coming out of the wilderness, and the daughter of Zion hath a new spiritual instrument, with sharp teeth, to thresh the mountains withal, and her Son is manifest upon the earth, which is the second birth, whose kingdom is not of this world, but his dominion is over all—read who can—and he and the saints must have the victory.

They have received power to judge the three unclean spirits, that are like frogs: the first came out of the mouth of the dragon, which fills the earth with wrath and cruelty; the second came out of the mouth of the beast, that fills the earth with pride, insolency and arrogancy; the third came out of the mouth of the false prophet, that fills the earth with lying, idolatry, delusions and hypocrisy. These three spirits are now judged, and their works are judged in the name of him that lives for ever and ever; and the day draws nigh for the opening of the lake, and the casting in alive the dragon, beast and false prophet, from whence these three spirits came. In that day shall the head of the afflicted be lifted up, and the seed shall rejoice, and the earth shall know that God hath remembered his people, and you shall know that you have striven against your Maker.

Therefore, oh people! consider your way. Serve not the beast, neither worship his image; but fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come. Now the dragon and his cruelty, and they that are his executioners, must be judged; the harlot and her cup, and all that drink thereof, and commit [iniquity] with her, must be judged; and the beast, and his seat, and his power, and his image, and all that wonder after him, and worship him and his image must be judged. The second beast and his power, and all that are subject to him, must be judged, though his appearance is like a lamb. The false prophet, with his lying wonders, and his false fire that he brings down in the sight of men, must be judged; and all his lies and delusions, and them that have believed them, must all be judged; for judgment is Truth arisen in the earth. Therefore are the inhabitants moved like a sea, and the waves roll to and fro, and the princes imagine vain things, and the judges

rite grievousness, and they that remain in the ate of the heathen, who know not God, are all a rage. But alas! alas! these things can- ot stop the coming and shining of the Sun of ghteousness, nor the breaking forth of his lvation to the meek, who have longed, hun- ered and thirsted after righteousness.

Therefore, oh ye rulers! be wise, and con- der what you do, and if you can stop the ebb- g and flowing of the sea, or if you can turn the n or moon out of their course, or if you can mber the stars of heaven, or the sand upon the a shore, then you may hinder this work that determined and decreed by the same power y which all these things were made and or- ered. But if you cannot do these, then at- mpt not to stop the light of righteousness om breaking forth, for your work will be vain, id shame and confusion will be your reward. or assuredly, you will not find us like other orts of people, whose foundation hath been on this or that man, and in process of time, me one or other man hath laid them waste gain by his power or policy. But our foun- tion is out of your sight. The Rock of Ages, ho when he appeared in a body of flesh, was ucified; but death could not hold him, nor the gnet nor soldiers; but God raised his own, id suffered not his Holy One to see corruption. nd the same power that raised him, hath uickened us in these mortal bodies; which we nfess you can kill, if God permit you. But the wer lives for ever, and the same quickening fe and power shall appear in other bodies to itness against you and the world, and shall read forth more and more, till the earth is vered with its glory, and till the glory of all esh is stained, and their strength as tow be- re the fire.

Therefore, I say again, be wise, oh ye judges id rulers of the earth! and take heed of being und fighters against God, lest his wrath kin- e, and you and your strength and glory be- me like chaff before the wind in his presence; id remember you are warned.

And now friends, I come more particularly capitulate with you, the magistrates and peo- e of Groningen, having before me four pa- ers, all given out against a people called Qua- ers, and all appearing to come from one spir- .

It is sad to say, and to think, men called agistrates, and a city called Christian, nay eformed, should have such horrible work found erein as I found in two or three days stay in our city, and find in your papers; and be- use two of these papers come from you that e the magistrates, I think it good to say some- ing to them. First, the one is a sentence ven to several citizens, the other to some not ding citizens, whom you had imprisoned, in hich you have warned the citizens to meet no more in such meetings as they have done, and the other to come no more in the city to such meetings, and both upon the threatening of fur- ther punishment; and that the reader may the better understand where this sentence and threat- ening takes its rise, I shall set down the sen- tence verbatim, and then write something to it by way of inquiry.

The first complaint is irreverent behaviour. Secondly, that he is called a Quaker. Thirdly, that he was lately at a meeting. Fourthly, that it was the more to divulge hurtful and per- nicious errors and the Spirit's leading; and upon these you say, that such forbidden conven- ticles and dangerous sects must not be suffered but punished, in a well-governed republic, and therefore you insinuate that if he comes any more at the Quakers' meeting, he must be look- ed upon as disobedient and rebellious, and be dealt with accordingly.

Now friends, to the first; what was the ir- reverent behaviour? Did you show them a law which they would not be subject to? Came they not at your summons, in which they acknowledged you magistrates? Stood they not attentively to hear what you said? gave they you not necessary answers to your ques- tions? but it seems they put not off their hats; was that an offence to you? Alas! that men of understanding should no more regard their reputation, than to take offence at such a thing, when there is neither law of God, nor nations, nor of your own city that requires it. You should have made a law first that they must do so, and then, for your part, you had done like Ahasuerus. There was something to say for bowing, viz. the king's commandment, the king's authority. What, Mordecai! wilt thou not bow? the king commands it. Well, but Mor- decai cannot bow if he dies for it; then you know who set up the gallows; he that was an- gry, because he was not bowed to. Were not these things written for your and our learning? ye never find in scripture that the Christians called it irreverent behaviour to have hats upon the head; and the three children had their hats on in the furnace. Do ye think they put on their hats to be cast in the furnace, or had they them not on when they stood before the king? When this great king came to the mouth of the furnace and saw them walk with their hats on; why did not they pull off their hats to the king? But neither Christians nor heathens have you for example in this matter, except the apostate Christians, in this time of the reign of the beast, in which he hath set up his worship in the stead of God's. In this particular, I think the law is not yet made that I know of, that com- mands folks to put off their hats; and where there is no law, there is no transgression.

But what is the matter, here is such offence

taken about the hat? is there any worship therein? if so, that belongs to God, and to no man. Is there any honour therein? if so, the receiving honour from one another is that which hindered the Pharisees and Jews from receiving the faith of Jesus, as you may read. What part is that in you which is so highly offended? is it not come of the same line and stock with Nimrod that hunted before the Lord, when he ought to have come after; and Esau the profane man that was wroth with him that had the blessing, though he himself had sold him his birthright, and of the stock of Haman, and Jezebel, and Nebuchadnezzar, and Herod, and Nero, and Dioclesian, and Maximillian, and others that might be named, among whom this principle of seeking worship and honour to themselves, hath stood always high, to whom the royal Seed of God could never bow. Which think you now were the best sort? Abel or Cain, Nimrod or the sons of God that were in those days, Jacob or Esau, Haman or Mordecai, Jezebel or Elijah, that could not yield to her nor fear her? Nebuchadnezzar or Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, Christ and his disciples, or Herod and Pilate, who could not agree till they went to crucifying the just? and then, the scripture saith, they were made friends. Then they could agree.

And Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Aurelius, Severus, Maximus, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Dioclesian, what think ye of these? were not they better that did not yield to them than they that did? It may be you will say, yea, but these were heathens. To that I answer, that persecution for conscience and religion sake, and forcing the conscience to the wills of men, is one and the same work in itself whoever doth it; but it is two-fold worse in one called Christian, than in a heathen. Your being called Christians or Christian magistrates, gives you no more power over other men's consciences, than heathens had, for that is God's throne in mankind, and he will not give this prerogative to any, but to his Son Jesus, and woe to them that rob him of it, for he will have his own glory and spoil theirs too.

Secondly, The thing is, he is one called a Quaker. I answer, what crime is that; to be called a Quaker? seeing the Quakers are known through the world to be harmless and clear of wronging any kingdom, land, or city, or private person. Their principle is to fear God, and to do justly, and to keep their conscience unspotted. So this is neither crime nor disparagement to be called a Quaker, but rather a crown and rejoicing; for upon that sort of men the blessing has always rested, who trembled at the word of the Lord, as you may read. They that mock at trembling and quaking shall know a day of howling and lamenting, in which they shall tremble and quake, and wish to die our death, though now they despise our life. Besides you have no law against a man being called a Quaker, so here is no transgression yet.

Thirdly, The thing is, that he was lately at a meeting of the Quakers. Answer. Is that a crime? against what law is that? When was it published, and in what book of record can we find that law that forbids the being at a Quaker's meeting? seeing you are within the compass of the Seven United Provinces, that are spoken of so far for granting liberty of conscience. If you are not of that mind why do you not publish yourselves to be of another mind? What, have you forgot your fathers and grandfathers already, that suffered so deeply to purchase liberty of conscience, and spent so much blood and treasure, and implored the aid of foreign protestant princes, which was plenteously given them, that they might above all things leave you this inheritance; to wit, liberty of conscience to meet together and worship God as you were or should be persuaded? And now, are you robbing and spoiling one another of this inheritance? What, are ye framing again the old rotten pieces of Duke D'Alva's yoke, to put it upon the necks of your brethren, to tell them what meetings they must go to, and what they must believe, and what religion they must be of? Oh, friends! away with this work, or else it will make you stink in the nostrils of the nations, and of your neighbours, and besides it will bring a curse and blasting upon you.

Fourthly, But then you say, this meeting was for the divulging and spreading of hurtful and pernicious errors, and the Spirit's leading, &c. Friends, these words are either true or false; if it be true that such things are divulged at our meetings, why do not you or your teachers manifest what these pernicious errors are, that people may know them, and how they are opposite to the holy scripture? If you do not do this, your bare asserting them to be so, will hardly carry authority with it to make people believe it, except the rude tumultuous rabble, that are readier to believe lies than truth. Indeed, your authority may prevail further with them to stir them up against the Truth, than it will to keep them in the band of sobriety, and from filling the streets with tumults and uproars. But if you intend the sober sort should believe you, then discover particularly what these hurtful and perilous doctrines are, and how they are against the scriptures of Truth.

If you cannot do it, set your priests at work to do it, they have wages enough to engage them to serve you, if they be not too high for you; and when you and they have done that we will have no more meetings in Groningen,

but will come over to you and take up your religion, if it appears to be blameless and according to the scriptures. But till this be done, we cannot believe men's words, especially, such men as in contempt to the Spirit's leading, persecute us for owning the leadings of the Spirit. For shame, call this word in again: were not all that ever were sons of God, led by the Spirit of God? And did not the saints of old walk after the Spirit, and did not the apostle tell them if they did so, they should live. And what now, must we be persecuted for being led, and guided, and drawn, and constrained by the Spirit? Oh, abominable! if you had been born of the Spirit, you could not have written so, but being born of the flesh, persecution is as natural to you, as it hath been to such in former ages. That same spirit that persecutes us for the leading of the Spirit, and mocks at us for the witnessing of the Spirit, is that which persecuted Christ Jesus in whom this Holy Spirit lived without measure, that now liveth in us in measure. We know we are not greater than our Lord, and if we patiently suffer for his sake, he will plead our cause with our enemies.

But friends, I do charge these words upon you to be false, and do require you in the name of the Lord to prove them true if you can, and let us know what those errors are. I do absolutely deny the matter of fact wherewith you charge us, and that our meeting then or at any other time was for any such intent or purpose; so we shall leave it in the sight of God and men, till we hear more particularly what hurtful and pernicious errors are charged against us. You say such things may not be tolerated in a well-governed commonwealth, but ought to be punished, &c. Do you mean here your own republic, that you are so zealous to preserve in good order? If so, I ask if drunkenness, and swearing, and ballad-singers, and rope-dancers, and mountebanks with their jests and mockeries, and all such things as gaming, and fighting, &c., if these may be tolerated in such a republic, nay countenanced? Do not your streets swarm with ballad-singers, and every one or two of them gets several great meetings in a day, some of them singing such horrible, bawdy, filthy things, as would, I believe, make the people in Rome and Venice blush for shame; see Stemme Voorman Jop for one, with several others that I found in your city.

Is this the republic that is so well governed, that the people of God may not innocently meet together in it, to wait upon God, and to exhort one another, and build up one another in the faith of Christ the Light, but they must be punished. Oh, friends! if either men or women had not lost shame and modesty, such cursed abominable things could never be permitted to be sung. These things do not show you to be such a well-governed republic, but your judgment is turned backward, and while you seek to terrify them that do well, you are the countenancers of all manner of licentious and ungodly persons, upon whom your sword ought to lie. As for your threatening, we have only this to say, we shall do nothing in contempt of you or your authority, and we hope we shall not forbear the doing of any thing that the Lord our God requires at our hands, knowing that it is better to obey God than man, and have learned of Christ, who said, I will tell you whom you shall fear; Fear not him that can only kill the body, and can go no further, but fear him that can kill both soul and body, and can cast them into hell. Our cause is before the Lord, let him do with us, or suffer others to do with us, as he pleaseth, for his will is good, and we are given up to do and suffer his will; and if any men be our enemies for the Truth sake, we dare not but love and pity them, and when they know what they do, they will do so no more. In the mean time the Lord God of heaven supports us by his power and living presence, in which is that life that we have hungered after.

Now a few words as to those scurrilous and filthy songs which are sung about your streets concerning the Quakers, which are as to us not worth the taking notice of, but for your sakes, the inhabitants of Groningen, that the sober among you may be stirred up to cry down such ungodly and filthy work; as to us, we can well bear such things. Drunkards made songs of David, and the rebellious of old chanted to the viol, and drunk their wine in bowls, but forgot the afflictions of Joseph, but these were they that were to go into captivity. One of these nameless songsters saith, that on the sixth of June, when ye came from church, these Quakers were diligent in their wicked work. Here he hath written like them that should be wiser. He hath in general terms upbraided us with wicked works, but not declared what that work was, but he saith the issue was, that they should be apprehended and sent to prison. Surely this was the same spirit in the schout, as is in this ballad-singer; for the one rejoiceth in the other's work, but neither gives a reason for the work, nor why they did so, but only scoffingly said, the Spirit did command it. The Spirit of God did never bear such witness in any of his people, that they should take any body out of a quiet meeting, and send them to prison. The spirit of the Romans, which was but a manly spirit, was more noble, than to condemn any man to prison or death, till his cause was heard with his accusers, except when they did it to please the religious persecuting Jews; it was below the Romans so to do. Now

if this spirit was not the spirit of God, or the spirit of well-ordered men, I leave the reader to judge, what for a spirit it was, that stirred in the magistrates to persecute, and in the ballad-singers to make songs of it.

But it seems the matter this ballad-singer fears is, that the Quakers will overturn his church. Alas, alas! what, does your foundation shake already? Is the judgment of this world and the worldly church come, that they are so moved? Alas! such kind of instruments, as foolish and ungodly songs sung about your streets, cannot help your church in this strait. But then this man takes in hand to tell us, the right way to God, is to bow to Christ. His disciples were no ballad-singers, and they that bowed to him, did not fear rooting out of their church as it seems he doth. But then he tells of hunting us out of the land; and that is very strange, that the magistrates of Groningen should proclaim their intentions in so weighty a matter by such heralds as this. How this pitiful fellow came so near the council chamber I know not; that he should as well make a song of the magistrates' intentions, as of our sufferings. I shall leave that to them that know better than I; but it seems both these works are carried on in a sympathy.

There is another song come to my hand since I came from Groningen, called De los Gesinde secte der Quakers, or Loose Sect of the Quakers; and this savours something like a work becoming a priest, or such like man. He saith, God sows his ground with good seed, and inquires how the tares came? I answer, primarily from the devil, but instrumentally from his ministers that have sown such a seed, as to tell people they must all live in sin all their life long, and must never be delivered from the burden of their sins as long as they live. These are the seedsmen that get 1000, 1500, or 2000 guilders a-year for sowing this bad seed. These are the enemies to the true doctrine of the light of Christ, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; but these cannot deceive the elect. And whereas he speaks of the Quakers hindering God's honour, and weakening God's heritage; alas, where is it? Are drunkards, swearers and liars, and persecutors, God's heritage? No, surely. Are ballad-singers and mockers at the Holy Ghost, are they to the honour of God? surely, no.

But this man that made this song, hath little skill in honouring God; for if he had, he had not sent forth such a fatherless brat as this into the world. As to the choking of the good, which the devil seeks every moment to do, he is now found acting the devil's part, in this same work, to see if he can help with that little craft he hath, to choke the good. But I hope there are many in Groningen, that have understanding enough to judge such works of darkness as this, and to see that it is he that is coming forth in the dragon's host, as one that would darken the breaking forth of the light, and would turn people from the word in their heart. As for his heap of lies, that we have perverted the scripture, and that we have witness by our spirit, that never was, and that we have that that is more precious than the life of the apostles, I shall pass over as a heap of lies, and bid him, when he makes another song, tell us who have done so, and set his name to his paper, and he shall have an answer.

But the life of the apostles was Christ, and he is our life, and we know nothing more precious than that, and seek for nothing, but that we may win him, though it may be to the loss of all things else. And as to our judgment, he is blind, and cannot know it, nor any such vipers as he is, till they be cleansed from their filth. When he comes to know our principle, he will testify more against himself, than I now think to do. He hath as little skill [in] what opens God's throne, and shuts up hell, or what a lowly heart is, as in all the rest; for in this thing, he is but like a fool, prating of things which he hath heard, but never knew nor understood. And in the end our patience and long suffering, will be found more like a work of the Spirit, than all his malicious biting and snarling, like a dog at the heels of the innocent; and dare not come to our faces, nor own his work with his name. And for his upbraiding us about Cromwell, and about the death of the king of England, he shows his knowledge to be as little as his honesty; for there was not the name of a Quaker in England when king Charles died. Besides, if he had either read or known the tenth part of the cruel persecutions we suffered under Cromwell, and how many thousands of us he imprisoned, he would, it may be, have forborne that part of his song.

We are a people that God hath raised up, to witness against the ungodly in all nations and stations of men, which have corrupted the earth, and filled it with abominations. And so neither Cromwell nor Stuart, nor Dutch nor English, nor one nor the other, can have unity with us, while they love their wickedness; for as Christ said, he that doeth evil, hates the light; and then they must needs hate the witness of it. But at last this singer saith, he hath written this as the Spirit hath witnessed, in honour to him to whom he bows. Now mark, he to whom he bows, is one with that spirit that guides and moves him. If it were the Spirit of God, then he doth it to the honour of God, and bows to him; but seeing he hath uttered several lies and falsehoods, it appears plainly that is the spirit of the devil that hath led him; for

there is no lie of the Spirit of Truth. Therefore his work is to the honour of the devil, and to him has he bowed like an obedient child; for the devil is the father of lies, and also of liars, of which he is one, and his lies many.

Friends, I have with as much brevity as may be, touched at these things, and what I have written, I have written in an universal love to you all; and do desire that I may hear you grow wiser and [more] considerate, and not like a company of mad people, run on heaps, you know not wherefore. As you are called Christians, and reformed ones too, show forth fruits of sobriety; and if your priests think that any in your city are deluded, if they be spiritual, let them take their spiritual weapons, and convince them in love and tenderness; and not show themselves so like the shrine-makers at Ephesus, to cry, help, men of Ephesus; so they cry help schout, and help burghermasters, and help wild and rude people, and boys in the street. Oh! shame of these things. Let your priests buckle on their armour like men, and maintain their church and doctrine, and religion, to be apostolical, and let us have liberty to dispute in their synagogues every sabbath-day, as it was in the apostles' time; and if any on their part, or on ours offer violence, let the schout lay his hand upon such. Methinks it is a pitiful case, that you that are burghers, shopkeepers and merchants, and the like, should be fain to help the learned divines, so called, in a matter of religion, and that you must use your civil power to defend them and their religion, against their adversaries, and antagonists, when they come against them with nothing but arguments and scripture, and such like weapons.

Consider these things, and stand still a little in coolness, and God will open your understandings, and give you wisdom how to do in this matter; so that the Lord may bless you and your city, and you may all endeavour in your respective places, to stop the flood of iniquity and wickedness, and so prevent the curse of God, which otherwise hangs over your heads.

So, friends, in the sight of God, I feel myself clear concerning you, having warned you once and again; and if ye hearken and hear, it will be well; but if ye shut your ears to counsel, and harden your hearts to instruction, I shall return to my rest with the Lord, and ye shall know in the day of your calamity, that a prophet and a message from God hath been among you.

I am a friend to you all, and to all men, and one that labours for the good of all, and waits in patience to see Zion's redemption.

STEPHEN CRISP.

To the Baptists in Holland, with a query for them to answer.

FRIENDS,—The occasion of my writing to you at present, is from yourselves. Some of you may well remember, that about two months since, I being at the house of Jacob Arients in Dezype, several of your people came into the said house, and desired to have some discourse or conference with us, which we very willingly accepted of. And so discourse having passed about several things, as about the light in the conscience; about perfection; about the Lord's supper, &c. Several were desirous to speak about baptism, which also we agreed to speak about; and they asked me if I did not believe, that the disciples of Christ did make use of outward water in baptism? I granted that I did believe they had so sometimes done, but I did not find in the scripture where their command was for so doing; but that baptism having been in use, and that by commission from God given to John, it was not easily left off; but in time the apostles did hold forth to the believers one baptism. After many words spoken about this matter, I asked a question, which now I am free to publish, because as yet I can get no answer. For at that time when I pressed for an answer, you, seeing what would come, which way soever you answered, did like the Pharisees of old, Matth. xxi. 27.

When Christ asked if the baptism of John was from God or from man, though they were convinced in their consciences it was from God, yet they lied, and said they could not tell; and so though you were convinced in this matter, what to have answered, yet because you thought that the speaking the truth was not for your purpose, therefore you answered, we cannot tell. So I said, that if you could give me an answer the next day, I should willingly hear it; but though several came to the meeting, yet I had no answer. I desired them there present, to put the query to their teachers, and let them, if they could answer it, write their answer, and send it to W. Williams, at Alkmeere, that I might have it. But to this day I hear of no answer, and therefore finding it needful to be answered, I have thus openly and publicly set it forth, that so all that are concerned, may take notice thereof. If any of you that could not then tell, can now answer it, you may; and if any other on your behalf will, I shall be willing to receive an answer; for it is a thing needful to be known; for I cannot believe that they that have this one baptism, can be ignorant what it is.

The question is this, that whereas the apostle in his epistle to the Ephesians, Eph. iv. 5, saith, There is one Lord, one faith, one bap-

tism; I asked, what that one baptism was? Whether the apostle in this place did intend that baptism which in scripture is called the baptism of John, which I confessed was with outward water, or whether he intended the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which in Scripture is called the baptism of Christ; and I urging and pressing for an answer, you told me you could not tell.

Friends, this thing is needful to be known, both by you and us, and by all men; therefore consider it, if the baptism be but one, and you be ignorant of that one, then have you none, or as ill as none. For if it be but one, and you take up another thing in the stead of that one, it is impossible it can produce that effect which the one true baptism would do; and so consequently is as bad as none. So search yourselves, friends, for by your discourse you have given me ground to suspect you are as much strangers to the one faith, that gave the saints a victory over the world, as you are to the one baptism that makes clean the conscience, and is the answer of a good conscience in the sight of God, 1 Pet. iii. 21. Where these two are wanting, and their effects, there is nothing enjoyed or known, that is profitable to salvation. And though men talk of these things, and make profession of them; yet where their fruits do not appear, it is manifest the things themselves are not there, but a bare talk. Friends, search your hearts, and consider your ways, and turn your minds to the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true light that enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world. And as you wait in that, it will give you an understanding in things you yet know not, and make you able in simplicity to answer this question, and also make you partakers of this one baptism; which is my hearty desire for you.

So I expect your answer, either by writing or print, as you will, and remain a friend to the Truth, and one that wishes well to all men.

STEPHEN CRISP.

A Testimony concerning Edward Graunt of Colchester.

EDWARD GRAUNT, a man of near seventy years, from his youth upward sought after the knowledge of the right way of the Lord with great diligence, and answered his profession with an honest and upright conversation, and was a constant worshipper of God, in that way which appeared to him most agreeable to the scripture of Truth, which saith, separate the precious from the vile. He was one of the first that embraced the light of the everlasting Truth that shined forth in his and our hearts, at the preaching of the gospel. In that light hath he had his conversation for the space of almost nine years, without wavering; holding steadfastly the faith of the Truth, and keeping in the unity of the body. In which time he hath valiantly and patiently suffered many things, at the hands of them that have lifted up their arm and power against the Truth, and them that walk therein; partly for his testimony that he hath borne to the same, and partly for the testimony that he hath borne against the false prophets, and deceitful workers, who have sheltered themselves under the divers powers that have been in being, in these nine years aforesaid. And as he had formerly been taken notice of to be one of the first in coming to the assemblies of the people of God, thereby setting a good example unto the younger sort, so he continued in these late cruel and bloody days of persecution; and endured many sore blows, at several times, at which he was not deterred from that testimony and witness which God had raised him up to bear for his name.

Now in the end of his generation, upon the sixth day of the Eleventh month, this good man came to the place where Friends did usually meet, soon after the tenth hour of the day, and having stood there with a few more about half an hour, the troopers came riding upon them, and did very grievously beat this old man on his head, shoulders, back, and arms. Having received many blows, he went home, and continued very sore of those blows; but was walking up and down several days. Then it pleased God to visit him with great pains of a former trouble also; so that he began to keep his bed.

Sometime during his lying so ill, he was heard to say, he felt more of his blows than he did at first; and so he lay sometimes sensible of the pains of his trouble, and sometimes the pain of blows; so that he was in great misery in the outward man, but armed with a great measure of patience. Having one side somewhat swelled, he was taken notice of several times to raise blood, and the last words that he was heard to speak, he complained of his head, took a handkerchief, and blew his nose, and hard clotted blood came forth, which was this morning. It is remarkable, that that very day month, about the very same minute, as near as can be reckoned, that he was so beaten and abused, he departed this life; and left his bruised and afflicted body behind him, a witness, yea, and his last witness, against their cruelty, until their cruelty riseth up in judgment against them in the great day of account, who repent not. So that the Lord hath marked out the hour and minute for a memorial of their cruelty, in causing him in the same hour and minute to finish and complete his testimony; and in peace and patience to rest with himself.

STEPHEN CRISP.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, when a prisoner.

O ye lambs of the green pasture! ye sheep of my Father's fold! ye who by the word of life are made acquainted with the power of regeneration, and are born into the nature of the Lamb's innocency; and are grown up in the virtue of sincerity. How glorious is your appearance? mine eye beholdeth, and my heart is ravished; my soul shall praise the God of my life for ever and ever on your behalf. From the hill have I viewed you, and from the high tower of my refuge have I looked on you; my eye is opened, and I see you the flock of undefiled lambs, in whom my God is glorified. Oh! feed ye, and be ye nourished; for your pastures are enlarged, and your Shepherd's care is over you; his arm is able to defend you from every beast of the field. By day will he feed you in his pleasant pastures, and by night will he fold you in a fold of rest.

My beloved Friends, this is the day of which we have spoken, and in which not only the words, but the nature must be manifested. Ye who bear the Lamb's image, and grow in his nature, being first proved, shall be preserved and delivered, and in the day of trial feel the word of patience; for that stayeth the thoughts, and keepeth satisfied in the present state. Here is the glory of the saints, who only of all the children of men, can glory in tribulation, and can grow then in patience. Now doth the glory of Sion's daughters appear to be within them, and their strength is a continual spring, whereby her sons are armed with power, to tread down change and alterations, and dwell in the dominion over trouble. Glory, glory to the God of our strength, who keepeth us, who guardeth Israel, who armeth his chosen ones, and leads them to the battle, and keeps our head covered therein, that the enemy cannot wound it.

And here, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters, in the generation of our endless posterity, is my unity with you preserved, though by locks and bars I be separated outwardly from you, yet by the invisible flowings of life, do I reach you, and am felt by you, in that eternal Spirit which quickens and gives life to every member of the church of Christ. This present separation, is for trial of our faith, love and patience, that through exercise they may be perfected, and we all may learn the heavenly and internal knowledge, sense and feeling one of another, by sinking into, and waiting in the Spirit of the Father, by which the whole body is knit and united together. He who knows us not in this, is not truly of us; for as we have said, declarations and prophecies must cease, but the word which begets and gives life, abides for ever, and is the daily bread, which is set before the mercy seat, in the house of our God, of which none may eat, but those who are sanctified, washed and clean, according to the law, and are witnesses of the offering, that makes atonement. These may now feed together, being nourished, and grow strong, as well as ever; because the enemy cannot rob you of your food, and your water.

Therefore eat, O Friends, and drink abundantly of the new wine, well refined; let your hearts be glad, and let your souls rejoice in the promise, for this is the day of the Lamb's battle, and the day of his victory is near at hand, wherein the carcasses must be buried out of sight, and all dead worship without life [be] put under, and the living worship of the living God, be exalted more and more. Therefore rejoice ye, and I say again, rejoice. Let your hearts be strong, my beloved Friends, and comfort ye yourselves therein, and one another, and love one another. Let the spirit of love abound in you, one towards another, in how much ye see the enemy seeks to discomfort you. Mark the weak among you in true love and compassion; beware of the wiles of those that are crafty, who seek to lead from the simplicity of the gospel. Keep your testimony alive in all things, wherein ye are required by the Lord, and be not terrified at all that is, or may, come to pass.

The God of peace and power, of eternal love and truth, preserve you all faithful to the end, to the everlasting consolation of your souls, and glory of his great name; for the sake whereof he hath saved us, and delivered us, and will yet deliver us; to whom be everlasting praises and holy thanksgiving for ever and ever. Amen.

Stephen Crisp.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends.

Dearly beloved in the Truth, of whom I have at this time a living remembrance in the living fellowship into which the Lord of his infinite goodness and mercy hath called you, and to this day preserved you, who have with diligence waited upon him. Dear hearts, in love unfeigned do I dearly salute you all, desiring your steadfastness and growth in the precious Truth; and that ye may be daily more and more established in the grace of God, by which ye are called to be his witnesses in that place; that you may witness the sufficiency of his grace who hath called you, let your temptations and trials be what they may. For, dear Friends, this is a certain saying, and worthy to be believed, that all temptations to evil, both inward and outward, of what sort soever they may be, do spring from that power which God will in time bring down, and break to pieces

for his seed's sake. They that abide low in the lowly seed, shall behold their deliverance with rejoicing, and shall bless the God of their salvation for ever. But if any one in the hour of temptation, lift up himself above that tender Spirit that teacheth a whole dependance upon God; then such a one seems wise and strong in his own eyes, but by and by falleth into the snare of the enemy, and then sees his own weakness and folly, it may be when it is too late.

Therefore let every one be kept in the pure fear of God, waiting daily to feel his strength renewed through the spirit of Christ that worketh in us, both the will and also the deed; and such as have their sole dependance upon God in the faith of his Son, take no care how to pass through the trials and difficulties of their day, but as children of a tender father, they cast their care upon God, who cares for them, for his name's sake, and brings them through and over all, in his own time and manner; and then such have experience, and can speak a word to the weary soul, from the sense of what God hath done for them.

So, dear hearts, now you know the way of God, walk in it with an upright and an humble mind. Let your cries arise to God for the planting and spreading of his name; and let your life so shine in the beauty of holiness, that the mouths of all Truth's enemies may be stopped, and the sober inquirers after the Truth, may be reached by your faithfulness and innocency, which is the loudest trumpet that can sound out God's praise in the earth. Without this life, all preaching and testimony is to no purpose, but tends to the condemnation of them who make profession of that they enjoy not.

My Friends, you know how the good seedsman hath sown a good seed in and among you; and no doubt but the evil seedsman is still watching to sow his evil seed; but be you all diligent to keep it out, and watch over that ground in your own hearts, which cannot receive any evil seed of what sort or kind soever. For in the good seed which is Christ, ye have life, ye have comfort, ye have heavenly fellowship, by the flowing forth of the love of God in your hearts one toward another. But wherever the enemy's seed is sown and received, that brings in death, sorrow and discord, and begets hard thoughts and jealousies in the mind, and takes away the sight of the single eye, which can see the single heart in one another. And if this be stood in a while, it destroys the tender birth of the true seed, and brings forth a false birth in his room, which exalts itself in the sight of things, which it must never inherit. Therefore, dear lambs, that ye may abide to the end, and accomplish your holy testimony with joy to the glory of God, and to your everlasting rejoicing, I say again, keep in the tender, lowly frame of spirit, which ye have learned in the Truth, in which ye will witness a growing up in strength and understanding.

Dear hearts, love one another with the same love wherewith the Lord hath loved you; which is that love that forgives trespasses and covers offences. Hereby ye will always have a sense of each others life and sincerity, and be tender over the good in one another, and travail for one another's growth and prosperity. For this love teacheth to lay no burdens upon one another, but to help bear each others burdens, as Christ Jesus hath taught. While this love dwells in your hearts, there is no room for evil thoughts, nor for jealousies, nor evil surmisings; but whatever is seen in another that is not right, this love constrains the one, to deal uprightly with the other; and the other, feeling the virtue of this love, is constrained thereby to submit to the word of exhortation for the Lord's sake, and so both are comforted and refreshed together.

Friends, wait diligently, daily to feel the life of your testimony renewed in your souls; that ye may know the way of God to be still the new and living way. This will keep you from fainting by reason of the length of time that ye bear the cross and sufferings, and reproach of the gospel. For when your life and inward consolation is renewed, as well as your exercises and trials, there can be no weariness.

This keeps out all dead formality, which all other professors fall into. When they have lost the life of their testimony, they retain a formal profession, which stands in words and outward things, which neither pleases God, nor brings comfort to their souls.

But you, dearly beloved, wait in diligence for the dew of heaven, daily to water the plant of God, that ye may be fruitful to him that hath planted you, and may receive his blessings in your bosoms, in your families, and in your meetings, and your souls may praise his name for ever.

Friends, let none be discouraged at the prosperity of the ungodly, nor at the length of their day, but in the universal spirit, feel the prosperity of the Seed which is arisen to possess the gate of its enemies, and is prosperous in the hand of the Lord in many lands and countries. Truth reigns over the head of deceit, and treads it down, and breaks the head and power of the serpent, according to the promise of God. They that believe, make not haste, but wait in the patience of Christ, to see the glorious work which is begun and carried on in the Lord's time, every one fulfilling their own part in their day; and being then gathered to their fathers, they lay down their heads in the faith, steadfastly

believing, that he that hath begun the work, will finish it to his own glory and honour.

So, dear Friends, the God of my life bless you, preserve and prosper you in his blessed testimony to which he hath called you, and strengthen you, and give you wisdom, so to walk as ye have heard and learned from the beginning, that in the end ye may rest in him, with all the faithful.

This is the earnest breathing and desire of your true friend, in the fellowship of the gospel of peace,

STEPHEN CRISP.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends in the North.

DEAR and truly beloved, in the everlasting seed and holy covenant of life eternal doth my soul salute you with love unfeigned. By the same holy pure spirit by which we have been comforted and refreshed in one another many a time, when we have been together; by the same are you brought into my remembrance, and my spirit gives thanks to God daily on your behalf, to whom I am knit and united by a bond inseparable, because of your preservation in the faith, and patience of Jesus our head. Though the mountains have swelled to a great height, and the waves of the raging sea have rolled so violently against the rock of your dwelling, yet you are where you were, and your faith is confirmed through your tribulations, and your patience enlarged through the exercise thereof.

Oh! dear lambs, what hath our God done for us? His arm hath been underneath in all our trials, else we must needs have fainted long ere now. But herein doth my soul rejoice, that your testimony doth live, and that all the strength of darkness hath not slain it, but it remains as a crown upon your heads. My dear Friends, let no man take away this your crown, and let none lose the price he hath already paid; for if any man suffer his testimony to fall, after he hath begun to bear it, he loseth his sufferings that he hath suffered, and it is not accounted unto him but as a reproach; as he that began to build a house and could not finish it.

Therefore, dear hearts, you that have this glorious testimony of salvation and of life committed to you, be tender and careful of it, as of your most choice treasure, and count it not a small thing that God hath done for you; for no honour is like unto this honour, no freedom like the being a faithful servant of God; for it hath the reward of this life, and of that which is to come.

But alas! my dear Friends, none can accomplish this blessed testimony in these days of trial, but those alone who know the daily renewing of that power by which we were called unto it. None feel that renewing, but they that daily wait upon the Lord, who is the well-spring of all our strength and refreshment; and whensoever any come to slight their watch, and to neglect their waiting upon God, they are but as those who forsake the fountain, and so grow dry, and barren, and unfruitful to God, or to their own good.

So keep your dependance upon the Lord, that ye may abide, for he abideth. They that are built upon him alone, do also abide unto the end; for the unchangeable power is that which doth make you unchangeable in your testimony. As you dwell in that, you have the promise, and cannot be brought to nought, as many have been, who have been exalted in the knowledge, and grown careless of the cross, who are already fallen, and set forth as Lot's wife once was, as an ensample of the judgment of God. But such as have their dependance upon the Lord alone, feel cause in themselves to be humble and lowly minded. Although they be joined to the power of God in the covenant of his light, yet self is kept in the death, and the confidence is in the power, and the honour of all is given to that which is eternal, and not to the creature, though never so pure. They who thus in the true humility, give the honour of their standing and preservation unto the Lord, and not unto themselves, or their parts, wits, understandings or resolutions, these doth God sufficiently honour with his glory and presence, and supports them in all their exercises; but whoever comes to disregard the power, and thinks to stand by what he knows and hath seen, he stands but in a slippery place.

Dear Friends and brethren, remember to keep holy the sabbath of your rest in Christ, which is now come. See that you rest from your labours, and toiling your spirits in the earth and earthly things; and whoever feels a burden, lay it off, whatever it be, that ye may possess all things in the free spirit that looks not at the value of any thing in comparison of the Truth, remembering the words of our Lord, that where the treasure is, the heart will also be. Those whose heart is in a wife, in a husband, in children, in trade, in riches, in house and lands, or whatever else, so far that they cannot willingly give them up for the Truth; these are such a one's treasure, and this treasure in the earth; and the heart is there, whatever they profess. These things come to be the gods in the secret chambers, besides the Lord; and so his first and lasting commandment, who said, Thou shalt have none other gods besides me, is broken. This brings guilt and burdens upon the soul, and then thou canst

not keep the spiritual sabbath to God, for no burden must be borne therein. But he that is entered into the rest, is ceased from his own works, as God did from his; and such keep the sabbath holy.

So, dearly beloved, cast away that labour and toil which hath made some to walk uncomfortably in the way, and some to faint and fall from it. Lift up your hearts to God in the faith, and give up yourselves and all things to his will; and there comes an end of all your cares, saving only to be found doing his will in your generation.

In this blessed service is my joy and my fellowship with you, and all the faithful in Christ Jesus, in whose love my heart is at this time enlarged towards you, beyond what words can utter. Yet I have no new thing to write unto you, but the very same which we have heard and learned from the beginning, to wit, that glorious testimony of the resurrection of life and of salvation, which God, through the manifestation of his Son, hath committed unto us to bear. In which blessed testimony I still labour in the strength of the Lord, and he hath blessed me therein, and caused me by the operation of his divine love, to sound the same gospel unto several countries and nations in the eastern parts of the world, where a door of utterance is opened unto me; and many have believed and obeyed the Truth.

And having now been in England, visiting the churches about four months, I am again in the will of God about to cross the seas. I much desired first to have seen your faces in the northern parts, whom my soul dearly loves; but the necessities of other nations and countries, bring a constraint upon me, at this time, to omit it. But the salutation of my love abounds towards you; and I pray God to give you a living sense thereof in yourselves, to the comforting and refreshing of every faithful one among you.

Farewell, and the God of peace multiply and increase his goodness in all your souls, and preserve you all alive to himself, to bear his holy testimony amongst his enemies, that the world may know that he is risen, that saves and preserves from falling. To whom belong everlasting honour, everlasting renown and dominion for ever and evermore.

Your dear friend and brother in the Truth, and companion in the kingdom, patience, and tribulations of Jesus. STEPHEN CRISP.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp to Friends in the Eastern parts.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,—In that love that is better felt than expressed, do I dearly salute you, as having a true sense of a service to which the Lord God hath called you in that place, to witness to his name, which is holy, and must be exalted in the earth; and the power is making known itself abundantly in the earth; glory be to God for ever. Dear hearts, my soul's cry to the God of my life, is daily, that you may be kept and preserved in the dominion of his holy, pure Seed, which is a lowly dominion, and a kingdom that comes in power, and stands in the power. Have a care of yourselves: I know, by large experience, it is a day of trial unto you; therefore keep your armour on, that spiritual armour of light, that you may see round about you which way the enemy works to betray you, and to do you hurt. Dwell in that which gives you an understanding and discerning between the clean and the unclean; that among the multitudes that come to you, you may know what to feed, and what to famish; to whom ye may open, and to whom ye must shut. It is not lawful to give holy things to dogs, nor wisdom to cast pearls before swine; but to feed the Seed, and to wait for the gentle showers that fall from the everlasting hills upon it, both in you and in them; that so it may come up, and answer to your life, and to your obedience and subjection; and that the world may see you are not your own, but that you are given up to obey him that hath bought you and redeemed you both in word and deed.

Dearly beloved, my heart is full of love to you, and my prayers are for you. I believe the Lord will do you good, and bring you into a good experience of things relating to the kingdom of God, which may be for the service of his church, and to the comfort of his people. I am writing something in answer to Alexander Rosse's lies and slanders, which I shall speed, and send you a part of, as soon as I can. Here is also a fine book which George Keith hath written to the Mennists, showing how they err from the scriptures, in five principal particulars, as baptism and the Lord's supper, their foundation, ministry and worship, which I would also further as fast as I can.

I shall not enlarge, but remain your dear friend and brother in the Truth,

STEPHEN CRISP.

Another Epistle from Stephen Crisp to Friends.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS,—In the fellowship of that pure Spirit by which the Lord hath reached unto us, and quickened us, and brought us from that sleep and death of sin, and made us sensible of a life that is eternal; in this holy fellowship, I say, doth my soul dearly salute you, earnestly breathing unto God, who is our fountain, that he may daily multiply his grace,

mercy and peace upon you, and in you all; and may by the influence of his good Spirit and blessed presence, make up unto you, that which others in England and elsewhere do enjoy, and you want; viz. the many precious opportunities of being comforted together in our general and large meetings, and the large flowings forth of the Spirit in the ministers of the gospel.

But, Friends, the Lord our God can be all, and will be all in all unto you that trust in him; and this know, you are often in our remembrance, and that spirit of life that is in us, doth often bring you to mind for good, as members of the same body, nourished by the same bread by which we live. My dear Friends, your testimony for God, in that howling wilderness, where Sion our mother, and all her children are yet in suffering, is very dear and precious in the sight of God, and of me his servant. I have with comfort and refreshment to myself and many brethren, been drawn forth to speak of what I saw and felt among you, as to your patient and joyful suffering for the gospel's sake in which you have believed.

And now, dear hearts, go on in the name of the Lord, until your testimony is accomplished. Let your trust be alone in God, who hitherto hath made way for you beyond expectation, and will still take the care of you, as a father over his children. Have a care that nothing be suffered or permitted among you, that hurts your testimony for God and his blessed name. Oh Friends! it is more than our lives; for this is the day in which God is making known through us unto the world, that there is a power able to keep them that trust in it, in the path of righteousness and holiness. As we walk steadfast in it, notwithstanding all opposition, and without being turned aside to the right hand or the left; so men come to see that among us, which is not elsewhere to be found, to wit, a restoration from the sinful and fallen life of the whole world, which they, through unbelief, do say is impossible. But when the work of restoration is wrought, it shows forth the glory of the power that wrought it, and the witness shall rise and answer to the glory of God.

Therefore, I say, Friends, let nothing hurt this honourable testimony which to you is committed in that dark country; and if any among you walk disorderly, and not as becomes the holy calling wherewith you are called, take notice of such; and if they repent not and reform their evil ways, let the world know that such are not guided in their evil conversation, by that pure Light and Spirit in which you have believed. And seeing it hath pleased God to put it into the heart of our dear sister E. C. to visit you in the love of God and fellowship of the gospel, which I doubt not will be to your comfort and spiritual advantage; therefore let us by her have an account how it stands with you particularly; and if any be disorderly and rebel against the Truth, send us the particulars, that they may be considered at the general meeting here, and our best counsel, advice and assistance we shall send unto you.

Dear Friends, let none be weary of tribulations, knowing that the glory of God and the gospel is thereby advanced, and the seed that is sown in this generation through sufferings, shall come up in the next, in great glory and dominion. Therefore, be of good courage; your work, service, tribulations and afflictions, will never be forgotten.

Dear Friends, I came lately out of England, where there is the greatest addition and increase of the church of God that ever mine eyes beheld; and the occasion of it, as to the outward, is a certain law that is made to plunder Friends' goods, for meeting and preaching; 40*l.* sterling for preaching, except the first time, which is 20*l.* and 20*l.* for the house where the meeting is, and 10*s.* for every one that meets. Hereupon many Friends have been spoiled of their goods; and their boldness, steadfastness, faithfulness, and courage have astonished the nation from the greatest to the least; and many have believed; and many officers and magistrates rather chose to suffer themselves, than to execute the law. Truth's prosperity is very eminent in that nation; and in Scotland and Ireland there is also a great increase. Remember, my dear lambs, ye are the first fruits unto our God in these countries; that is your crown; wear it honourably, and suffer for the remainder of the seed in meekness and patience, and commit the work to God, who will break through the nations in his great power, and will make our innocency shine as the sun.

So, dear lambs, God Almighty preserve you to himself, and comfort and guide you as a Shepherd, and feed and satisfy you with heavenly refreshments. This is the desire of my soul for you; and I know it is your desire; and I know God doth and will hear the supplications and cries of his own; and in this confidence and faith, I remain your true and real friend in the gospel of peace,

STEPHEN CRISP.

TO THE RULERS AND INHABITANTS IN HOLLAND, AND THE REST OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

The original manuscript of a book in Dutch, called The Ground and Cause of the Misery of the Netherlands.

OH, Holland, and the adjacent provinces, a renowned land, a land full of riches, full of peo-

ple, full of religion, and full of all iniquity! Oh, what lamentation shall I take up over thee, oh, Netherlands! My soul is afflicted for thee, and my heart is filled with sorrow concerning thy state; how is distress and anguish come upon thee ere thou art aware? How are thy bowels filled with confusion and distraction, breakings and shatterings on every side? Thy wise men and rulers have lost their ancient policy, and thy whole land hath lost that unity in which thy glorying was; and misery is broken in upon thee like a sea, and there are no banks to keep it out. Thy strong holds have been and are still but snares to thee, and gins of thy own preparing, wherein thou art catched and taken, and hast none to deliver thee. Thy gold and money are now no saviour, neither availeth it thee that thou hast gotten great riches, for that doth but sharpen the force of thy enemies against thee. Thy multitude of counsellors is now no safety to thee, because they are broken in judgment, and confounded and shattered in their counsels, every man being joined to his own faction, and seeking the promoting thereof; thy allies stand afar off to see what will become of thee.

Oh, renowned land, of whose fame and greatness the whole world rung, and all princes and potentates had an eye upon thy affairs and prosperity, marvelling whereto it would grow. How is thy glory stained, thy name and fame decayed, thy beauty turned to ashes, thy strength to weakness, thy unity to confusion and tumults, thy dread to reproach and shame, and the eyes of all potentates now looking out at thy fall and desolation which hasteth upon thee! These things are greatly to be lamented, and yet there is a greater lamentation over thee, and that is, that few or none have laid these things to heart, or sought out the cause of this misery, or set a hand to remove it.

But the nearer the plagues come, the more pride, looseness, and hardness of heart, do fill thy land, and cities, and people; therein few or none stand in the gap, few or none plead with God by true repentance, and turning from those abominations for which the mighty God of heaven is come to visit thee. Thy eyes and mind are out at this cause and that cause, crying out this is a traitor, and that is a traitor; and one makes lies, another reports and spreads them, and a third proceeds upon that as upon a foundation, and so judgment and justice are turned backward, and your fingers made foul with blood, and your hands full of iniquity, so that your sword cannot prevail, nor your designs prosper, until you repent and turn to the hand that smites you. Then on the other hand, how are the eyes of the people out at saviours upon the earth, feeding yourselves with vain and windy hopes to rid yourselves from your calamity by this means and by that means, setting up one man, and pulling down another, calling strangers to your assistance, rather than making peace with an offended God, whose anger is justly kindled against you because of your abominations!

Another great misery upon thee at this time is, that thou hast few or none, to deal plainly with thee in this thy forsaken condition. Thy teachers, who have been the great stirrers up of this confusion, and makers of parties within thee, are as blind seers that can see no way for thy escape, but are putting you upon desperate designs, which tend more to their own interest and advantage than to yours, so thinking to make an advantage of your misery, and build their tower higher with your ruin. In place of telling you how you were brought into this condition, and how you might come out, they are crying out, that they have been too much despised, and their church counsels too much inspected, and their power too much limited and restrained, and you have given too much liberty for people to exercise their consciences in matters of religion as they were persuaded, though contrary to them and their prescriptions; so that if you will but serve them in persecuting all their opposers, though more upright than themselves, and if you will but set them up, and put more into their mouths, they will cry peace to you. Beware of such blind guides that see not the danger, nor the way to escape it, but such have you too long followed. Oh ye Netherlanders, until now both the leaders and the led, the rulers and the people, are fallen and falling into a pit together.

And now that things are thus far gone, oh that there were yet but an ear to hear counsel, that I might have hope concerning you, that ye might yet turn to the Lord, and that he might have mercy on you before utter ruin hath laid you desolate. A travail is upon me for you, that ye might be saved if it be possible, and the decree be not sealed against you. However, that I may be clear in God's sight, and free from the blood of all men, it lies upon me to spread a few things by way of counsel and consideration before the people of these countries, that the just principle in all consciences may be reached unto, unto which I do appeal. They shall testify in the day of judgment in the face of all the rebellious, that they were warned, and that they rejected counsel.

First, consider the great hypocrisy that is in this land, which is a crying sin, and provokes the Lord to anger. How is the simplicity of your forefathers lost? Where is that zeal and fervency that appeared for reformation a hundred years since? nay, is it not become a crime for any man to seek a further reformation than that which is stinted and limited by men of cor-

ɔt minds? Steets genegen tot alle boosheit, e de gebooden godts brekende. Belid. 5. Dort. . Art. Is not this the top of your reforma- n? If any come to preach a freedom from ı, and a clean sacrifice out of a clean heart, d the change of the nature that God works his children, that they come Steets genegen alle good heyt; how hateful is such doc- ne both to priests and people, as if they should y, we will have no more reformation than we ve, that is, to pray and preach with sinful arts, and to perform sinful performances, to ınsgress and break all the commands of God, ıd to abide in the sinful state till we die. This the pitch of our religion and reformatoin.

Oh ye hypocrites, can ye bring forth a clean ering out of such an unclean vessel? If the ering be polluted, will it not be abominable to e pure God? Said not Christ, first make the ide clean. Therefore, oh ye inhabitants, cease ɔm all your polluted service, and sit down in ence, and say as they did of old, the Lord hath t us to silence, Jer. viii. 14, 15, 16. In this ent submission to the will of God will you me to find every one the cause of the plague his own bosom, to wit, an unclean heart ver yet made clean, and yet undertake to be worshipper; an old corrupt nature never mor- ied, and yet undertake to talk of a new birth. his hypocrisy hath rung loud in the ears of e God of heaven, and hath pulled down judg- ents upon you, for his soul is weary of your ɔrships and services. Either come down to s witness in your consciences, the light which ows you your uncleanness and inclinations to l wickedness, and believe therein, and hum- e yourselves before him, or else cease from ɔrshipping in your vain and empty forms. ɔr the longer you go on therein, the more will ɔu provoke the Lord against you, and that ıall ye know to be true from the Lord, to you l, both one sort and another, who worship in at fallen state and sinful condition, and neither ıme to know a cleansing, nor so much as a ɔpe thereof raised up in you.

2. Again, consider the rendings and tearings at are among you upon the account of doc- ine and worship, which you have all laid upon od, as if he were the author of it all; and that : stood on the part of every party, though ver so opposite one to another. Herein is the ɔrd highly provoked, yea his name blasphem- l, of which he is and always was very jeal- ıs. How many rents and divisions are there this day among the priests of these countries? ɔw many among the states and rulers? how any among the ministers? how many among l other sects beyond number? Which of em is it that doth not endeavour to espouse od, and Christ, and scripture, &c., as the ad of the quarrel and controversy, as if God were like unto you, broken and divided in coun- sel. Oh for shame, put a stop to this taking the name of God into your mouths, till ye come to know his will better, and name him not in your rents, and divisions, and private interests, carried on with specious pretences; for he sees all your deceitful purposes, and will not hold that man guiltless that takes his name in vain. Exod. xx. Know this, that before any man should dare to make use of the name of God, to maintain his party and cause, he ought first to know that his cause is God's cause, and how should any of you know that, while you deny any infallible spirit in you, or revelation there- by. Do not all your discords remain as doubt- ful to you, on one side as on the other? how dare then one man or people persecute the other, and that upon the account of God's work, and use his name thereto? Did not God reprove this work in the days of Isaiah, ch. lxvi. 5, yet ye are going on with it against them whom ye hate, and thereby provoke the Lord to anger.

3. Again, consider the means you are using for deliverance in this day of your distress, and see whether you are not working the contrary way, and thereby provoking the Lord more and more. The first means is by proclaiming a fasting day to pray for a blessing upon your arms by land and sea against your enemies, &c. Now may not the Lord justly say, Who hath required this at your hands? What prophet have you among you that hath received the word from the Lord to say with Joel, Jo. ii. 15, Blow the trumpet, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, &c. No, you have denied that spi- rit, and denied that which should sanctify your congregations.

Further, in case ye be persuaded it is your duty to keep a fast, let as many as are so mind- ed observe it in quietness and humility, but make not your fast an occasion of strife and persecution against your neighbours and friends who are not like minded. How can you ex- pect a blessing upon your arms, by forcing peo- ple to observe your fast, who have faith neither in your fast nor arms. Would it not be hypo- crisy and sin in such as are otherwise minded to dissemble with God and you, and make you believe they had unity with you, and have it not? Said not the apostle, Whatsoever is not of faith is sin? Rom. xiv. 23. Those that, be- cause they have no faith either in your fast or in your arms, cannot dissemble and make a show of fasting with you, those you persecute. Do you think this can bring a blessing upon you and your proceedings? I tell you nay; but ye will find one day, that ye pull down judg- ments faster by persecution, than you can pre- vent them with all your prayers and fastings. Therefore, cease from using force herein upon the consciences of any; and they that find their

hearts prepared to keep a day, let them keep it to the Lord in peace and sincerity, and not to strife and debate, and to persecuting them that will not do like them. Read Isaiah lviii. 4, 5, 6, 7. See what fast the Lord did then call for, and he is God and doth not change, and till you come to break off from strife, envy, persecution and oppression, your fast will not avail you.

Another way which you have taken for your defence is to make bulwarks, and to take up arms, which, instead of being a voluntary work, ye impose it, and enjoin it upon the people as you do your fast; laying force upon the consciences of people, though you knew there were many a thousand in the land who had long made profession against these things, whose hypocrisy is now largely manifested, and it is seen it was but a profession without power; but if they had kept to their principles, we see what great persecution must thereupon have followed, by the few that have suffered, and borne their testimony in these things. Oh Netherlanders, is this the way to prosper? To put force upon the consciences of people, which belong to God alone, and which your fathers a hundred years ago did understand no man had power over? (See the proclamation of the States-General in the year 1581.) Have you more power in these cases than the king of Spain had? Or is it any better for the people of this age to observe your holidays when you impose them upon them, if they have no faith in them, nor unity with them, than it would have been for the people of that age to have observed the holidays of the papists, which were imposed upon them, in which they had no faith nor unity with them. Consider these things, and let conscience be free for God to rule there, for it is his dwelling-place.

4. Consider what use is at this time made of your low estate, that instead of turning to the Lord, whose heavy hand is upon you, and passing by offences wherein ye have offended each other, and forgiving injuries, and joining together in covenant with God, and one another in love, as Christians ought to do: I say instead hereof, how is one taking advantage of revenge upon another, and bringing forth mischief and evil against his neighbour and his brother, and by all means true or false, sometimes seeking the ruin and destruction each one of him that is against him, or hath injured him. This is not the way to healing thy wound, Oh Netherlands, but is the way to make thy wounds daily bleed afresh, and to give matter to thy enemies to rejoice over thee, who can so easily rejoice and triumph one over another. Far better were it, that ye did humble yourselves and forgive one another, and seek the public welfare by banishing each one out of his own bosom that traitor called wrakesucht, and enmity, which hath been the ruin of many famous countries, and hath begun to ruin yours, and will certainly ruin it, if not cast out. Self-interest always breeds contention, and contention wrakesucht; but the universal love of God which teacheth in the first place to give no occasion of offence, that preserves all societies in peace. Had this universal love of God prevailed in this land, things had not come to the pass they are come to. But pride and haughtiness went before a fall, and now are the lofty fallen, and they that have been long contriving how to get into great honours and dignities, are as in a moment fallen. Oh that all that are concerned both in this falling and rising, would consider the just hand of God in these things; but let none act in revenge against his neighbour, nor his brother, for vengeance is the Lord's, and he doth and will repay it. If some magistrates must be turned out because they have been exalted, let men more humble, more wise, more fearing God, and hating covetousness, be nominated in their places, and not such as will step but into their decaying glory, and withering dignities, and there exalt themselves as they have done, for that is the way to bring down more judgments and plagues upon this distressed land, and always to be unsettled and filled with confusion.

5. It is worth the consideration of all men how the mighty hand of God is manifested in this our age in breaking the decrees and force of men, and in overturning all devices which are contrived of men for the settling their own interest. By which all men ought to learn to take heed of binding, or seeking to bind the hand of the Almighty. When was there more policy and counsel employed for the settling of self-interest than was in England against the present king? And when men's bands were at the strongest, then the Lord confounded their counsels, and brought him over them, whom they had most excluded. Yet this served not the rulers of this land for a warning, who trusted not so much in the Lord for their establishment, if it were his will, as in their own edicts and contrivances to keep out the young prince of Orange, and how suddenly were all their bands and edicts broken?

Therefore how had all men need to stand in awe, and to fear before the Lord, and every one to act quietly in his own sphere, without having regard to self-interest, and endeavouring to establish it by deep and crafty contrivances, and without having an eye to what shall be, except they knew the counsel of the Almighty therein! Therefore, O prince, rulers, and people, be wise, sober, and watchful, and fear, and dread the living God who sees all your thoughts and purposes. So many of your pur-

poses as are contrary to his holy, pure, and righteous will, he will either prevent and bring to nought, or else suffer to come to pass to the hurt and sorrow of the proposers thereof. In both he will glorify his name, and make the inhabitants of the earth, both high and low, to know that he is God, and there is no other God besides him that can pull down and set up at his pleasure; and that arrogancy, pride, cruelty, and oppression, are no more pleasing to him in one man's name or appearance than in another: and that no throne can be established but in righteousness, no counsel or government prosper but what is grounded upon justice and truth, which is the foundation of every thing that is fast. What is not built thereupon is easily shaken and removed, as experience hath always taught, and doth teach; therefore saith wisdom, Proverbs viii. 15, By me kings reign and princes decree justice, &c. and happy is that king, prince, or ruler, who takes wisdom for his guide, and the fear of God, which is the beginning thereof, for his counsellor.

6. Consider the condition of the burghers in this land, who in most cities have put themselves in a posture of defence against their enemies, and let the wise in heart judge whether, in their present state and condition, they have any reason to expect a blessing upon their endeavours. O ye burghers, awake and consider how your time is spent, night and day, in your court, guards and watches, and lay it to heart, and bethink you, whether it be now a time for you to multiply your sins and wickedness, and to provoke the Lord to blast all your endeavours, by your drinking, carding, dicing, and playing, by all manner of wantonness, idleness, and light and filthy discourses; and these exercises you call pastimes. Alas, miserable men, you know not how soon your time may be short enough, yea, so that you would be glad it were longer, when a bullet may pass through your head, or a spear through your bowels, as it has done with many of late, and may do with many more. Oh! then a little time would be precious to you, and especially you that have not been brought up to such lascivious exercises, but to your shops and trades, and worldly business. For you to fall into such courses, and corrupt yourselves, and make your guards as schools and nurseries of wickedness, and that in such a time when the Lord hath filled your land and towns with amazement and confusion [is bad indeed.] Is this a time to devise ways and means to shorten your time, and to spend it worse than ever you did before? Oh! be ashamed of these things, and banish cards, and dice, and all wantonness out of your guards, and fear the Lord God to whom you must give an account of all your words and actions, and of every minute of your misspent time. How soon you shall be called to an account hereof you know not; but this I am sure, there is a witness for God nigh in every one of your consciences, which reproves these things in secret, and if you would give ear thereto, you would be called to an account every day and hour, and would spend every day and night as your last, and then when the end of your days did come, you would be able to give an account with joy. Know this, that although this witness of God be despised by you, and the counsel thereof rejected, yet it will leave you without excuse in the day of judgment, and then shall you know that your looseness, wickedness and hardness of heart, hath grieved the spirit of the Lord, that hath striven with you every one, as you may see, Job xxxiii. 14. 29, 30, and consider every one, if God hath not striven with you to turn you from your evil way, and what is the reason you are not turned.

Consider also if it be not high time to leave off wickedness, and not multiply it, especially when death stands by the door, and in the grave there is no work. Let none say, our city is strong, our burghers are valiant, our commanders are true and faithful; for if all these things be so, yet these cannot save you, for the hand of the Lord is above and beyond all these things, and his hand is upon you for your sin and iniquity, and from it can no man protect or deliver you. Read Psalm cxxvii. 1, Except the Lord keep the city the watchmen watch in vain: and how can you expect the Lord to be a keeper of your cities, when you are daily filling them with those things that are abominable in his sight? May he not justly cast you out as a reproach and shame before your enemies, who exceed them all in profession, and yet daily increase your sins and wickedness. Oh! repent, repent, and cease to do evil, and cleanse your hearts, and purify your hands, ye double-minded, or else the hand that is lifted up against you, will lay you waste, and none shall be able to deliver you.

7. In the next place, consider what you are doing all you who are daily raising tumults and insurrections in the bowels of this distressed land, breaking the bounds of all order or moderation, stoning, plundering and killing, and evilly entreating whom you please; yea, your rulers themselves, upon the bare suggestions of every idle and unruly tongue. What do you think will be the effect of these things? How shall your fastings and prayers procure a blessing from the righteous God, while your hands are full of blood and cruelty, disorder and misrule. Are these they who used to be crying out to those, who, for conscience sake, could not in some things be subject to the commands of rulers, but rather exposed themselves to patient suffering, Ye must be subject to magis-

trates, ye must not rebel against authority, nor be seditious and such like? Where now is your zeal for the authority and for the magistrates? Doth it not appear that deceit and hypocrisy have lodged in the secret chambers of your hearts, and now it is manifest that ye regard neither magistrates nor authority? but the bringing to pass your mad and monstrous wills, raging as madmen without either bounds or order; tossed like a sea, one while one way, another while another, without any stability; by which you are a shame both to your religion and government, and a grief to all that have the fear of God before their eyes.

Were it not better that every one rested in quietness and in peace, waiting upon God, to see him bring down and set up at his pleasure, and desiring God, who is the fountain of wisdom, to endue your prince and rulers with wisdom, how to remove evil men out of authority, and to place better in their places, and you to continue in obedience to the power of God, wronging no man, and abusing no man? Would not this be a speedier way to bring down a blessing upon you, and your land and government, and to stop the proceedings of your enemies, than by filling the land with tumults and uproars, with violence and cruelties? To that [witness] of God in all consciences I speak, let that answer me.

8. And now the bands of government are broken among you, and must be again made up, or else you must inevitably perish; let every one, both high and low, consider what government in itself is, that so ye may from the true original thereof, proceed every one to know your place in the creation, both how to rule and to be ruled. The apostle Paul saith, the powers that are, are of God; but that power by which a magistrate becomes a tyrant, or a subject becomes a rebel, is not of God, but of the devil, who is the author of evil. The power that is of God, leaves neither ruler nor subject to the liberty of their own will, but limits both to the will of God; so that the magistrate hath no power to command evil to be done, because he is a magistrate, and the subject hath no liberty to do evil, because a magistrate doth command it, but both must be subject to the supreme power of God, if they will be happy, for that is the ground of happiness.

This power as it is in God is incomprehensible and without limit or end; but as it is manifest in the sons and daughters of men, it is the pale and limit that stands between all good and evil actions; and all good that is done is done in it, and all evil that is done is done without it. This power stands in all men as a fixed, settled principle to rule them, and to give them law in every action and word, what they must do, and what they must forbear; and he that acts by, and within the compass of this, he hath no cause to fear the power of the magistrate, because he hath unity with it; for his sword is his praise, and a terror to those that do evil, Rom. xiii. 3. God who is a God of order and peace, hath made known this just and equal principle, [the Spirit of Christ] called power, wisdom, light, truth, justice, &c., in every man both high and low, that men might live in order and in peace upon the face of the earth, 1 Cor. xiv. 33. By this the ruler knows it is not good to be fierce, cruel or injurious; and also that if he were a subject, he would not be so done unto. By this the subject knows that he ought not to be stubborn, rebellious or treacherous; and that if he were a ruler he would not be so done unto. As long as this blessed principle [or spirit] of God is submitted to, both by rulers and people, so long they are a blessing, comfort and strength one to another, and not longer. The power in the ruler is one with the power in the subject; and whosoever turns from the power, the power turns against him, and the unity is broken, and instead of peace and tranquillity, there are discord and trouble. Therefore happy and blessed are that prince and people, who are both subject to the higher power, which is the power of God. Such feel perfect love and unity one with another, and the prince commands in obedience to God, and the subject obeys for God's sake, and not out of fear, 1 Pet. ii. 13; and a government and a rule built upon this foundation, and kept here, shall always prosper. Here no man seeks to vassalize his fellow-creature to his own will, and no man counts obedience to his lawful prince a vassalage; but both serve God in their several places with cheerfulness.

How happy would such a nation be and such a people; and how ought every one to labour to attain to the knowledge and obedience of this power which made all things good, and keeps all in good order! This, this alone, oh Netherlands! can heal thy wound and cure thy breach. This is that [which] can drive away thy enemies, and reconcile thee with thy friends and brethren, and until this blessed power of God be had in more esteem in thee, thou canst not be healed. To this alone belongs the titles of groote, hoogen, moogen, achbaer, &c., and not to frail and sinful men. Such as have taken these titles upon them, or do still take them, the hand of God is, and will be against them; and will make them know, that out of this power they are neither hoogen, nor moogen, nor achbaer; but full of breakings and confusion; and this pride and exaltation, have been one cause of thy wound. If thou should be made whole on one side, thou wilt break out of another; and if thou had no enemies, thou wouldest prove thy own destroyer.

Therefore whoever hath an ear let him hear

the voice that calls for truth and righteousness, and judgment among you; and when ye are willing to hear the Lord, then he will hear you, and not before. In the mean time, while his voice and power in you are slighted and despised, he will despise and slight all your fasts and prayers; yea, and all your labour and toil to settle yourselves either in religion or government, shall be in vain. This shall you know from the Lord, when he hath fulfilled his purpose upon you, and laid waste the heritage of the rebellious, and brought you down to lowliness and to repentance, and to confess unto him and to his power, which is over all, blessed for ever.

Friends, thus far have I cleared myself and dealt faithfully with you, and warned you of the causes of your evils, and, whether you will hear or forbear, the Lord will one day make you know that he hath raised me up as a watchman to your country, and that I have seen the evil coming upon you, and have faithly warned you of your evil ways, Ezek. xxxiii. 7, 8, both now and before, at divers times, as may be seen in my Complaint over Groningen, printed in the year 1669. Well had it been for these Netherlands if they had taken counsel then; then had these evils not come upon them. I am again drawn forth in the love of God, once more to write unto you, though I would willingly have forborne writing at such a time as this, if I might have been clear in God's sight; and glad should I be that you had an ear to hear while yet the day lasteth. Let none be offended at the plainness of my dealing with you, for it is high time to speak plainly; destruction is at the door, and it is not my work to flatter you, or to advance any party or faction among you, as the most of your manifold foolish scribblers at this time do by their pamphlets, which tend more to the increasing your misery, and kindling up more animosities and feuds among you, than either to taking away the cause of your misery, or to the healing your breach. For my part, I have learned not to fear man, nor seek the favour of any party or faction; but to answer the witness of God in all men's consciences, is my aim and desire.

And so, hoping there is a people in thee, Oh Netherlands! whose day is not yet over, and to whom the word of prophecy and counsel may not be sent to make your ears deaf, your eyes blind, and your hearts fat, Isa. vi. 9, 10; but that it may tend to the improvement and amendment of life; I leave this my testimony, to be read by them in the fear of the Lord, and to be improved to his glory and their comfort. For the rest, who cannot endure sound counsel and reproofs, but persist in their iniquity, and harden their hearts against the Lord and his truth, and against the testimony of his servants, such shall be forced to endure his plagues and judgments, until they are converted or consumed. To conclude, I say with Malachi, both to priests and people, They shall find the day of God to be as a fiery oven, and all that do not lay his word to heart, shall be as fuel. Read Mal. ii. 1, 2; iv. 1.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to the Princess Elizabeth in Germany.

In that love that is universal and free in its own flowings forth, am I at this time drawn forth to visit the beloved Seed of God, with a tender salutation which will be better felt and understood in that tender lowly Seed of the kingdom, than it can be read or comprehended in the sensual or carnal comprehending wisdom of this world. Therefore, my desire is, that with an inward retired consideration, thou mayest consider what I have to say, which I was desirous, and did hope, to have signified unto thee by word of mouth, but am hindered at present through weakness and inability of body, and other urgent concerns for the precious Truth's sake, of which I am a servant, which doth not admit of so long a journey, nor of any long stay at present in these parts. Neither could I be clear in God's sight, without signifying somewhat of that which is upon me concerning thee. I pray God thou mayest have a sense of the depth of that love from whence it springs.

Well, my friend, for a long time hath a love wrought in my heart to your family, and great pity wrought in me many years since, in consideration of the distresses of the years of your childhood; and a secret joy was in me, when it pleased God to end those long German wars, and to restore you in some measure to your former dignities and capacities, wherein you were made capable of serving God in your generation, who had been so gracious to you. When I heard that thy brother Charles had laid his hand upon God's little heritage in the Palatinate, it grieved my soul for his sake; and I was drawn to go to him at Heidelburg; and in great meekness and fear of God to warn him of God's displeasure, which I felt kindled against him. This was about the year 1669; and I was constrained to tell him, that as he had stretched out his hand against God's heritage, the Lord would stretch out his hand against his, if he did not cease persecuting the Lord's people for their conscience towards God. And oh, that he had taken counsel in the day of his visitation!

When I heard that thou didst receive several under thy protection, who were expelled and banished from other places, though I knew their root and ground to be that which would

not abide in the day of trial, yet I did rejoice on thy behalf, as believing it sprang from a tender principle in thee, which was willing, as far thou knewest, to receive disciples in the name of disciples; and did hope, that in time thou mightest come to have a disciple's reward; and that thou mightest in the end, come to know the revelation of that root and foundation, which hath been the Rock of ages to the righteous in all generations.

According to this hope, a travail was in my spirit for thee before the Lord, that he, by his divine power, might open thy understanding, to see beyond and over the offences and stumbling blocks that some pretenders to the high things had cast in thy way, and might learn thereby to cease from man and men, and their words and ways, and might be brought to the holy anointing in thyself, through faith in Christ Jesus, the quickening spirit; that by it thou mightest be taught to know the unchangeable Truth, and how to walk therein with a steadfast and upright heart before the Lord, to his glory and honour, and to the good example of those committed to thy care and charge.

And now, according to the inward travail of my soul, a day of visitation is come upon thee from the Lord, and his secret and divine power hath reached thy heart, and hath as it were shaken the earthly foundations, that that which cannot be shaken, might be manifested. In this tender visitation of God to thy soul, doth my soul rejoice; but my joy is mixed with fear and with a godly jealousy, lest thou shouldst notwithstanding be beguiled of the inheritance prepared for the faithful. Therefore, that I may clear my conscience in God's sight, and answer the tender operations of love, which I feel in my heart towards thee, let me exhort thee to faithfulness to the love of God so manifest unto thee.

First, I say with the prophet, despise not the day of small things, nor the branch that springs out of a dry ground; for he whose visage is more marred than any man's, is the fountain of treasure to them that believe and obey him. For although the Truth doth not appear in such forms, styles, and methods, and with such drest up articles, confessions and creeds as the divers invented ways of men have done, whose mountains have all of them had hands, first to make them, and then to defend them; yet this stone which is cut out of this mountain, and without hands, will in time break down the images, the carved, the graven and the molten work of men's hands, and then increase and fill the whole earth.

I say again, despise not the simple, plain appearance of the light of Christ in the conscience, as a low thing, and a mean dispensation; for through it, is the knowledge of the Father and of the Son unto eternal life, in all them that believe and obey it; and those that say it is a low and mean thing, let them first learn to be obedient to it, in all its requirings, reprovings and discoveries. This will stop the mouths of all opposers, who are finding fault with it, as low and mean, and yet walk not up to it.

Secondly, Beware of that which would exalt itself in the vision of heavenly things, and take the vision for a possession, as too many have done. But in times of openings and discoveries, keep low, and be of a plain and single heart before the Lord; for vision is for encouragement, and not for exaltation. Whosoever makes images of those things which they have seen in heaven, will also bow down to them, and endeavour to make others bow too, and thence comes a worse Babel and a worse idolatry, than that which is set up among them who never yet saw into heaven, and so only can make images of things on earth, and bow and cause others to bow, thereunto. If the Lord enlarge thy sight of divine things, by his divine, pure spirit and light in thy inward parts, walk humbly before him in lowliness and fear, that thou mayest feel his gentle leadings to lead thee into the enjoyment and possession of what thou hast seen, that thou then mayest witness forth his praise to the sons and daughters of men.

Thirdly, Beware of thy own will, which would run hastily forth after those things which in and by the will of man, cannot be attained; but watch diligently to know thy own will subject to the will of God in all things. It is not lawful for us to will those things of ourselves, which are good in themselves; but to possess our souls in patience, supported in faith, believing that in God's due time we shall reap, if we faint not. If the saints had need of patience to wait for the promise, when they had done the will of God, how much need have such to be patient, and to watch the hasty will which would have the promise, and the power, and peace, and rest, &c., when they are yet far short of having done the will of God?

Fourthly, let no man deceive thee, either by puffing thee up, or casting thee down, for it is the Lord that knows the heart, and not only knows it, but discovereth it, and his discovery is true, and ought to be believed. No better or worse is any one's state, than just so as it is represented to them by the pure divine light of Christ Jesus in their own consciences; and who ever represents them better or worse, are deceivers, or mistaken guides. This is the standard of true knowledge and judgment, that we all must make use of to believe, and be subject to, whenever we would take a true measure of ourselves. This is he that said to some, I have a few things against thee, and to others, I have many things against thee, &c. This is

the minister of the tabernacle of God that is with men, who deals out to every one their proper portion, according to their state, and present condition. This is the voice of the Son by whom God now speaks, and whom all must hear, and they that hear him live. He hath power to cast down and to raise up, to wound and to heal, to kill and make alive, and so hath no one else. Therefore wait upon him with an upright mind, and wherein thou hast at any time been unfaithful, he will show it, and give thee repentance unto life, and heal thy backsliding, and at last show thee the consolation of her whose warfare is accomplished. But it must be accomplished in thee first, and that by his divine assistance, and through pure judgment; for Sion was always redeemed with judgments, and her converts with righteousness.

Fifthly, Beware of the friendship of this world, for it is destructive to the work of God, and is oppressive to his seed. When his seed cries to him, from under the oppression of the spirit of this world, the Lord will hear, and visit thee in judgment for his seed's sake; and thou wilt want that inward comfort thy soul desires. In the world's friendship lodgeth, very hiddenly, the real enmity against God; so that when we came but to break off from the outward forms and tokens of the world's friendship, the enmity wrought mightily against us; but the Lord hath crowned his faithful seed and people, with dominion and power, and slain the enmity, and led captivity captive; glory be to him for ever and ever. For this cause is the love of God shed abroad in thy heart, that it might overcome the enmity, and that wherein it lodgeth, and that thy soul might reign, through a death to the world and its glory, over the world and over the spirit that rules in it; and might tread down the vanity and emptiness thereof, in the dominion of the just; not regarding, but despising the shame and reproach that belong to the gospel, and the present tribulations that may attend it, which are but for a moment, as knowing that they work for the faithful, a far more exceeding weight of glory.

So keep thy eye to the recompense, and to the crown which God the righteous judge shall give in that day, when sheep and goats, lovers of this world, and lovers of Christ more than all, shall be separated one from another, and the world's lovers shall perish with the world, and Christ's true lovers shall reign with him for evermore.

Sixthly, Let thy power which God hath given thee in the earth, shine forth in righteousness, in mercy, and in truth; for, for that end art thou called, to set forth a good example in the administration of justice, and easing the oppressed, encouraging them that do well, and being a terror to all evil doers; for that end is power in thy hand, that the giver of it may be honoured; and they that honour God, God will honour. Therefore wait for wisdom's voice, by whom princes decree justice in the earth, and she will be thy great counsellor. Know this, that the glorious power of God by which thy heart and soul is enlighted and quickened, comes not to destroy rule and order in the earth, but to establish justice and righteousness, and take away oppression and violence, the hard heart, that his name may be feared and dreaded on the earth by the sons of men, and his power over all may have dominion.

Thus, dear friend, have I in simplicity and uprightness discharged what lay upon me in great plainness and openness of heart, desiring the Lord God Almighty may be thy director in all things, and that thou in the innocent seed of thy life, may be able to understand in thy day, the things of thy peace, and may become an instrument of his praise in the earth, and for the setting forth his great name; and in the end, may have thy portion with the redeemed and sanctified believers and members of that holy head, Jesus Christ, for evermore.

So I remain a lover of thy soul, and of the souls of all men, but especially of such who are come to a travail in Sion's travail; among whom give the salutation of my tender love to the church of Holland; and so many as in measure are made partakers of the precious faith that is in Christ Jesus our Lord; in whom farewell. STEPHEN CRISP.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to be read in the Women's Meetings of Friends in Ipswich.

FRIENDS,—IN that love that springs from the root of life, which hath brought forth many living branches, doth my salutation reach unto you, in which we have our refreshments and encouragements in the work of God, in this our generation. The more your minds are gathered into that living root, Christ Jesus, the everlasting head of all living members, both male and female, the more encouragements you will feel in your service to God. Therefore, dear Friends, though you be weak in yourselves, yet in him is strength; and when ye lack wisdom, wait upon him, and he will replenish you, and fill you with his heavenly counsel, to your soul's refreshment.

Friends, above all things, live in the fear of God, and in love and tenderness one towards another; and let not the enemy that lies in wait to destroy, break the band of your peace. While ye keep the peace of God unbroken, ye can communicate one to another of the gifts and grace of God, and so will daily feel a be-

ing the better one for another, which will beget a dearness and esteem in you towards one another. In that dearness and tenderness meet together about the Lord's work, seeking with one consent to exalt the name of the Lord, and to honour it above your own merits. Let none seek exaltation, but know this, the humblest and most self-denying, are most highly honoured of God, and fittest to do him service; and they that are most long-suffering and patient, are most like to Christ the head; and in such his virtue will shine, and so make itself known.

Friends, have a care in your meetings, to give due honour unto every member in the body, remembering none are useless. Stir up one another to their proper service in the house of God, and let not the foot be troubled that it is not a hand, nor the hand that it is not an eye; but every one give thanks, that by the grace of God you are what you are; and be faithful in your place and service, that ye may witness a growth. In your meeting together, wait to feel the rising of the life, and opening of the wisdom of God in one another. Let that speak and propound things needful and necessary for your welfare, and the welfare of the church; and in that wisdom choose out two of your meeting, to commit the trust and charge of the contributions that are among you unto; and let them keep a book, in which your charity and good works may be recorded, for the comfort and example of them that follow after. Also choose out one of each particular meeting, and lay it upon them in the Lord, to take care in their respective meetings on your behalf:

1. That no women, young or old, in their respective meetings, walk disorderly or wantonly, but that they be admonished and counselled speedily.

2. That no necessities that my fall upon any who are worthy, may be neglected or disregarded, or delayed, until a meeting, but they may be forthwith comforted; that so the enemy who lies in wait to tempt the poor in the hour of their distress, may be prevented.

3. That no maids carry themselves unseemly toward their mistresses, nor mistresses toward their servants: but if such things should happen, let the matter be taken up and ended, and not to part asunder with evil in their minds one toward another; for that will spread and hurt others.

4. That all women professing Truth, and having children, may bring them up in the fear of God; and that they use no uncomely, rash or passionate words unto them, for that sows an evil seed in the children, which may come up, and dishonour God in the next generation.

5. That no women-Friends may speak evil of one another, nor fall out with one another; nor carry evil in their minds one against another; nor bear tales about, to beget others into evil, and into partyship, but that all such things may be speedily suppressed and borne down in the power and judgment of God.

And let that woman-Friend give account to the meeting, of such as will not receive admonition, that some other Friends may take the care of such a matter upon them, and endeavour to break through the hardness, in the wisdom and love of God.

And if that woman-Friend have laid out money, let the meeting order the two Friends who keep the collection, to reimburse her; that so every one may be encouraged in the work of the Lord, and ye may, as with one shoulder, bear the Lord's burden in this day of travail, and also the burdens of the weak, who sometimes are neither strong enough, nor wise enough to bear their own burdens; and afterward, they may grow up to be sensible of your tenderness, and to bless you in the name of the Lord.

So, my dear friends, feel my love, and live in that from whence it springs, and the God of love and life, bless, prosper, and keep you in his fear to the end, to be fellow-helpers with the Lord in his work, comfort and refreshment to your brethren, and to leave a holy, innocent, upright testimony and example to the generations that shall follow after.

I rest your friend in the Truth,

STEPHEN CRISP.

AN EPISTLE OF TENDER COUNSEL AND ADVICE, TO ALL THAT HAVE BELIEVED THE TRUTH EVERY WHERE, TO EXHORT THEM TO FAITHFULNESS THEREUNTO.

1. In taking heed of settling in a formality, without power.
2. To take heed the spirit of this world doth not drink up their spirits.
3. To keep their word, and let their yea be always yea.
4. Not to trust too much to education, &c.
5. To love one another.

Written by one that travails for Zion's prosperity, Stephen Crisp.

DEARLY BELOVED FRIENDS, BRETHREN AND SISTERS,—The salutation of my dear love, in the flowings forth of life in the Lord Jesus Christ, our only head, reacheth unto you all, in the spiritual way of communication, which you are made partakers of in the Holy Spirit. In the reachings forth of this love and life, which we have received from the Father of life, I am drawn forth to visit you with an epistle of tender advice and counsel; and especially

you, my dear friends, among whom I have travelled in this and other nations. The remembrance of the glory and power of God that hath appeared amongst us in days past, doth much affect my soul at this time, knowing the Lord is the same to them that hold fast the things they have heard and learned from the beginning.

My spirit is exercised amongst you, caring and praying for your stability and continuance in the Truth, although my outward man is so far decayed, that I cannot travel so much as I used to do, insomuch, that I know many of you, among whom I have travelled in the gospel of our Lord Jesus, will see my face no more. Yet my travail in spirit is not lessened, nor my love to you, the Lord's people; but my cries are day and night to the Lord, that ye may be preserved blameless unto the day of his coming, and that ye may be armed with power, and furnished with wisdom, and may be prepared with every good gift of the spirit to stand against the wiles and subtle workings of the devil your adversary, who is upon his watch, which way he may destroy you, and spoil you of the lot of your inheritance, prepared for you in Christ Jesus our Lord. For this purpose doth he set all his subtlety to work, and doth inspire many whom he hath already caught in his snares, and sets them as snares to catch more of you, that by their example, ye that do yet stand, might also fall from your steadfastness, and be a prey unto him.

Therefore, my dear Friends, gird up the loins of your minds, and put on the whole armour of light. Then you will see round about you, and which way soever the enemy comes to assault you, you will be prepared to resist him; for your sufficiency is in the light, and in the Truth, which the devil is out of. If your eye be kept single to Truth in your inward parts, it is not all the deceit of the devil and all his instruments, can beguile you; but a certain sense will be given you of his mysterious workings.

My dear Friends, I would not have you forget that there be many ways to weaken and to darken you, which must all be watched against; therefore walk circumspectly, keeping your eye in your head, waiting to feel your strength renewed daily. Be assured, your trials and temptations will be renewed, and if you be destitute of the heavenly daily bread, there will be a daily weakening, which will appear by your being overcome by such things, as once you had a power to stand against, which is a great grief to behold in many.

And now I come to warn you of a few things that have for some time lain upon me, to send among you; which I do in faithfulness recommend to the pure witness of God in all consciences, not as if I judged any; but this I must tell you, there is one that judgeth, and will give an answer in every one that listens to him, by which he may know how far any of these things have prevailed upon him; and he that judgeth, will also by judgment deliver them that are caught in satan's snares, if they do hearken and submit to his leadings.

1st. Take heed, my dear Friends, of holding the Truth in a bare formality, satisfying yourselves that you have for a long time owned the way of Truth, and the assemblies of the Lord's people, and appeared as they have done in all outward things, and have hereby obtained the repute to be one of them; and under these considerations sit down at ease, as to the inward man, unacquainted with the inward travails, either for thyself or others; unconcerned whether the noble plant grows, either in thyself, or in others. Oh! my Friends, this is a dangerous state, yea, more dangerous than my tongue or pen can declare; though so far as to clear myself, and to warn such, God will give me utterance.

Consider how thy poor soul is beguiled in this condition; for in the first place thou art deprived of that daily enjoyment which others do enjoy, in waiting upon the Lord. They feel his refreshing presence, which either fills them with joy and comfort, or else opens their understandings in the light to a certain knowledge of, and testimony against, such things as yet stand in the way, and hinder the joy of his salvation from them. But thou that sittest in a dry formality, without an inward travail upon thy spirit, thou knowest neither of these things, but goest on in the dark, not knowing whither thou goest, and so in time, thou being such a stranger to the powerful working of Truth in thyself, it grows to a question with thee, whether others do witness any such powerful workings, yea or nay. Every thing that is not experimental, is liable to question; as he that never saw, knows not what seeing is, and he that never smelt any thing, knows not what smelling is. So he that through long continuance in this formal manner of going to meetings, continues still unacquainted with the power, will at last be easily made to question whether there be such a power or no.

In this state the dark power will work insensibly, and prevail upon thy spirit, and fit thee for his own purpose, and will minister a secret liberty into thy mind, and a looseness, even as to the form itself, by degrees, and so will prepare thee against a time of some sharp, smart trial that will come to try thee, either in having something, or parting with something, which may be had or parted with, if thou wilt turn thy back on Truth. When this time of trial comes upon thee, then the strength and advantage that the enemy hath gotten upon thee in

the time of thy lukewarm, loose profession, are made manifest. Then thou art in great straits for a season. If the temptation be in having a wife, or husband, or a portion or legacy, or gaining a suit at law, or recovering a debt, or such like things; and the things cannot be had without letting the testimony of thy profession fall, by swearing, or going to a priest, or some other matter utterly contrary to thy profession, oh! what struggling is there in thy soul to obtain the thing thou desirest, and yet wouldst fain be reckoned a Friend still, and art loth to be publicly numbered among backsliders and apostates.

If the temptation and trial comes on the other side, in parting with any thing which thou lovest, for thy profession sake, as thy wife and children, thy liberty, thy money, thy cattle, thy house and land, or what else may be dear to thee, oh, how doth self work to save itself, and loth it is to part with the name and reputation of a friend of Truth, and as loth to part with any of these things for the Truth's sake, not feeling the hundred-fold in this time, which Christ spoke of, nor the life everlasting neither. Here is a day of great difficulty and distress, which is come, and is coming, upon many of such careless professors, in which they do stand in need of the help of the divine power of God to support them, and to give them victory. But alas, they are estranged from it, and now the form will not support in the hour of this great trial, but the flesh and blood consultings are grown strong for want of living in the daily cross; and that nature cries aloud in the ears of thy soul, which thou hast indulged and suffered to live. If thou considerest the Truth, and weighest the testimony of that against thy own will and desire, then thou easily seest which is of most weight with thee; for a false weight, and false balance, and false judgment, is got up in the time of thy careless profession, and then the old deceiver comes in, and tells thee, thou seest no evil in it, or at least not so much as on the contrary side; so that of two evils, it is wisdom to choose the least. Such like reasonings fill thy mind, till at last thy will being strong, and thy understanding darkened, thou takest up a resolution to hazard thy soul, and to part with thy dry, withered testimony which thou hast for a long time borne without life, and to embrace the price that is bidden for it, as Esau and Judas did, and so sellest the Truth which thou once followedst, and deliverest it, (as much as in thee lieth,) into the hands of its enemy, to be mocked, and reproached, and trampled upon.

This is the fruit and effect of a long carelessness and remissness, which thou thoughtest once would never have come to this. When the servants of the Lord have declared what sad effects such negligence would produce in time, thou hast been apt to bless thyself, and to reckon thou wouldst never run so far out, as publicly to bring reproach upon the way thou professedst. But, alas, thou little knowest that thy soul's enemy was all that while but preparing thee against the day of thy greatest trial, and as it were, unarming thee against the day of battle, that he might the more easily overcome thee. Now thou seest thou art fallen, when others being tried with the same temptations, stand and abide in their testimony. So mightest thou also, if thou hadst waited upon God as thou oughtest, in diligence for the renewing of thy strength. But now, alas, miserable man or woman, what wilt thou do? Thy cloak is now pulled off, thy fig-leaf profession is rent, and thou hast now but two ways. Well [will it be] if there be so many; to wit, to turn thy mind from the object of thy delight, to the Truth which thou hast sold for it, and by repentance and through judgment, to wait to see if God will be merciful to thee or no, and to spend thy days in sorrow and mourning, and to give up now at last to that work thou so much before slightedst Or else, to take the other way, and that is, to go on in thy rebellion against the light of Christ Jesus, and add sin to sin, until the custom of sin may take away the sense of judgment, and so thou mayest grow to a fleshy ease, and give over caring for thy future well-being; but like the beast that perisheth, set thy heart upon the things of this life for a little season, and then cometh the end. Thou who wert once called of God to an inheritance in his light, must now have thy portion in the utter darkness; and thou that wert once called to have been a vessel of honour, art now become a vessel of wrath fitted for destruction. My soul laments the condition of such, and glad would I be if any of these careless professors of Truth might be awakened before it be too late. However, I am thus far clear of their blood, and if they perish, the fault will be their own.

2dly. A second thing that lies upon me to warn you all of, my dear Friends, is to watch against the spirit of this world, lest it drink up your spirits too much, in an eager and greedy pursuit after the things of this world, which happens to several in divers manners to their great hurt and damage; and the snare lies deep and hidden, under a subtle covering. It is the duty of every man to take care for his family, and to be diligent in the calling God hath set him in, and to improve such opportunities as God pleaseth to put into his hand. But here the subtle enemy works to make the care immoderate, to turn the diligence to slavery, and the improving opportunities which God gives him, to a finding and searching out of opportunities, sometimes by indirect causes, and sometimes to the prejudice of his neighbour, and all

to try to satisfy a greedy desire after the heaping up of treasure in this world.

Through the earnestness of the affection that kindles daily more and more, after these things, a man comes in time to have the increase or decrease of these things to be the object of his joy or sorrow. Then he is miserable, for joy or sorrow are the highest faculties of the mind, and ought to be pitched upon the highest objects, and not upon transitory things under the sun, by which neither love nor hatred can be known. But alas how are many cast down at losses, and lifted up at profits and gains. Oh my Friends, take heed of this fickle and uncertain state, for while some have too much set their minds after the things of this world, they have erred from the faith, and have placed their trust in uncertain riches; and when they have taken their wings and fled away, their hope hath gone with them.

Therefore I beseech you, dear Friends, have a care of suffering your spirits to be sharpened and set on edge about these outward things; and take heed of enlarging your trade and traffic beyond your ability, and beyond your capacity, for both these evils have been the ruin of some. Every one that hath ability, hath not capacity for great things, and every one that hath capacity hath not ability; and where either of these are wanting, such ought to be content with such low and mean things as they are capable to manage, and able to reach, and not to bear themselves too much upon the one, and then seek by indirect means to make the other answerable; for no man knows the issue beforehand.

Therefore even in these things every one ought to wait to know the guidance of the Lord, and to be subject unto his will, though in a cross to their own; as the apostle said concerning them that said, We will go to yonder city, and we will buy and sell, and get gain; which were all lawful things in themselves; yet saith he, you ought to have said, if the Lord will. So he that saith, I will increase my trade, and enlarge my adventures, that my gain may thereby be enlarged; even in this he ought to say, if the Lord will.

Friends, wait to feel the governing hand of God in these things, to govern you in your affairs, that so he may as really be acknowledged by you, the Lord of earth as well as heaven, the ruler of your trading and dealings, as well as of your religion and profession.

3dly. Friends, I desire you to remember, that the crown of our profession was, that our yea was yea, and our nay was nay, and so it is still with all the faithful followers of the Truth; though too many have let in a false liberty since their first convincement, and have not that respect to their words as they ought to have, to the great dishonour of God, and grief of the righteous, and wounding their own souls. Oh! my Friends, let this be amended by every one that hath been overtaken in it, as you tender the honour of God, your own prosperity, and the good of others; for many stumblings have hereby been laid in the way of some who have been near to Truth, and they have fallen and been lost; but they that laid the stumblings, will not be found clear of their blood in the day of the Lord's inquisition.

Therefore, let all take heed for time to come, to be true to their word. For all who profess the Truth, do in a kind, pawn the Truth as much as in them lies, or at least their part in the Truth, every time they pass their promise, or sign a bill or obligation for any payment to be made at such a time as is mentioned in the said promise, bill, or obligation, and such a one hath now no power to dispense with the payment at the time appointed, without the consent of the party to whom he is so engaged. If he doth of himself delay, or deny payment, he forfeits what he pawned, namely his truth. Which of you having pawned your coat or cloak for the half of the value, to redeem it again on such a day, or to lose it, would not you be very careful to observe your day? But oh! of how much greater value is this pledge, when Truth lies at stake? I am sure they that truly love it, will have more care of it than of a cloak, coat, or any earthly thing.

Therefore the ways to prevent all such miscarriages, are to be taken notice of. In the first place, that none run themselves into necessities by indirect courses, as by overcharging themselves in trading, or in overbuying more than they are able to compass, or by suretyship, which makes a supposed debt, though uncertain, and therefore the more dangerous, because it may come upon you at unawares, before you are prepared for it. These things ought in wisdom to be prevented aforehand.

Also every one that upon a just occasion doth borrow, and doth pass his word upon the reputation of Truth, by promise, bill or obligation, ought at the same time to have something in his eye of most certainty, by which he shall be enabled to perform his word, and not to trust to returns of adventures, increase of crops, gains of trade, or others keeping their word with him, or any such like uncertainties, for if any do so, they may be in this snare of being unfaithful to their promise before they are aware. But although there is a kind of uncertainty in all these things below, yet where a man's truth and profession lies thus at pawn, and must be fetched home or forfeited, there ought, as I said before, to be something most certain in such a one's eye, by which he may save his word; as money that he knows to be at his demand, or

goods in possession, or lands that are free, and can be engaged if the worst come; for you will find more peace in conscience, and a better answering of Truth to make a new engagement of land or goods, than to break an old engagement of your truth and profession.

Dear Friends, my heart is very full in this matter, and much I could write hereof, but I spare you in love and good will, believing a word to the wise will be sufficient; for if a fool be brayed in a mortar, he will not depart from his foolishness. Therefore, dear Friends, be wise in all these things, that so ye may not be in bondage and slavery to the things of this life, but may have dominion, and reign over them according to your calling in Christ Jesus, that every one of you may wear your crown, and none may have cause justly against any of you, to say, such a one's yea is nay; for then he takes your crown and your pledge, which is hard to gain again. Friends, I write these things unto you in true love, and in a holy respect unto the holy name of God, that is made known among us. Therefore let not a cavilling wisdom rise up against the word of exhortation to apply it wrongfully; but in love and meekness let it be received, as from one that travails for your prosperity, and warns you of the snares of your soul's enemy.

4thly. Friends, the next thing that lies upon me, is in respect unto such as have been brought up and educated amongst us, and are grown up, and do make profession of the same way and truth in which they have been educated; that all such may take heed that they rest not in a bare educational form of the Truth, without having regard to their inward travail of the soul, and to their growth in the power of godliness. The snares of their soul's enemy lie deep in this matter, and his working is to draw their minds into the world, while their bodies and their public profession remain amongst Friends, and to keep them at ease and liberty from the daily cross, and from the crucifying power, by which they should travail to subdue that nature in themselves that is grown up in their youth, as well under this profession as under any other, where the power is not minded diligently.

By this means many are and remain unfitted for the testimony of Truth, wanting to be rooted and grounded in it, through an experimental warfare in their own particulars. For, my Friends, I say unto you in the word of the Lord, Except ye be born again, ye cannot see the kingdom of God; and if ye cannot see that, what availeth it what else you see? For all sight, vision, and opening of things will not save or deliver your souls in the day of trial that will come upon you for the trial of your faith. If your faith be such a one as stands in words and terms, though never so true, yet it will fail you in that day, and you will not be able to stand.

Therefore, dear Friends, sink down in lowliness and humility, and wait to feel the power revealed in you, which was revealed in us in the beginning, and join your minds to it, in a living faith, that you may come to experience its condemning power, to judge every vain thought and exalted desire, and every idle word and evil action; that so by the pure judgment of Truth you may come to witness a cleansing and a subduing of that nature that lusteth unto disobedience of the righteous law of God in your hearts. As that nature is kept under the daily cross, it will weaken and die daily in you; and the weaker it is made, the more you will feel of the powerful quickenings of the word of God in your souls, and a tender life will spring up in you, to your great comfort, that will be tender of the glory of God, and of the honour and reputation of your profession.

As you join herewith, you will be acquainted with the travails of the true Zion, the mother of us all, who brings not forth but through deep exercises; and although this will take you off from the delights and pleasures, and loftiness of this world, yet the end will repay all your sorrow and travail, for this will bring you to know the worth of Truth, and teach you to set a value upon it, and upon every testimony of it, beyond all transitory and fading things, whereas others who have lightly come by their profession, will lightly esteem it, and lightly let it go again.

Therefore, my travail and cry is, that you might be wise unto salvation; and for that end do I send this to you that ye might be brought to try your foundations, every one in yourselves, before it be tried for you, for then it will be too late to come to the true foundation, or at least it will be through greater hardship. When the cry at midnight is heard, and the time of entrance cometh, it will be too late to buy oil to your lamps, and then such as have a lamp and no oil, will be shut out. Therefore, prize your time, and examine yourselves, what reason you have in yourselves, to make profession of the name and way of God, more than that you were educated therein, and brought up to it by your parents, guardians, or masters.

Have you ever felt the heavenly virtue of it overshadowing your souls? And if you have, do you retain and keep the savour of it still upon your spirits? Do you feel yourselves possessed of that awe, fear and reverence of the Lord's presence which the Lord's people felt in the beginning of their day, and the faithful do still feel? Is the inward enjoyment of the life of Truth a greater joy to you than all your outward enjoyments? If so, then you will not sell

it, or part with it, for any thing in this world. The testimonies which such do bear for the Truth, will not be traditional, but from a sensible convincement in themselves, so that they will be able to say, these things have we received from the Lord, and they are the testimonies of God manifested to us in the light of his Son Christ Jesus, in whom we have believed. Oh Friends, how will this drive back the storm of temptations that will come, both inwardly and outwardly, in a time of trouble? How many are there who, for want of this experimental assurance in themselves, have been brought to great questionings and doubtings, and knew not whither to go, backward or forward, and many have halted and staggered, and some have fallen, and risen no more, to the ruin of themselves and others.

Therefore, my dear Friends, trust not to the resolutions of your own spirits, without a sense of the power, nor to a receiving the Truth by your education, but all wait to be made living and true witnesses of the rising of the power in your own hearts, and the carrying on of the power in yourselves, regenerating you, and bringing you to that birth that trusteth in nothing but in the Lord alone, and hath him for its support in the greatest exercises. Then shall ye stand and remain, and be a generation chosen of God, to bear his name and testimony, and to commit it to the next generation.

Fifthly. Friends, let the brotherly love that was sown in your hearts, as a precious seed in your first convincement, continue and increase daily, that as ye are made partakers of one hope of salvation in Christ Jesus, so ye may continue of one mind and heart, according to the working of his Spirit in you. Have a tender respect one for another, as children of one father, and as such as feed at one table; for Christ hath ordained, and doth ordain in all his churches, that we should love one another, that we should shun all occasions of offence and grief—that we should walk orderly, and as becomes his holy gospel, that we may be an honour thereunto, and a strength and comfort to one another. This is our great ordinance, our new commandment, which was also from the beginning, and will always abide the same through all generations. Therefore, my Friends and brethren, let the fruits of sincere and brotherly love abound amongst you both in word and deed, and let none be wanting in fulfilling the law of charity, without which all profession will be but like sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

But if this law be kept to, the life of religion will be felt, and each one will thereby be taught his duty and charge concerning another, and know how to comfort in charity, to admonish in charity, to reprove in charity, and also to receive all these in charity. This will exclude for ever all whispering and tale-bearing, and bring every one to deal plainly and uprightly with every one, not suffering sin to rest upon the soul of thy brother, but to deal with him quickly, plainly and tenderly, even as thou thyself wouldst be dealt withal; and however this kind of dealing be taken, thou shalt not miss of thy reward, but thy peace will remain with thee.

While Friends' eyes are fixed upon the power of God, as their guide and leader in all these things, and their design is simply God's glory, the clearing their own consciences, and the good of their brother, they will not be discouraged in their undertakings. They know the power will certainly come over whatsoever opposeth it, and this will keep your minds quiet and free from disturbances, when you see men, and things, and parties arise against the power, knowing that the power is an everlasting rock. But as for those things that appear against it, they are but for a season, in which season patience must be exercised, and the counsel of wisdom stood in, and then you will be kept from staggering, or from scattering by all the fair shows the spirit of opposition can make.

They that enjoy the life and substance, and feed daily of the bread that comes down from heaven, have a quick sense and discerning of things that are presented to them, and do know them that are of the earth earthly, by their earthly savour, from those that are of the heavenly with their heavenly savour. They know what feeds the head and the wit, and carnal reason, and what will nourish the immortal soul, and so come to be fixed, and are not ready to feed upon unsavoury food, or to be easily tossed, or to be troubled at evil tidings. They cannot be drawn after one thing or man by an affection, nor set against another man nor thing by a prejudice, but the true balance of a sound judgment, settled in the divine knowledge, according to the measure that the Father hath bestowed, keeps such steady in their way, both in respect to their own testimony and conversation, and also in respect to their dealing with others. Oh, my dear Friends, in such doth the Truth shine, and such are the true followers of Christ, and they are worthy to be followed, because their way is as a shining light, shining on towards the perfect day.

In this sure and steady way, my soul's desire is, you and I may walk, and continue walking, unto the end of our days, in all sobriety, truth, justice, righteousness and charity, as good examples in our day, and comfortable precedents in our end, to them that shall remain, that so we may deliver over all the testimonies of our Lord Jesus unto the succeeding generations, as pure, as certain, and as innocent as

we received them in the beginning; and in the end of all our labours, travels, trials and exercises, may lay down our heads in that sabbath of rest that remains always for the Lord's people.

This is the breathing desire that lives in me, for all you who have believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, in whose name, and in the sense of his power, and of the life he hath revealed in every member of his whole body, I salute you all, and bid you farewell.

STEPHEN CRISP.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends at Dantzic.

Amsterdam, this 19th of the Fifth month, 1680.

DEAR FRIENDS,—In the fellowship of that life that was before death was, do I dearly salute you, praying to the God and Father of life, that ye may be made livingly sensible of the increase of his power, grace and virtue from day to day, that as your trials and tribulations abound, you may really feel that Seed in yourselves for whose sake the trials and persecutions come. It was, and is, the Seed-birth of life that was and is persecuted and afflicted in all ages, as the apostles said; Against thy holy child Jesus have they done all these things. You know, my Friends, that before this birth in some measure did appear, you were at peace with the world, and the world with you; but when ye were turned from darkness to light, then the dark power began to work against you, and doth still work, and will work so long as its hour lasteth.

And what is the work thereof? Is it not to draw or drive you again to darkness, from the light to falsehood, to hypocrisy from truth, to death from life, all which in the light of life you comprehend and discern. By the operation of that love to God which he hath shed into your hearts by the Spirit of his Son, you are upholden and preserved in your testimony unto this day. By the faith which God hath given you, you have the evidence of things you do not yet see, and do enjoy the substance of the things you hope for, even immortality and eternal life, the first fruits whereof as an earnest are revealed by his spirit in your inward parts. By this faith it is that we know God will put the Seed's enemies under his feet, both inward and outward, according to his promise.

But, Friends, it is not the part of him that is a true believer to make haste, but to leave the times, seasons, ways and means to the Lord alone, whose will is to be done in earth as in heaven, and shall be done, in spite of all his enemies. Therefore, dear Friends, stand given up in the will of your God, who hath chosen and called you, to make known his name and power in you, and to let all his enemies know that he is able to support his children in the greatest exercises, by which his name in due time by others shall be acknowledged, as it is among you this day; for whose sake others have formerly suffered and laboured.

Dear Friends, keep your eye to the power of God, to which all things are possible, and look not too much upon the power of death and darkness, for if you do, you will be captivated in the natural sense, and so will be weakened. But diligently waiting upon God in the light of his Son, in whom he hath appeared to you, you will be so confirmed in the faith of his power, that you will be able to believe beyond what your natural sense can comprehend. Then feel you the life of the true Christians in all ages of Christendom, in which they have overcome and trampled upon all manner of sufferings, and even death itself.

My Friends, what is this life? What is this breath? What is this time that we have here on earth, but something given us of God wherewith he hath ordained that we should glorify him? If we love this life, and the things of it so much as not to part with it and them for his name's sake, then are we unworthy of him; but, my Friends, you have seen how the Lord your God hath dealt graciously with you, and hath not in a long time of suffering permitted the fierce waves to devour you, but that both you and your testimony are kept alive unto this day by a secret divine power, and it shall live and outlive your adversaries. Therefore be of good courage, the cause in which you are engaged is the Lord Jehovah's, who will arise for his name's sake in his own time, way and manner. You need not to take care how worm Jacob shall arise; your care is only to be faithful to what God hath made manifest to you, to keep your consciences free, though you should be bound, that your witness may live though you should die. The Lord knows how to raise his seed, and to support his servants.

My Friends, this I must say unto you, that since I came hither I have been truly refreshed in the account I have had out of your letters, and my heart is drawn forth in tender love to you; and were my body able to sustain travelling as it hath been, I should, I believe, come to see your faces. But I am much decayed in body, howbeit my spirit is at liberty, through the grace I have received of God, in which I both rejoice and suffer with the flock and heritage of God every where. This, my dear Friends, I lay upon you in the name of the Lord, even the same that our Lord hath laid upon us all, to wit, that ye love one another with sincere love, and that ye be of one mind, in all humility, bearing each others burdens, and washing each others feet, when need requires. Be

a strength one to another according to the ability which God hath given you, that so none may be lost by means of any one's laying stumbling blocks in their way; but if any will wilfully turn back, and cause the offence of the cross to cease, for the sake whereof you suffer tribulation, their condemnation may be wholly upon their own heads, and you may be kept perfectly clear of their blood.

The God of peace and of mercy be with you, and multiply his blessing upon you, and shine into all your souls, in the glorious manifestations of his presence, to your joy and comfort, amen.

Your friend and brother in the tribulation and patience of Christ, the head of the true body, which is his Church,

STEPHEN CRISP.

A BABYLONISH OPPOSER OF TRUTH, BY THE TRUTH REPROVED;

And his enmity, falsehood, and confusion manifested. In Answer to an impertinent paper sent abroad by Thomas Crisp; in which his false foundation is discovered, and his building brought upon his own head.

Written by a servant of Truth, and witness against lying and liars, Stephen Crisp.

THOMAS CRISP, thou or some other of thy party, having directed a printed paper to me, called Babel's builders unmasking themselves; I have read the same, and well considered the contents thereof, and do find, that not only a great deal of enmity, but also of falsehood and contradiction, is contained in it. When this is laid before thee in a spirit of love and tenderness, from one that seeks and desires thy salvation, perhaps it may have some effect upon thee, to the abating thy foolish rashness, and may bring thee to a better consideration of thy work, which is that I chiefly desire and aim at. I am not apt to meddle with things of this nature, having never loved controversy, for controversy's sake; but am one that satisfies myself in an assurance of faith in the power of the living God, believing it will break and confound all that rise up against it, as it hitherto hath done.

Now, considering the time in which thou hast published thy book against us, it seems to be the only time the devil could have taken, advantageously to work in the minds of people, a belief of our being in a hidden confederacy with Rome, when many of them of the Romish religion have, by their wicked works, rendered themselves obnoxious to the punishment of just law, and to the abhorrence of all good men. At such a time it is, that thou renderest us, the people called Quakers, to be at least half way in unity with them, having taken such a stride over to them, that such another may make us meet and embrace; as in page 9. And that our judgment, or the judgment which we take part with, is barefaced popery, as in page 14, and in divers other particulars in thy book. By all which, thou dost but show how willingly thou wouldst have us fallen upon as papists, or render us suspicious both to magistrates and the vulgar, by thy crooked insinuations, as dangerous persons to the true protestant religion.

Oh Thomas! he who hath set thee on work herein, and so timed thy book, is manifested in the sight of God to be the father of lies, with whom thou wilt certainly have thy reward, if thou repent not. When all is done of this kind, that thou and they can do, yet shall we appear in the sight of God, and in the sight of the magistrates, and in the sight of the men of this and after generations, to be in our principles and practice, and life too, at a further distance from that sort of men thou wouldst link us to, than ever your ranting libertine spirit will lead you. When you shall see us delivered from the evil you thought to bring upon us, and see our testimony shine over the heads of papists, and you too, and yourselves, for want of the divine assistance of God's power, crouch and truckle under, as you do already to the spirit of this world, then will you gnaw your tongues for very pain, and the reward of your enmity will come upon your own pates with a witness. Therefore, if there be yet a day, seek mercy and forgiveness at the hand of the Lord, before he comes to render his vengeance upon you for all your hard speeches which ungodlily you have spoken, written or printed against the Lord and his heritage; a people that fear his name, and walk in the light of his everlasting day, upon which your clouds and smoke can no more bring a night.

In the next place, I take notice of thy deceit and falsehood in this little book, which is grounded upon a lie, viz. "G. F., G. W. and A. P. have not denied the matter of the Barbadoes paper, they have not given one word of reproof to it, nor disowned the principles therein contained," &c. How notoriously false this is, every unbiassed reader may judge. First, they declare that this, meaning the matter or doctrine of the paper, would be the way to bring them all from the measure of the spirit in their own particulars. Is this not a word of reproof? Is this not a disowning the principle? It is well said, a liar had need of a good memory. Again, all are to give up to the universal spirit of God in their own particulars; what, is not this a disowning the position of the paper! Again, as to subscriptions to an outward tie, be above

such things, &c. we desire you would stop this paper from going any further, &c. What! not a word yet of reproof or disowning in all this, but G. F. &c. must bear the reflection of this position, as if he and they had been the authors of it: hath not thy enmity betrayed thy reason, and robbed thee of common justice and ingenuity too.

But thou objectest, page 11, that they are more afraid of the publication, than ashamed of the matter, &c. This seems to me a very silly allegation; for if the paper were so much according to G. F.'s &c. minds, yea, the very product of what we had laboured for a long time, what should make G. F. or any of us afraid of the publishing of it? Hath that ever been our practice, to be afraid to publish the conclusions and agreements of Friends and brethren, who, in the name and power of God, have concluded and agreed upon things that we knew would stand and be justifiable by God's witness, though we knew they would meet with opposition from bad spirits? What needed G. F. &c. care what bad spirits or apostates would say of the paper, if they got it; but only because we knew there was a ground given them so to say. We did not use to be afraid of what you can say to us or our papers, which are written in the true and divine authority of the power of God, which is over you all; but let them go abroad freely for you to say your worst of them, as knowing that barking at the sun or the moon cannot keep them from shining. It must needs appear that it was the dislike that G. F. &c. had to the paper that caused them to desire the stopping of it, more than for fear of the use you could make of it; and yet that fear not wholly excluded either, knowing that you might justly reflect upon it in some things which we could not stand by.

Thou seemest to be highly offended at the kind and friendly language of G. F. &c. in their paper, by which thou showest how little savour thou hast of the spirit of a true Christian, or Christian minister, who is to restore such as are overtaken in a fault, in the spirit of meekness. What if they said, we know you mind the best things; the letter being written to a body of people, dare you say that none of them do mind the best things; yea, they were that very day minding how they might keep down such loose libertines that had for a long time sought to disturb the peace of their Christian society; though they might possibly exceed in the method of proceeding with them by the arguments or influence of some few among them. What then? must they all be unfriended and denied brotherhood hereupon, and be written to, as wicked and ungodly, after thy uncharitable dealing.

And here thou seemest to quote my words, though fallaciously, to make a seeming opposition between us, that I said that the paper was not only ill worded, but ill meant. My words did not reflect at all upon the subscribers generally, as thou quotes them, but upon the contriver or drawer up of it; whoever it was, I feared it was not well meant in him or them, and I am still of the same mind. It is my desire, and the desire of us all, that every Friend may keep in a sense of the measure of the spirit of God in their own particulars, that in that they may feel their unity one with another, and with one another's testimonies; according to the ancient doctrine preached among us from the beginning. Those that keep in this sense, feel what flows from the universal spirit of Truth, and receive it in their own measures, from a sensible satisfaction in themselves, and not from an implicit subjection or blind obedience, as thou enviously intimates we aim to set up. If it should come to pass, that a thing should be declared from the motion of the spirit of God, and some particular Friend doth not presently have that sensible satisfaction in himself concerning the matter, what then? do you think that the measure of the spirit in himself, will stir him up to oppose it, and war against it? surely no; but it will teach him to wait in quietness upon God, who is the opener of the understanding, and doth by his spirit bring his people to the unity of the faith.

That sort of men whose quarrel thou hast so much espoused, are a sort of heady, unruly opposers of themselves, fierce despisers, who malign the prosperity of the Truth, and those that labour in it, aspersing both them and their labours with nicknames and reproachful speeches, and bloody and murderous insinuations and suggestions; and must all this be fathered upon the spirit of God? Oh, horrible darkness! Well may it be said night is upon you, and blindness is happened to you. Are not you ashamed to plead for the primitive doctrine of Truth as it was practised among us in the beginning, that every one should keep to the measure of light and grace given them of God? when thou seest before thy eyes, whither J. P. and M. P. are come; and may see if thou wilt, whither thyself, and many more of thy loose libertine associates are coming. What! did the measure of the grace of God in the beginning teach a conformity to the world in ribands, lace, pendants, bowings, compliments, paying tithes, and marrying with the priests? &c.* Did the spirit of God in the beginning,

* The 8th month, 1681.—Thomas Crisp said, that he had paid tithes lately, and that the spirit of God did or might allow him to pay tithes, or marry by a priest: and that by the same spirit of God, another might be required not to pay them, or not to do the same things.

This, Thomas Crisp spoke the month and year above-said; and consented to be written and printed; and took

teach such an industrious improving of failings and weaknesses, such a raking for evil things, such heaping up accusations, such rendering of them that fear God obnoxious both to reproach and sufferings? Nay, nay, Thomas, this is the spirit of the world, entered in another appearance, and hadst thou and they been faithful to the real gift and grace of God, it would have preserved you from it.

Concerning that disingenuous manner of reflecting, which thou frequently uses, I hope thou wilt meet with a sufficient reproof in thyself for it, and therefore shall not say much, only to put thee in mind, to see if thou would be so dealt by. As where thou supposest our meanings, and then comments upon thine own suppositions; as that "G. F. &c. mean by the universal spirit, that spirit that set up these orders and meetings; and I take it to be meant the judgment of the ruling party, or Foxonians, &c. And he seems to place more virtue and power in conforming to his orders of women's meetings, than in all faith and fruits of the spirit, &c." Hast thou here dealt like an ingenuous adversary? I say not a Friend. Nay, many that never knew Truth, would scorn such a kind of treating us; but enmity is blind. I pray God if it be his will, open thy eyes to see thine own state, and then thou wilt know that G. F. &c. have deserved to be better treated at thy hands.

But one thing I marvel at, and that is, how this author T. C. should labour so much to make his reader believe G. F. &c. their owning the matter of the paper, and rendering the consequences thereof to be the very doctrine and government that he hath laboured to set up, upon which he hath fixed so many heinous names, as clear evidence of apostacy and ambition, p. 7. "This unlimited power, the pope's yoke, a making men slaves and vassals, p. 9, arbitrary, unlimited power, implicit, blind, and unacceptable obedience," p. 10. "The judgment of the ruling party, or Foxonians among the Quakers," p. 11, and so on to the 12th page. Then he tells his reader a quite contrary story, and acquits G. F. &c. again of the matter charged, and tells us that G. F. differs from the subscribers of the paper. "G. F. &c. have borne their testimony against their subscription;" for G. F. &c. say, This would make the belief which is in the Light, and the measure of the spirit in their own particulars, not one with the universal spirit, &c. And then T. C. adds as an amen to G. F.'s position, Indeed so it does. Could any one that had read this book, have thought the author should before he had done, have acquiesced with G. F. &c. and cleared him of his high charge he had laid. He who had so endeavoured to make folks believe that the answer was but a seeming one, an answer for fashion sake, for fear the paper should be published, not one word of reproof, no denial in fact, but G. F. and they all one in the judgment and sense of the paper, &c. I say, who would have thought the same should tell us that G. F. &c. differ from the subscribers, and that in a most capital point of their paper, and tell them, their paper would make the faith, and the measure in which it stands, not one with the universal spirit, &c. It is well truth is come, though almost at last. Who is Babel's builder now, Thomas? Hast thou not played the foolish woman, that pulled down her house with her own hands? But as if thou had herein spoken too much truth, thou seekest to bury it again with three or four palpable lies in the next page.

First, "G. F. seemingly disowns the paper, yet owns it too."

Secondly, "The whole scope of their letter is, that they are only dissatified with the wording of it."

Thirdly, "That we have nothing against them we call opposers, but their not submitting to G. F.'s orders without conviction."

Fourthly, "That G. F. &c. does not at all contradict the principles in the paper, only the subscribing of it," p. 13.

Is not this strange work, that thou shouldest set thy name to such notorious untruths, and things wherein thou thyself showest every body how to contradict thee too. First tell them that G. F. &c. differ from the subscribers; and wherein, even in such a principle of their paper, as thou differest from them in, and indeed I too: and then to tell them that G. F. does not at all contradict the principles, &c. This is even sad work, to see men grope at noon day, that might have enjoyed the light of the sun as well as others, if they had kept the love and fear of God in their hearts.

I intend not at present to bestow much more pains about this matter; the foundation upon which it was built being discovered to be enmity and falsehood, the structure cannot stand. In the mean time, glad should I be that thou, or some of you, may sink down into coolness, and remember whence you are fallen and falling, and what a spirit is entered you, that is refreshed at any thing that is a grief to the innocent people of God, and are fretting and grieving at that which is our greatest joy and comfort, in which many among you sometime did partake with us, I say, when ye see what spirit this is that hath prevailed upon you, it will make you wish you had not wandered from the flock, nor the shepherd's tents, though it may be, when it is too late. Therefore, you that have time, prize it; the Lord's day is come,

a copy of the abovesaid words with him. Witness, J. Field, jun.

and his judgment hastens, and he will decide the controversy.

As for S. E.'s paper which thou puttest in the end of thy book, we look upon it to be more a fruit of a general enmity against us as a people, than any particular grudge against S. E. We see how thou improvest it; and at last with a bold-faced lie chargest us generally with it, saying, these things are covered, excused, or justified? Who among us have either covered, excused or justified S. E.'s paper? I never knew any, and I believe thou neither; but on the contrary, divers did testify against it before it was done, and after it was done, before it could be outwardly known whether it would be true or no. But he did give out such a paper to his own hurt and sorrow, and to the grieving of many; and it serves thee and you for food and nourishment, and for a stone to stumble upon. Alas, what will you gain by it? Do you think to make this conclusion, S. E. was mistaken, and wrote that as the word of the Lord that was his own word, and became his own burden; ergo, G. F. and the people called Quakers, are led by a wrong spirit, and will and must fall. Do you think this would not be sorry arguing, if turned upon yourselves? But I let it pass, and leave it to your better considerations. Seeing thou hast published S. E.'s letter to J. S. in which the offence lies, here followeth his own testimony against himself and it long since, which though I know it will not satisfy those that seek occasions of stumbling, yet it may be a help to the simple in heart, and a warning to all that may be tempted in like manner.

As I was sitting waiting upon the Lord, on the 29th instant, these things rose in my heart, that I should acknowledge my offence to all the brethren in London and thereabouts, and Bristol, and to all the brethren north and south, that have been witnesses against the spirit of separation. I am to let you know, that it doth truly repent me, and sorely grieve me, that you that do bear a faithful testimony for God, should have any prophecy thrown at you, which I spoke to John Story in an angry spirit. I do therefore acknowledge, as I have signified in my last paper, about two years ago, that I have had little rest day or night, at times, ever since I spoke these words to John Story, [that it was the word of the Lord, that he should die that year,] which were mine own words, and soon became my burden, and were spoken in the dark, and darkness was upon my spirit, and so, under a strong temptation, which I was suffered to fall into, I not standing in the counsel of God; for which I bore God's indignation. But I soon saw I should have gone to him in a meek spirit, to beseech him to be reconciled to his brethren. But I do judge and condemn that hasty spirit, that set time for his dying and called it the word of the Lord, and do desire this may go as far as wherever it may have a service for Truth. S. E.

Barbadoes, the 30th of the 3rd month, 1681.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends in Norwich.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren, whom God hath called to the fellowship of his blessed gospel, to partake of the cross and sufferings that remain to be fulfilled in the body of Christ, my spirit is led forth in the tender love of God, to visit you with a few lines by way of salutation, that ye may be comforted in all manner of tribulations; and to put you in mind of the great sufferings under which the precious seed hath long lain, when ye were strangers to it; and how all your iniquities were borne in those days, and the patience and long suffering of God were lengthened out for his seed's sake, and many of you were made sensible in some measure of the weights and burdens. Some had power given them to cry for deliverance, and sought it many ways, but could not find it; and that increased the cry; and the sorrows of those times were very great to them that were most sensible of their state.

And in an acceptable day did the Lord God make known unto you, that he had heard your cry, and had pitied your case, and gave you a gentle visitation of his love, and opened that eye in you, which the god of this world had blinded; and then you could see the gospel shine. He sent his ministers and messengers among you, to preach the gospel of eternal life, in the name, power and spirit of Christ Jesus, whose message ye received, being prepared by the inward working of his power. As many as received this testimony, received therewith the hope of eternal life, that should arise and spring up unto you through death, that was to come upon all that was corruptible.

From that time the seat of the beast began to fall, and the birth that had its life in the corruptible things fell in pain, and the true seed was refreshed, and hope and consolation were ministered to your immortal souls. This hope was the occasion of your not being ashamed of the cross of Christ; but obtained inward courage to bear an outward and visible testimony to his name and power, who was thus come to work your deliverance; and you thought it worth your while to wait upon him. Yea, you saw no other way for the completing the good work which he had begun, but to depend and wait upon him; that he that had been the Alpha, might be known to be the Omega. Hereupon a godly resolution was raised in you, not only

to begin, but to go on, and to hold out to the end in this good work; and the daily comforts, nourishments and illuminations that you met withal from his hand, did strengthen and confirm you in this your godly resolution and practice; whereby ye grew strong in the Lord, and were as a well-watered garden; and the Lord distributed the gifts of his Holy Spirit among you, and his loving kindness abounded unto you, and he knit you up together in the unity of his spirit, according to your measures who were faithful to him, and put beauty upon you, and ye became a people to his praise.

Now, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters, it was not to be expected but while all this was bringing to pass, the enemy of mankind and of the Truth, would rage and be angry, and seek a time to show his old enmity against the work of the Lord. You know he struggled hard divers times, but was limited by him that hath all power in his hand, who doth still limit him. So far as he permits and suffers his dark agents to proceed against his work, and against you for his work's sake, is but for a purpose of his own glory, and of your consolation. For it had been as easy for him to have kept them in as formerly; but he that hath given you to believe in his name, will also give you power to suffer, that so through patient enduring your part in the sufferings and tribulations of the body of Christ, ye may plentifully partake of the joy and glory that is afterward to be revealed. For as many of you as abide faithful in the time of these light afflictions, will see a far more exceeding weight of glory brought forth, and shall feel your share and portion in it.

Therefore, my dear Friends, look not out at satan or his instruments, but comprehend them in the light of your Saviour, and you will see them limited as the sea, that thus far shall they go, and no farther. So far as they have power to go, let no man grudge it, but acknowledge as our Lord did in the day of his sufferings, when brought before Pilate, thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above. Keep your eye to that which is above all Herods, Pilates, Judases, and High Priests, to the eternal power by which you were called of God, to bear a testimony for his name in your day; and as long as ye feel this power sustaining you, ye cannot be weary, but rather rejoice, yea leap for joy, considering the crown of your calling, and that ye are counted worthy to suffer for the name's sake of him that died for us, and that is risen again, and reigneth for evermore. If we suffer with him, and abide faithful to the end, we know we shall reign with him for ever; and not only so, but even in this life, he will make a way and deliver his people, and crown them with victory after their sufficient trials.

Concerning the outward goods and sustenance of this life, dear Friends, observe the command of our Lord, to take care but for one day at once, and he will give sufficient for that. His purpose is to wean you from the visible dependencies, that ye may with the more brightness and clearness embrace the true riches. Therefore, it will be good for every one to contract all their outward affairs into as narrow a compass as may be, and to owe no man any thing but love, and to let that have a free passage, even to their persecutors. So with a clear and a free spirit, you may behold all things here below, without joy in their increase, or sorrow in their decrease; giving up yourselves and yours into the hand of God, who cares for you, and who hath not let forth the wrath of man upon you in his anger, but for the trial of your faith, which is more precious than gold or outward goods. As for them, the loss will be rewarded in this life an hundred fold, besides an inestimable treasure laid up in heaven. God Almighty keep you low and tender of his glory, and furnish you with patience, wisdom, and with every good work.

This is the earnest prayer and breathing of life for you all, in your friend and brother in the fellowship of the gospel of peace,

STEPHEN CRISP.

An Epistle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends in Amsterdam.

DEAR FRIENDS,—To you who are kept alive to God in your several measures of his grace and Truth, is the remembrance of my love in a heavenly band, in which my life reaches you, rejoicing with you in your rejoicings, and suffering with you in all your sufferings. My tender advice to you is, that you dwell in the Seed that gives you life, and renews it in you daily; and in this you will have wisdom to judge, and strength to bear the contradiction of sinners, as he did in the days of his flesh, and doth still in his members. In this seed, Christ Jesus, is your victory; for he shall overcome, and his enemies shall be his footstool; and every one that riseth up against him and his power, shall be confounded and brought to nought; for it is given to this Seed to break the head of the other seed. Therefore it hath been his policy from the beginning, to put his head that was to be broken, under something or other, that had a show of holiness and righteousness, that he might save his head. And while he is there, he hath his time to bruise the heel of the true seed, and grieve and hurt the just, and to make the hindermost of the flock to halt, and to walk lamely and staggering; but when the covering comes to be rent, and his head appears as it is, then he cannot do so much harm. But it is a

time for the true seed to show his power, according to promise, and to break it in pieces; so if ye live in the faith of the seed, ye shall see the fulfilling to your joy and comfort.

Dear Friends, be not dismayed or discouraged, when you see this evil seed put up its head in any, where it hath been long covered; for know this assuredly, the serpent can do less harm when manifest, than he can do when covered. It is the working of the power and spirit of the true Seed, that rends the coverings, and makes a discovery of the evil ground which was hidden for a time; but when it is manifest, then it brings forth according to its own nature, wrath and bitterness, clamour and reproach, and foams out its own shame. Such grow fierce, despisers of those that are good; heady, unruly, not easily entreated. By their fruits ye may know them; such were in the primitive days, and such are now; but the power and life of the true Seed was over them then, and so it is now. Therefore, live in that innocent life, above the striving, reasoning nature, and meet in the name of Jesus, the Seed of promise, and ye shall feel first the promise; and as ye lay hold of that by faith, ye will wait for the fulfilling, and in time the power will arise, and you will see the fulfilling, and that head broken, which is put up against the anointing. Then your joy will be full, and praises will be offered to God through him that hath received all power in heaven and earth, to whom belong the kingdom, the power and the glory, for evermore.

STEPHEN CRISP.

A FAITHFUL WARNING AND EXHORTATION TO FRIENDS, TO BEWARE OF SEDUCING SPIRITS,

And to keep on the armour of light in simplicity and sincerity, as their best armour in all trials.

Written by a lover of sincerity, and a travailer for Zion's redemption, and for the removing of all oppressions from off the souls of them who have believed; Stephen Crisp.

DEAR FRIENDS,—You know that God in his infinite love hath visited us with a very glorious day, in which his Sun of righteousness is so risen upon us, that the heavenly warmth thereof hath quickened and enlightened us, and made us to stand up and serve him in our day and generation. The virtue of that blessed life in Christ Jesus being revealed in the souls of them who have truly believed, hath given them great power over death, and hath made them able to grapple with satan in all his diverse appearances, and to overcome him; so that which way soever he hath hitherto sought to eclipse the glory and brightness of this great and notable day of the Lord, he hath hitherto been frustrated in his purpose, and his instruments have been made ashamed of their work. For all that are true children of the day, do find that their standing is by faith, and not by knowledge, and are by their faith kept in a holy dependance upon the power of him that can overcome all things, and bring them under; so that whatever doth arise against the Truth, the faith of them that are in it lets them, even in the beginning of it, see to the end of it, and gives them a certainty in themselves, by which they are settled in patient and quiet waiting to see the thing they believe, brought to pass. This is their victory, even their faith, and they who dwell in this faith are not weary, neither do they faint in all the various exercises they meet with by the way, but can endure contradiction without discouragement, knowing that whatever it is that riseth up against the power and purpose of God, shall in time be laid low.

This is the same faith that was once delivered to the saints, in the primitive days, when Christ the resurrection and the life was preached unto them, in whom they believed, and by whom they were enabled both to do and to suffer what his will was, and to withstand the torrent and sea of contradictions they then met withal. And the word of God grew mightily, and their zeal and courage grew for the name of God, so that no stratagem devised against them could prosper, as long as they kept in the simplicity of the gospel, and held their faith which they had in a pure conscience. Here were their great fortifications, that made them so prevalent and immutable, viz.: simplicity and cleanness of mind; and as long as this continued, they continued of one heart and mind, glorifying God, and building up one another, and comforting one another, and were as epistles written in one another's hearts.

When the devil saw that it was impossible to stop this glorious work of God by all he could do, by stirring up the priests and rulers against them, but their strength was in the Lord, they standing in their simplicity and pureness of mind; then the adversary sought out ways, means and instruments, how to disturb their progress, by drawing one or other among themselves from that simplicity of the gospel of Christ, in which they had been of one heart, and had believed and practised the same things, without vain disputations.

Having found some unstable souls fit for his purpose, he wrought powerfully in them to move questions, which had a tendency to draw others forth to striving about the question; then one would have it thus, and the other would maintain it to be so, neither of them minding whether the question itself tended to the use of edifying the church. But a great stir was quickly raised, and that about some few Jew-

ish rights, and about some right or wrong descents of genealogies; one would prove it thus, and the other so. Here was a door opened to let in the carnal wisdom to be the weapons of this war, by which the pure innocent minds of many were corrupted, and some whole households subverted. When the devil had thus far prevailed, he went on further, and gave courage to some of these his high minded, heady, unruly servants to go abroad through the churches, and preach up these his questions as doctrines, and to seduce and draw away all they could from the simplicity of the gospel.

These were so prevalent as to bewitch and betray many; so that they were emboldened to withstand the true apostles in that glorious work in which Christ Jesus had employed them; so that now a great deal of their work was to warn the poor flock of Christ of these wolves in sheeps' clothing, and to give out testimonies of their own sincerity, and against these deceitful workers, and to open and unfold the mysterious working of that evil spirit, and how it wrought cunningly to make void the offence of the cross, that they might carry on the name and outward profession of Christianity, with more reputation and less reproach than at the first. This was the design, to get the Christians into a false liberty, and to loosen their hearts from that sincerity and watchfulness which was taught them in the beginning. To what a height the serpent carried on his work in that day, you may read at large in the scriptures of Truth, and what sad and woeful work it made in Corinth, in Galatia, in Smyrna, in Thyatira, and in Laodicea, and also in Achaia; and what sorrow and labour it cost the good apostles, and how the good spirit was grieved by these things, and the hearts of the righteous made sad thereby.

Yet the enemy had in those days another stratagem as bad as all the rest, whereby he thought to lay waste the work of God. For after the gospel came to spread abroad, and many were convinced, both Jews and Gentiles, many Greeks also came to acknowledge the truth, who had been great seekers after natural wisdom, and had sought to fathom natural causes and effects, and had studied many curious arts, and philosophical strains and methods, which suited well with their heathenish worship and religion, for them to endeavour to find out the benevolent or malevolent influences of Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, or other of the gods whom they worshipped.

But when they came to the acknowledgment of the one only true and living God, the creator of all, and of Jesus Christ whom he had sent, then they found their curious arts needless, and their books fit for nothing but the fire, and burnt in one city as many as were worth 50,000 pieces of silver. But alas! the spirit that made use of them was not burnt in several, but wrought cunningly to bring many of those their tricks and quirks in among the poor believers, and endeavoured to make them believe they were such knowing men, and had rare things to acquaint them with, far beyond the apostles. Then they went to work with the opposition of science, as they falsely called it, and then things must be questioned and disputed that had not a philosophic or natural reason, to demonstrate to the senses or understanding. Hereby was the faith of some made void, and many were spoiled of their sincerity and uprightness by these vain deceits, and then came in looseness in conversation. Then a Nicholas with his ranterism; a Jezebel with her pretended loose and wanton prophecies; a Balaam with his covetous design upon the people, might find some to side with them; for the holy tie and covenant of their religion, of bearing a daily cross, was broken; but alas! alas! the effect of these things was very lamentable.

Dear Friends, having briefly touched at these things, and set these proceedings of satan against the Truth among the primitive Christians before you, I now come to tell you in great plainness and sincerity, what hath for some months lain upon my mind relating to this subject, and concerning the day in which we live, and the dispensation of that everlasting gospel which is now preached again unto us, in which we found the very same blessed effects as they did. For when we had believed therein, it brought us into great simplicity, and into cleanness of mind, and into an unfeigned love and unity one with another; and from what parts or countries soever we came, we all spake the same things, and the quirking, querying, disputing wit was brought down, and cast out from among us. Though we could query and dispute with the opposers that were without, in defence of the Truth, yet we had then no such occasion among them that professed Truth. We were of one heart, and mind, and judgment, and in that universal love we laboured to build up one another in our most holy faith, and to publish and make known the blessed name of Jesus, in whom we had believed. Many were daily added to the church, and came to partake of the same faith, and of the same love, and grew into the same simplicity of mind, wherein we found a harmonious rejoicing in spirit, whenever we saw one another. In this state the Truth preserved us, and our faith was firm in that name and power by which we were called, that the Lord would go before us, and prosper us in his blessed way, in which he caused our souls to take great delight, and take up the daily cross cheerfully, and deny ourselves for the sake of him that had called us.

But the old enemy of Truth envied this our

tranquillity quickly, and began to work in some where he found a ground to work in, and sought to lead them from the simplicity of the Truth, and to exalt their minds in the sight of things opened by the Truth, and so did not abide in the tender fear of God, and in the humility of the innocent seed, but flew up in airy notions and imaginations. Some [went] into a false liberty, and others into strange imaginations of their own growth to some high state, and so grew heady and unruly, and were hardened against exhortations; rather judging themselves fit to teach, than to be taught. These drew several after them through an affection that was not subject to the cross, and became an occasion of offence and stumbling to many who were inquiring after the way of the Lord, and a great exercise and sorrow to such as kept in the travail and labour for Sion's redemption. But those that abode in the faith, knew that the power in which they had believed would arise, and crush down and bruise that lofty, airy spirit, and all that abode in it, and did not repent and return to their first love, and do their first works. And according as we believed it came to pass: their works with which they sought to amuse and astonish the nations, were confounded and brought to nought; and divers that did adhere and cleave to that spirit, were lost and scattered, and grew into profaneness and uncleanness, and strove against the power of God that wrought in his people to reclaim and regain them, till at length the very power of God turned against them, and cut them off who had been the troublers.

Yet did not the serpent leave off attempting to betray the innocent, but found out other instruments fit for his purpose, whom he raised up under pretence of some new discoveries, accompanied with a voluntary humility, and a seeming self-denial, when indeed, the design was to exalt self, and man's work, wit and reason, above the eternal power of God, and through feigned pretences, to obtain a dominion over the heritage of God, and to impose and obtrude upon them things which were not taught by the living spirit of Christ Jesus in themselves, nor had been received by doctrine or message from the true spiritual labourers in the gospel. By this means the minds of many were betrayed, and they were exercised in contending about some outward signs or tokens of their separation, till the weighty matter they should have minded, viz. how to be kept in the love of God, and in the heavenly unity, was in many lost and forgotten. Instead thereof, a secret root of bitterness grew up, and a hatred against the prosperity of the church of God, and the faithful servants and ministers of it, insomuch that they lost the very sense of God's blessed presence amongst us, and reckoned he had forsaken us.

Thereupon many of them also forsook us, and were as another people, and were puffed up with great expectations of our downfall, and their own exaltation, and began to spread their design of separation into other nations, to the hurt of many who were deceived by them. But the tender love of God, that had wrought in the hearts of the faithful labourers and ministers of the gospel, to the gathering them out of the world, now wrought again effectually, to gather many of them out of this self-separation, and with great patience and long suffering, did we travail and labour with many. The Lord beheld our sincerity and care, and blessed his work in our hands, so that the eyes of many were opened to see the crafty snares by which they were entangled, and power was given them of God, to break through and testify against the crafty wiles of them that had deceived them.

The Lord arose in his great and mighty power, in and among his people, and set an eternal judgment on the head of that spirit, and its work of dissention and separation that it had wrought; and it could then proceed no further, but withered and came to nought. Those who wilfully resisted the offers of the love of God, and of his people, grew more and more corrupt, and perished wholly from the way of the Lord, and the society of his people, and turned back, some into the world's worship and religions, and others into the gross pollutions that are therein. The churches of Christ, who stood faithful and true to the leading of his spirit, came to have rest from that extreme labour and travail which they had lain several years under, by reason of these things; and God fulfilled the prophecies of divers of his faithful servants, who by their faith had seen, and by the spirit had testified at the beginning of that spirit's work, what the end of it should be. Many there were who saw, that it was from the earth, and thither it would return; and there it was swallowed up, and all its substance; and as many as refused to be warned, perished with it. Then did the souls of the faithful give glory and honour to God, in whose hand is power and dominion, and he reigns on high in his strength, and is king of saints, and the defence of his Sion, now, henceforth, and for evermore.

These exercises stirred up all the faithful to great vigilance and watchfulness, for the keeping the enemy out for the future, at least, as much as in them lay. Those that were faithful and ancient Friends, both men and women, found it incumbent upon them to meet together to watch over the flock, and to see to the conversations of them who professed the Truth, that it might answer their profession, and where the contrary appeared, to deal with them, and to reclaim them, if possible, or else to deny them, and to clear Truth and Friends of them,

nd their disorderly courses. In this good work
ne Lord blessed them, and showed his presence
mong them, and gave them wisdom and under-
tanding.

They took care of the widows and father-
ss, of the poor and afflicted families among
em, and had the care upon them concerning
arriages, that none might come together in a
isorderly manner, but that all things might be
lear on either side, and the consent of parents
ight be obtained before marriage, and that all
hings might be kept in good order, and savoury
n the sight of God and men. Divers epistles
ere written from several elder brethren for
heir encouragement and direction in this good
ork; for we knew it was God's work, and
ould tend to the limiting of loose and unruly
pirits, who sought liberty more than sincerity;
nd sensuality, more than Christ's government,
nd their subjection to the divine power of God.
When some exalted spirits came to see unto
hat this work would tend, they took offence
hereat, and sought to weaken the hands of the
aithful Friends in this good work, under pre-
ence, that all must be left to the witness of God;
nd if people did not find judgment in them-
elves for what they did, they must not be judged
y others, being themselves gone from Truth's
udgment and hardened: then they cried out
f innovation and imposition, and such like.

Hereupon were many again seduced and sub-
erted, and drawn away from their steadfast-
ess in the Truth, and began to appear against
he good order of the Lord's people, and to re-
lect upon the godly care that lay upon them,
ith unhandsome and unsavoury speeches and
ritings, till a secret root of bitterness and
nmity got into several that had been con-
inced. In this root the enemy wrought with
reat craft and subtlety, to draw them from the
lessed unity that is in Christ Jesus, the true
ead of the true church, and begat them into
nany jealousies and groundless fears of an
postacy, while in the meantime he drew them
o far to apostatize from their first love and first
orks, that they proceeded to expose Friends
oth in particular and in general, to the reproach
nd scorn of the world, as much as in them lay.

All which was borne and suffered with much
ong suffering and patience, and a great travail
ay upon many to endeavour the reducement of
hem that did thus oppose themselves. For we
new our sincerity, and knew that the Lord
ould stand by us, and bless our work and labour
f love, and blast their work of enmity, and that
heir striving against the Lord and his blessed
ork in the hand of his innocent people, neither
ould nor could prosper. We doubted not at
ll, but he that had stood by us, and helped us
rom the beginning, would still stand by us, and
ive his Truth and people the victory over every
tongue and pen that rose up in judgment against
us, as he hath done to this day. Their work
is manifest, and they can proceed no further,
blessed be his name for ever.

Now, dear Friends, I have made this brief
relation of the forementioned passages, that they
that are young in the Truth may see, and they
that are older may be put in mind, how the old
adversary of Truth has already wrought in
this our day, and what hath been the end and
tendency of his work in all his various appear-
ances, even as in the primitive days, to stop the
bright shining of the gospel, if he could. And
whereas he is not able to do that, his next work
is to see whom he may devour, that is, whom
he may so ensnare and entrap with his subtle
baits and and gins, as that he may, first, draw
them from the simplicity of the Truth; next,
into an exaltedness in knowledge; then, into
prejudice and enmity against those that stand
in the way to hinder their exalted notions. By
this time he hath taught them to break the law
of charity, and to think evilly of the upright,
and to disesteem the blessed unity and fellow-
ship that is in the Truth, and then they are
fitted for schism and separation upon one spe-
cious pretence or another. Therefore, how
watchful ought every one to be, for the keeping
out this destroying spirit, which hath brought
several already to that pitch of enmity and de-
fiance to the Truth and people of God, that if
it had been told them in the days of their tender
convincement, they would have been ready to
say with Hazael, is thy servant a dog that he
should do these things?

Friends, know this for certain, that satan is
still working, and seeks to winnow you; and
where there doth remain, after a long convince-
ment, a lightness and an airiness in any, such
are easily driven with his pernicious winds. To
this purpose he hath stirred up some in several
cities and countries, such as he knows are fit
for his purpose, who never knew a real mortifi-
cation upon that earthly, sensual wisdom, that
is from beneath, but have too much saved that
alive in themselves, which God did in their first
convincement pass a sentence of death upon.
These, as they cannot reach to a partaking of
the life of Truth in themselves, no more can
they reach or attain to the hidden mystery of
the unity that the Lord's people have one with
another in that life of Truth, but another life
and power they have, and in it they grow head-
strong and fierce, despisers of them that are
born of the spirit, yea, they grow in wisdom
from one degree to another, but it is neither
pure nor peaceable, gentle, nor easy to be en-
treated. By their fruits ye may know them;
for from this wisdom are they often found start-
ing some subtle and abstruse questions, to amuse
the minds of the simple, and to cause the weak

in the faith to err, and to draw away unstable souls after them, as if they had brought forth some new discoveries; and then here is work for disputing wits, by all which, the minds are drawn further and further from the true watchfulness, that becomes those that have such an enemy to deal with.

Hence it is that all those janglings are sprung about the forbidden fruit, what it was, and whether good for food, or not good for food; upon which some have closed with that primitive and first error, with which Eve was ensnared, and have judged it good for food; yea, and have fed upon it too, till their knowledge hath grown greater in the evil than in the good. Hence it is that another starts questions about the mortality or immortality of the soul. Another, of the state of the soul after the death of the body, whether it abides a singular essence, or ceaseth to have any singular essence or being. Another about the state of the body after death. Another about how many bodies one and the same soul may or must have at sundry times. Another, how long the wicked men or angels must endure the wrath of God for rebellion. Another comes forth and says, there is no such thing as wrath or anger in God, and all that is written thereof in the holy scriptures is but metaphorically spoken. Many more such like fancies and doting questions, doth this birth bring forth for the trial of your faith and steadfastness in the Truth, by which the enemy is, as I said, trying and winnowing, to see where he may meet with his own, and may deceive and draw away some from the faith and unity, and teach them some other way and doctrine besides the narrow way of regeneration.

Now, my dear and well-beloved in the Lord, you are witnesses unto this day in how great simplicity and plainness of speech we have preached the word of God among you, from the day the Lord sent us forth to this day. We came not unto you with enticing words, we needed not logical or philosophical demonstrations; for our testimony had the demonstration and evidence of the spirit of Truth in your hearts, and our words, or the word of God in our mouths, hath not altered nor changed unto this day, but remains the same it ever was. The great doctrine of the gospel was and is regeneration, without which there is no entrance. The only means and way to attain it, was and is that light and grace that comes by Jesus Christ, and sanctifies, and purifies, and brings to him, by whom the entrance is ministered into the kingdom. These things have we declared, and these things ye have believed, and in this faith are many of our faithful brethren fallen asleep, and their precious souls are at rest with the Lord. And herein, if ye abide steadfast to the end, ye shall do well.

And, as concerning all such who seek to trouble any of your minds with the things above-mentioned, or any subtle and crafty questions, keep you your habitations in the power of God, and you will daily come more and more to discern the tendency of them. It is a spirit that works against the cross, and seeks to cause the offence of it to cease, that they might bear a profession of Truth, and live in a loose conversation without control or judgment; and you will see them come to nought like others before them.

And for the carrying on this kind of libertinism, divers strange notions are hatched and spread about to corrupt the minds of whom they can. The devil, who is the author of them, knows well how to apply them to the advancement of his own kingdom, and for the easing, or rather hardening, the consciences of such who receive these things, that they may thereupon shake off the sense which sometime they had of the righteous judgment of God, and slight the judgment of his people, and give the reins to their lusts and passions; and yet all the while make a profession and outside appearance among the innocent people of God.

Oh Friends! these are the blots and spots that are among us; these are they by whose means the holy name of God is blasphemed, and his blessed pure way evilly spoken of by many, and the hearts of the upright made sad from day to day. These are such as cost the apostle tears when he wrote, "I told you of them before, and now tell you weeping; they are enemies to the cross of Christ." These cause the feet of some to stumble, and others to perish from the way of the Lord, and yet all the while carry a secret bolster under them to bear themselves upon, having let in a belief or supposition, either that there is no such wrath and judgment to be expected from the hand of God, as hath been largely spoken and written of by the prophets, Christ and his apostles, and all the faithful ministers of the gospel unto this day; or if there be wrath and judgment to be revealed, it will be but for a time, and then they shall be restored to glory and happiness. Or if they fall short of a due fitting and preparing for the kingdom of God on this side the grave, it is no great matter, for they shall have other opportunities even in this world hereafter, when they shall be born in other bodies.

Some few secretly bolster themselves up, and endeavour to possess others with the supposition or notion, of the finite punishment of wicked men and devils in the world to come, as where the holy scriptures mention, viz: everlasting fire, the sin against the holy ghost, never to be forgiven in this world, nor in that which is to come, eternal judgment, vengeance of eternal fire, the smoke of their torment shall ascend up

for ever and ever, &c. as plainly declared by Christ and his holy apostles and gospel ministers, these they limit only to ages.

Another bolsters himself up with a belief, that if he doth evil, his hell is only here in his own conscience, but when he leaves the world, all things will be as if they had not been, and the soul shall die with the body, and suffer an annihilation as well as the body, or shall be swallowed up out of all particularity, as a drop of water into the sea, and so then what matter. Thus is the evil seeds-man, sowing these cursed seeds of fleshly liberty and ranterism, even in our day, and hath prevailed upon some to their destruction; and they that are seduced, as the apostle saith, do wax worse and worse, seducing whom they can, by these their pernicious ways, the consequences whereof are woful and lamentable to consider, and have cost me and many more great sorrow and grief.

Truly Friends, the weight of these things was heavy upon my mind for some time, and it lay upon me to give a warning to all that have an ear to hear, lest they suffer their minds to be corrupted by the subtle laying in wait of satan and his instruments. For though I know there are many thousands who know the price and value of their immortal souls, and many who have truly travailed for the redemption of souls, who do not stand in need to be warned of these subtle designs, but do live in that which comprehends the devil and his crafty working, yet I am drawn forth in true love and tenderness to the weak, and such as are not yet grown to a stability in the everlasting and elect seed of God, to exhort them to take heed to themselves, and to be stirred up to faithfulness and diligence, and to approve their hearts in the sight of God, in sincerity and lowliness, that so they may feel his secret preserving power to keep them from these gins and nets of the cunning hunters, who lie in wait to beguile and betray whom they can.

Friends, to you who have not known the depths of satan, I have a few things to offer to your serious consideration: First, you know in what manner you were convinced, and how your understandings were opened, and you brought to the acknowledgment of the Truth. Was it not by the shining of that true light of Christ Jesus in your souls, which by its inward working showed you that your souls were made subject to a power of darkness, that had defiled them, and made them unfit for God to dwell in and to take delight in? Then you saw what a contrariety and disproportion there was between the pure light and your impure souls. Whereupon judgment from God was manifest for the curbing, limiting, and destroying that power that had thus defiled the minds and the consciences; and when ye came to believe this judgment to be the very judgment of God, ye submitted to it, as right and due unto you; and as ye thus submitted to it, ye quickly found some power to withstand the temptations of the dark power that had captivated you. And did you not then feel your souls somewhat eased, and a hope raised, that as ye abode faithful unto that light, you might obtain power to withstand your soul's enemy in all his appearances? So that the faith that was delivered unto you in the beginning was, that your souls should be so sanctified, fitted and prepared, as to become a habitation for God, and that he would so strengthen you, that ye should be able to stand against the devil and his power, who sought to defile and destroy the soul. They that have been diligent and kept this faith, have found it to be a shield and a defence in the times of their trials and temptations; so that they have found victory by it, and their souls have come to know a deliverance from under the enemy's power, and have received ability to serve the Lord, and have felt the blessed freedom and liberty in the Truth, which they so much desired and longed for.

Now, wherefore hath all this work been to redeem the soul, and to convert it, and change it from under the dark power, and to bring it under the heavenly and glorious power of Christ Jesus? I ask them that have known this work, was it only for a few days or years that we are to continue here in these bodies? Or, was it not the effect of the eternal love of God in Christ, that in him our souls might be eternally happy? I know such as have truly known this travail, do know the soul to be more worth than the value and worth of the whole world, and they are not liable to the seducements of such as would undervalue the soul. But alas! there are too many that never knew what it was to travail for souls, either in themselves or in others, but have received a sight and knowledge of things at a distance, in a speculative way, as lookers on. These, having grown up into a profession by a sight, without a real work in themselves, are very ready to be seduced, and to seduce others; and wanting the substance that never waxeth old, are always itching after some new thing, which for a time seems to be delightful to them, till a newer thing is presented. Then they are for that also, and so are always gadding and changing their ways, till at last they are, by the mastering subtlety of their soul's enemy, who hath power in such unstable minds, led back again into the world, or into divers sects, heats, and opinions, that are of the world. A false liberty gets up in them, in which they grow heady and stubborn, and look upon every one that seeks to reclaim them as their enemy, and let in hard and bitter thoughts against them. The enemy fills them with prejudice, and in that state they seek for

the failings of others, and feed upon them as bread to strengthen themselves, and so grow more and more estranged from the innocent life that is in Jesus, and which he hath given for food for the children of the kingdom.

Oh! this is a sad condition; and I have often with deep sorrow lamented the state of some to whose hands peradventure this may come, when I have seen what a good beginning they have made in the way of God, and have been as pleasant plants, and hopeful to bring forth much fruit to the honour of God and comfort of his people, and especially to the comfort and salvation of their own immortal souls. Yet after some good progress made in the Lord's way, for want of a diligent watchfulness and keeping close to the daily cross, and the self-denial, have laid themselves open to the spoilers, who have cunningly got an entrance into them, some in the affectionate part, some in the wise reasoning part, some through sowing the seeds of prejudice, and some one way, and some another, and have beguiled them of the simplicity, and drawn them from the sincerity that is in the Truth; and so they have both lost their first love, and their first work also.

Of these some are so far dead, that they have lost all sense and feeling of that love of God that worketh in the hearts of his people, for the regaining of them. To such I shall say little, but tell them, my soul shall mourn for them in secret, until the Lord easeth my spirit concerning them. But for the rest who do yet retain something of a love to the Lord's people, and have sometimes an ear yet open to hear counsel; to these I say, God hath put it into my heart to warn you, that ye strengthen those things that are ready to die, before the Lord appear against you for your hard words and hard thoughts. Come down in humility, and feel after the first tenderness and brokenness of heart which once you felt, and hold a fast to the Lord. Feed no more upon your carnal reasonings, hearken no more to those seducers that have drawn you from your steadfastness in Christ Jesus, and your place in the body. Be ye assured, as your food is, so will your life be; and if ye will still feed upon the airy notions of that carnal wisdom, into an airy, light and wanton life you will grow. If your food be to lick up the dirt and foulness that you can find here or there, and to feast thereon, and then be liable to vomit it up again, as some have done; this will nourish nothing but the serpent's life, which the power of God will overcome. But, dear hearts, sink down, sink down, while yet an arm of love is reached out to you to receive you, and wait in lowliness to be brought into that heavenly house, where there is meat indeed, and drink indeed. Remember that express sentence of our Lord, who said, except you eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you. This is the holy nourishment that nourisheth up the heirs of the kingdom, into which many are entered, and many of the dear people of God whom ye count lightly of, are travailing to obtain an entrance.

Friends, let me use yet one argument more with you, to persuade you to turn into the unity and fellowship of the Truth and power of God, in which ye sometimes took delight to walk with us, and that is an argument from your own experience, to wit: the feebleness that hath fallen upon many of you, since ye departed from the heavenly unity with your ancient Friends and brethren. What a decay of strength and courage in the bearing forth the several testimonies for the name of Christ, as they were received from the beginning; and by the faithful followers of him, are to this day kept and accounted of, as of more worth than a little outward liberty or estate, or such like.

But oh! my Friends, how is this tie loosened? and how is fleshly reasoning gotten up to shun the cross, and the sufferings that attend the gospel, and an unwillingness in many to give up themselves for his name's sake? They are as if they had lost their spiritual armour, and their fervent zeal and love to the Truth, and the testimonies of it, which once were dearer to them than their all in this transitory world. It is indeed impossible that the love to God and his Truth should remain in its former strength, when the love to the brethren decays. They came together, and they will go together. The want of this love to God and to his people, is the ground of declining Truth's testimony, and using indirect ways to shift and shun the sufferings that come for Truth's sake, by which the hands of Truth's enemies are strengthened, and many stumbling blocks have been laid in the way of the weak. I beseech you to consider these things, and lay them to heart, while there is a day and opportunity to return to your first zeal for the Truth.

Dear Friends, I might go into particulars, to lay before you, wherein this decay of love and zeal for God and his precious Truth, is manifest in many; but I spare you, knowing there is a faithful and true witness for the Lord, that will, if you mind it, show you more particularly wherein any hath failed. To that witness of God I do recommend what I have written to you, which will testify that I have written in true love to your immortal souls. Whosoever slights this tender warning and exhortation sent unto them in the love of God, will but harden their own hearts more and more, and lay themselves open to the seducing spirits, to be carried away by the subtle wiles of subtle men, who seek to draw from the foundation that God hath laid, and to bring you again to trust

ainties, and to fill your minds with
ary things, and to neglect the weighty
nd the one thing needful.
ore, Friends, wait to feel the daily re-
by the Holy Spirit in yourselves, and
renew your love to God and to his
nd the testimonies of it, and to the
that have laboured in it for the good
souls, and to all the faithful followers
amb of God everywhere. That will
ur love and zeal to the Truth, and to
nonies of it, and keep it fresh, and give
se of the exceeding great value of it,
you will see that the service of all that
o you, is but to serve the Lord in his
nd in the holy faith, you will have a
the reward of all, in your own bosom,
se and suffer for the Lord's sake, and
u will have an inheritance with all the
l children of light. That ye all may
nd none fall short of this, is the earnest
d prayer of your faithful friend in the
able Truth,

STEPHEN CRISP.

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istle from Stephen Crisp, to Friends.

LY beloved Friends and brethren in the
ng fellowship, that stands in the spirit of
esus our one head, I do at this time
nd tenderly salute you, in a fresh and
membrance of the precious unity and
e pure spirit of life, in which we have
tually refreshed together in years past,
according to the will of God, travailed
ured among you, in my younger years,
at consolation, rejoicing greatly in be-
your order and unity in the blessed
which ye prospered, and were as an
th banners in the Lamb's host; who
th conquering among you, and defend-
preserving you by his Almighty power,
manifold snares of satan, that were
your feet. You that are ancient can
r with joy, how you were kept stead-
immovable in the holy path of life, and
essed concord, being of one heart and
nt to serve the Lord and his blessed
I say, the remembrance of these things
us to me, and to you who retain the
y of the gospel of Christ our Saviour.
hearts, as ye have met with many as-
break your blessed unity, so it is not
pected, but that still your great adver-
go about seeking whom he may devour.
that your strength is not in yourselves,
hat seed of life that hath in all ages
his head, and overcome him in and for
ful; therefore, his work is to draw from
, and from that sweet dependance upon
it, into some strange ground, where you may be removed from your strength, and be made a prey to his net. Therefore, as that seed is meek and lowly, if he can but exalt any into the contrary property, they are prepared for him. As that seed is not of this world, if he can draw any into the spirit of this world, they are prepared for him. As that seed is patient and long-suffering, if he can draw any into haste and passion, they are prepared for him. And as that seed made himself of no reputation, and sought not honour in this world, if the enemy can but draw any one to the affecting reputation and honour, they are prepared for him. From hence come grindings, heart-burnings, backbitings, jealousies and mistrust, which gender strife and contentions, which break out into schisms and rents, under various pretences, which give room for the corrupt wit and wisdom that are from beneath, to raise disputes and janglings, which are not of God, but of the lusts, the ground of wars and contentions, which are hurtful to those concerned in them.

But in Christ Jesus is our peace and tranquillity, in whom we have grown up to be a church and body, to his honour and glory, and to our salvation; in whom we rejoice together, and have dominion over the work of the wicked one, in the particular, and in the general, and by his power have seen the counsels of the disobedient brought to nought many a time, and he is the same still as ever he was. Therefore, be ye not discouraged at any work of the enemy, which you see appearing, but keep in the Lamb's patience, and have faith in the Lion of the tribe of Judah, and be assured his work in your hand shall prosper, as ye abide in his spirit, which is unchangeable and invincible.

Dear Friends, as concerning your present exercises that ye labour under, through the discontents of some amongst you, let none faint in their minds, as if some strange thing had happened to you, nor any be overcome with a zeal beyond sound judgment. Remember that the dominion belongs to the meek and innocent seed, which will guide you to be tender and condescending to the brother of low degree, and to keep inviolable the law of charity, and to heal the broken and the wounded, and to restore that which is hurried out of the way by temptation, making a difference between the tender-hearted, and the wilful, and heady, fierce despisers, who are easily known by their fruits.

Dearly beloved, this is a windy day, or a day of winds, in which that which is in itself chaff, will be blown away, and what the north wind doth not remove, will be driven with the east wind, and what persecution doth not cause to start presently, the winds of dissention and seducements will drive away, and many are lost

already, and many more will be lost, who have lost the innocent and beautiful love that first shined among us, and made us amiable to one another. These having lost their first love, it is no marvel if the first works decay also.

Hence come the self-love, and shunning the cross, and a desire after the worldly and fleshly liberty, in which many are entangled, and become enemies to the cross of Christ, and seek to make the offence of it to cease, by which an enmity doth arise against them that bear it, though it works under other specious pretences, whose end will be according to their work, and the day will declare and make it manifest.

So, dear Friends, in bowels of dear and tender love, having a little opened my heart unto you, as a remembrance of that ancient and lasting love that hath abounded in my soul to you from the beginning, I bid you farewell in the Lord. The God of power keep you in the unity of his spirit, and in pureness and cleanness of mind, serving the Truth with one heart and mind; and keep down the captious wit, and carnal reasonings and disputation for mastery in all your assemblies. Let the divine sense rule your affairs, and the wisdom that comes from above, which ye may know by its being peaceable, as well as pure; and those that trust in this gift, need not strive nor be hasty, but wait in faith, and exercise their patience the appointed time of the Father, and they shall see the desire of their souls, and be satisfied. So the God of power, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, keep and support you by his divine, comfortable presence, and direct you in his heavenly wisdom to do his holy will in your day and generation, which is the hearty supplication of, your sincere and faithful friend and brother, in the kingdom and patience of Christ Jesus,

STEPHEN CRISP.

A TENDER VISITATION IN THE LOVE OF GOD,

Unto those people called French Protestants, wherever they are scattered in this time of tribulation and persecution, raised against them by those called Roman Catholics, about matters of religion.

FRIENDS, in the movings of God's love in my heart, I write unto you, and my prayer to God is, that he may by his invisible power, open your hearts to receive a word of counsel, which might tend to your eternal happiness.

It is evident that you are great sufferers, and the fame thereof hath reached over many lands and countries, and hath occasioned many to take notice of your hard measure, and to compassionate your state and condition, and to reach out a hand of charity to your relief and assistance, which is indeed a real fruit of true Christianity, and a duty that all Christians do owe one to another; yea, to do good to all men, and especially to the household of faith.

In this charity, I am drawn forth to visit you in these days of your distress, with these few lines of counsel and advice, which, if you receive in sincerity, and with an humble mind, ye shall do well, and may reap some benefit by it.

First of all, let your minds be seriously exercised, to consider what is the cause of your sufferings, and why the Lord hath permitted these days of trial and hardship to come upon you; and by the way, take notice, I dare not take upon me to be a judge over you, and to conclude that God is always angry with a people, whom he permits to fall under great sufferings. No, far be it from me, for who hath suffered more than God's dear children in this world? Neither is suffering a certain token of being the children of God; for many suffer because they have provoked the Lord to anger, by their disobedience to him. Others suffer for the trial of their faith; and that they may be thereby the more purified and prepared, either to bear witness to his holy name on earth, among the children of men, or to possess his heavenly kingdom, into which, nothing that is not purified and cleansed can enter. Now, to which of these cases shall be ascribed your present sufferings, is best to be known and found out by the light of Truth in your own hearts and consciences.

Doubtless, so many of you as will please to sit down and seriously to consider your ways in time past, will come to an understanding how it stands between God and your own souls. For the Lord hath a faithful and true witness in the consciences of every one of you, that hath registered your doings from your childhood; and this will bring to your remembrance, how you walked before the Lord in the days of your prosperity and liberty, in your own nation, when you sat under your own vines and fig-trees, how short you came in answering the loving kindness of God, how little that light of understanding was prized, which God had bestowed upon you more than the rest of your nation. This will show you that it was as abominable in the sight of God, for you to bow down and serve the lusts and passions of your own evil hearts, as it was for your neighbours to bow down and worship their images of stocks and stones. This will bring to mind the luxury and wantonness, the strife and emulation that was among many of you, and how a great part of you pleased yourselves with a formality of religion, something differing from the rest of the nation; though your lives and conversations differed little from others, but too much liberty was taken to looseness and vanity, and to the

its and concupiscence of the flesh. These ngs were a grief to the spirit of God, while called upon him in words, and dishonoured n in your lives, and gave your adversaries casion to speak evil of you, and of your re-ion; insomuch that it hath been the common ort of strangers and travellers for a long ne, that there was little difference to be found the lives and conversations of protestants and pists in France, till the day came that they nt to their several worships.

Oh, friends! where was the talent of knowlge all this while? For as you knew better an others, and that more light had shined unto u, so should your conversations have shined th, beyond others, in sobriety, in temperance, d in the fear of the Lord, to the honour of s holy name amongst his enemies. This uld have stopped the mouths of gainsayers ore abundantly than all the scholastical and itical arguments formed by force of logic and etoric, or philosophy, either could or ever did.

Now, friends, when these things come to be ought up in your remembrance by God's reembrancer in your consciences, showing you ur mispent time in days past, it will work you to humility, and prepare your hearts to say ith Saul, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? he Lord will then draw nigh to you in a strange nd, even to as many as seek him diligently; r all lands are alike to him, and in every nation, id among every people, those that fear him id work righteousness, are accepted with him, rough Jesus Christ our Lord; for he teacheth e humble, saith David, and instructeth the eek in his ways. I must tell you, friends, e reason why you are still such strangers to e inward and divine teachings of God, is beuse you are not humble enough, nor poor ough in spirit, and so do not know the necesty or want ye have of it; but are heaping up achers to yourselves, that may please the itchg ear, and so are diverted from a diligent arkening to the voice of God, who is a rover in your own hearts. In the next place, is expedient for you seriously to consider the use for which your great sufferings come upon u; it may be, you will say it is, because you annot, for conscience sake, subscribe certain ticles, or perform and practise certain things, hich you believe to be contrary to the mind of od, &c.

You say well: but, my friends, if conscience ust be hearkened to in these respects, pray hy is there not as great need to answer it in our whole lives and conversations? So far as ir consciences are illuminated, it is by the light Christ, who lighteth every one that cometh to the world, with the true light. So far as nscience is guided by this light, and men suf-r themselves to be governed by such an illuminated conscience, they are kept from every thing that offends God by the same law of conscience, which is light; for the same light that convinceth my conscience, that it is sin to bow down to an idol, or worship a crucifix, the same convinceth me in my conscience, that it is a sin to lie, to swear, to commit fornication, yea, to speak so much as a vain and idle word, or to let any evil communication or foolish jesting, proceed out of my mouth.

Oh! what a blessing would this be to you, and what peace of conscience would it bring into your bosoms, if this rule were observed in your whole life and conversation; and, surely, the reason is the same; for if the dictates of Truth in the conscience be, as you confess, to be followed in one thing, why not in all; especially so far as we are equally illuminated and convinced? I would ask, which of you is not as completely and fully satisfied in respect to your conscience, that drunkenness, swearing, lying, hypocrisy, pride, &c. are contrary to the holy will of the pure God, as bowing to an image or crucifix, or subscribing any superstitious articles whatsoever? The same light of Truth which discovereth the one, discovereth the other, as the apostle saith, whatsoever is reprovable is made manifest by the light, for that which maketh manifest is light.

But, by the way, I must put you in mind of a diversity of working in the consciences of men, for all men do not make scruple of conscience in matters of religion, from one and the same ground and cause. If they did, all would be of the same mind with Christ and his apostles, and the primitive believers; who, while they had their consciences all governed by the spirit of Christ Jesus, continued together, and were of one heart and mind. But there be three things principally that divert men's consciences from this universal rule of holiness, faith, and charity. By these three means, people come to be led from holiness, divided in their faiths, and broken in their charity; and I shall touch briefly upon these three, that so the searching, inquiring soul may be somewhat helped to find whether any of them have the rule and government of his conscience or no.

1. The first is Education.
2. Worldly Interest.
3. The subjecting the conscience to the government of other men, and thereby being made liable to their interest and passions.

For the first: Education must be considered in a two-fold consideration, good and bad. Good education hath a great prevalency upon the mind, as to doctrines, principles, and forms and modes of worship; but it doth not alone convey from the tutor to the pupil, the life and virtue of religion, that must be done by the immediate operation of the power and spirit of

Christ. Therefore, it is the duty of every one, how good soever their education hath been, and how sound soever the principles are that they have received, to wait for this divine operation in their hearts, to season and sanctify them, and to fit them to bear a testimony to the Truth, which they have learned in words and terms, or else they will grow up in a formal dead profession, and will want the oil in their own lamps, although their tutors might have it. Such, for want of the true life and virtue of religion in themselves, may make conscience of this or that form and mode of religion, in which they were educated, and may stand in a profession of such or such doctrine and principles; and yet may be never the better for them, as to the great and main end, namely, the sanctification of the soul, and reconciliation with God, which the most sound doctrines and principles alone will not do.

As to bad education, and being tutored and nursed up in the dark and erroneous ways of the world, that fallen man hath invented, this makes a conscience too, though corrupt and defiled through the darkness that is in them and their teachers. They grow stiff in their error, and set it up for Truth, putting their darkness for light, and walking by the light of the fire of their own kindling; crying, thus did our forefathers, and pleading antiquity for a cloak for error, which makes it not the better, but the worse. These deceived consciences have commonly this property, that they will endeavour to make every one's conscience like their own, which, if any cannot yield to, they are for destroying their bodies. This shows they are children of the destroyer, and do his works; of whom Christ our Lord prophesied, when he said, they shall think they do God service when they kill you; and still these will tell you it is their conscience, but by their works it is manifest what it is that hath the government of such consciences; not the sweet spirit of Christ Jesus, but the force of a corrupt education, nourished and strengthened by the daily motions of satan.

Another thing that seeks to take the government of some men's consciences, is worldly interest. These are men of no settled, hearty religion, but allow themselves a latitude to square their consciences and professions to their worldly profits, pleasures and advantages; and so are a sort of Christians without the cross of Christ; and consequently, no disciples of Christ. He said, unless a man take up his daily cross and deny himself, he cannot be my disciple. But how hard is it for such men to make conscience, to keep or to act according to a good conscience, where worldly loss and damage either in their profits or pleasures present? What screwing and windings do they make to form their consciences to look another way? What seeking out of arguments and carnal reasonings to make themselves believe otherwise than they really do believe; nay, sometimes forcing themselves for their interest, to profess that which they do not, or cannot believe. This is a great abomination in the sight of God, and such are oftentimes shut up in darkness, and given over to a reprobate mind, because for worldly ends they choose the darkness rather than the light, and come to have their portions in it.

The third thing is, where men give over their consciences to the regulation and government of others. These may be said to be men without the exercise of their conscience, for they have not the use of it, nor do they stand in a capacity of accepting any illuminations by the working of God's spirit, but are bound as slaves and vassals to him to whom they have subjected themselves, and receive their precepts by the teaching of that man, though he be never so bad. Of this God complained of old, saying, their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men; then it seems they should have been taught of God. But, alas! what a condition are those souls in, and how uncertainly do they go on that have given themselves over to another to govern their very thoughts, their faith, their living and works. If he err, they must err too; if he fall in the ditch, they must fall in too.

Nay, and this is not all, for he himself is not his own, nor the Lord's freeman, but he is bound under somebody else, as much as thou art under him, and he again under another, and so on. Thus error, darkness, and blindness, spread themselves over all, and all have wandered from that spirit which Christ hath sent, according to his promise, to lead his people into Truth, whom, he said, the world could not receive. Now it is manifestly true the world will make any shift rather than come to the teachings of his spirit; yea, will pin their faith upon the sleeve of a priest or a monk, although they know them to be so far from infallibility, that they see their failings daily, in pride, covetousness, luxury, wantonness, and hypocrisy, and are such as are not able to preserve themselves out of the snares of satan. Who would think any man of understanding could be so blinded as to imagine that such can absolve them of their sin, who cannot keep out of it themselves, but are overcome by the temptations of satan, and by their own lusts and concupiscence, and must have another to absolve them, and another again for him, and so forth?

Ah, where is the pure light of Christ in the conscience all this while, that should guide and rule the conscience of the one and the other, to teach them how to keep their consciences void of offence towards God and man? Oh that men would hearken to this, and let it have its proper office in their consciences, unto which God hath

ppointed it. This would nourish and strengthen very good thing that hath been planted by ood education, and bring that good which is eld in notion to flourish in virtue. This would ork out any evil thing that hath been sown by ad education, and make it die and wither. This ould teach you to lay by all worldly interest, nd dedicate yourselves to the Lord, henceforth be taught and guided by him; and Christ esus, by his light and spirit, would so open your nderstandings, that he would make you wiser han your teachers, in the great mystery of rege-eration, without which all worships, religions, onfessions, absolutions, yea, alms and prayers, ill stand a man in no stead; for except a man e born again, he cannot see the kingdom of od.

Friends, you that are in sufferings, and are cattered to and fro in many nations, upon the ccount that you cannot for conscience sake onform in that religion which you believe to e idolatrous; what can be a more proper ex-rcise for your minds, than to examine your wn souls, to see what it is that hath been your ader and guide in this your refusing to con-orm? Whether it were your education, or any orldly interest or dependencies upon any; or hether it were some overmuch sway and pre-alency, that any man or men have had upon our consciences. Or, lastly, whether it hath een the light of the word and spirit of Christ, hining in your hearts, and illuminating your nderstanding to see the error and idolatry of he nations, and that in tenderness of conscience owards God, and in obedience to his Grace and ruth, you chose rather to forsake your native ountry, and your worldly enjoyments, than to efile your consciences, and sin against that ight and grace that the Father of Lights had estowed upon you? Those of you that find it hus with you, what a comfort will it be in all your adversities, when you feel the evidence of God's witness in your consciences, testifying your sufferings to be upon this account? How good will it be for you all to follow the leadings and guidings of it in all things, and see if there be not yet many things remaining in and among you, that are as contrary to that light and grace in your hearts, and as burdensome to your souls, and that keep you from reconciliation with God? The more you exercise yourselves in trying and proving your words and actions by this light in your own souls, the more clearly you will see a necessity of reforming your ways in the sight of God, and not to rest satisfied that you have obeyed it in one thing, but to labour and travail in the daily cross, till all things that stand in opposition to the holy will of God be subdued in you, that so you may not lose the reward of what you have done. It is not faithfulness in one particular will serve our turns; but as Moses said, when he prophesied of Christ, it shall come to pass, saith he, that that soul which will not hear him in all things shall be cut off. Therefore the way to make peace with God, and reconciliation, is to follow the Lord fully, as did Joshua; that is, to leave off and forsake every thing that is evil in yourselves, as well as the idolatry that is in others, which they would have brought you to join with them in.

In the next place, I would put you upon a serious consideration, what effect your present suffering condition hath wrought in you towards your sanctification; for it is the work and business of a true Christian soul to be improved by every condition, and most of all by sufferings, which are permitted of God for the slaying and crucifying all in his people that is contrary unto him, that they may be as gold purified in the furnace of tribulation. It will be of great profit to you to come to a search in yourselves, how this work of mortification is carried on, and to inquire whether that vain and airy mind that too much prevailed upon you in your own country, which led you out to fashions and customs, be not yet alive in you, which puts you upon such great haste to fashion yourselves to the fashions of the nations where you are scattered, and conforming to their ways and manners.

Oh! my friends, if a true sense of your states did remain upon your spirits, how would it make you grave and weighty, and bring you into sobriety in words and actions, by which the nations where you live might see that it was from a sound principle of religion and godliness, that you had denied the superstition of your own country; and not barely for a differing form of religion, which makes men no better in one form than another. You may remember that the apostles and primitive Christians had not fellowship with those that held the same form with themselves, if they denied to be subject to the power of godliness. Indeed, that is the life of religion, and the crown of all sufferings upon the account of religion, when the sufferers in the time of their sufferings, feel in their souls the virtue and life of him for whose name they suffer, supporting them in their afflictions, and also preserving them from the pollutions and defilements of the world.

Thus it was with the disciples of old, who in a time of persecution were scattered over Asia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, they carried along with them the sweet savour of life, and it is said, that the word of God grew or increased mightily. Alas, what advantage hath a protestant over a papist, if both remain subject to the prince of the power of the air, who hath his rule in the hearts of the children of disobedience, of what sort or profession soever they are. Therefore, let me persuade and beseech

you in the tender love of God, not too much to look upon that little reformation which you have; but look at and consider how much is yet to be reformed before you can come to be, as you know you ought to be, answerable to the holy, pure mind of the holy, pure God, with whom, and in whose eternal pure presence you desire to have your eternal portion and inheritance.

Although this be not obtained by works, but through grace, yet all that are truly subjected to the grace of God, are led by it to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteously, and soberly, and godly, in this present evil world, Tit. ii. 11. So examine yourselves, and see how your lives and conversations answer the grace and light of Truth, which through Christ Jesus, the fountain of light and Truth, is communicated to you, and accordingly you may find a true judgment arise in your own souls, how it stands with every one of you in the sight of God.

There is one thing more that lies upon me to put you in mind of, and that is, to move you to a humble thankful mind to the Lord, that he hath in this the time of your afflictions, opened the hearts of so many kings and princes to receive and succour you, and of so many people to relieve your necessities, which indeed is a great mercy. The consideration whereof, may be a great motive upon your spirits to trust the Lord, and to serve him in your places where you are cast, and to endeavour yourselves to answer his love and kindness towards you; that his mercies and goodness may oblige your hearts to love the Lord more than all, and this will more and more open the hearts of all that love the Lord, to minister to you in such things as you need, both temporal and spiritual.

Truly, friends, I have with grief, many a time, beheld you as a people under great trials, and had wished your trials had wrought a better effect upon you than they have yet had. There came a necessity upon my spirit to visit you with these few considerations, in the pure love of God, hoping they will meet with many among you that will receive this visitation in the same love in which it is sent unto you. I pray God it may do you good, and have an effect upon your hearts for your spiritual advantage. But if any among you should despise it, and cast good counsel behind their backs, and cavil either at the matter or style, such will but hurt their own souls, and not me; neither shall I (that I know of,) be concerned thereat, but with grief for their sakes. Having faithfully discharged that which lay upon me to youward, my reward is with the Lord, and his spirit teacheth me to love all men, and to labour for the good of all men, as knowing it is not the will of God that any should perish; but that all men every where should repent and come to the knowledge of the Truth, and be saved. STEPHEN CRISP.

Colchester, the 17th of the Eleventh month, 1688.

AN EPISTLE OF TENDER LOVE AND BROTHERLY ADVICE,

To all the churches of Christ throughout the world, who are gathered into the one living faith, and walk in the light, and therein have their fellowship one with another.

From a friend and brother in the same fellowship, who hath long travailed, and still travails for Sion's prosperity, and for the gathering of Sion's children out of Egypt and darkness, that they may walk and dwell in the Light of Sion's Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. Whose outward name is Stephen Crisp.

DEARLY beloved Friends and brethren, gathered out of the world by the eternal arm and power of the mighty God, to bear his holy name in your generation; my love and life in the fellowship of the universal spirit, salutes you all; and my prayer to God is, that you may be kept steadfast and unmoveable in the grace of God, and in the communion of his Holy Spirit, that ye may bring forth fruit in abundance, according to the abundant mercy and grace bestowed upon you, to the glory of God, and to your mutual joy, comfort and edification.

And that you may so do, let your eye be kept daily to the Lord, and behold and take notice of the wondrous works that he hath wrought in you, and for you, since the day ye were first quickened by his immortal word, and stirred up to seek after him, and to wait upon him; how good and gracious he hath been to you, in bringing you from the barren mountains, where your souls languished for the heavenly nourishment, where you knew not the Lord, nor one another, but were without a comforter, or any to sympathize with you in your mournings. Oh, how hath he pitied your groanings, and had compassion on your sighings; and brought you into acquaintance with those that were in the like exercises; and then he taught you to believe on him that was able to help you.

Those that were thus taught of the Father, and felt his drawing cords of love prevailing upon them; these came to Christ their Saviour, and in him began to feel a unity one with another, in the faith you had received in him; whereby you believed he would give you of his spirit, to teach and guide you in the way of Truth, righteousness and peace. Thus was the foundation of your holy communion laid, and

a lively hope raised in each particular soul, that he that had begun this blessed work would carry it on. This hope made you that ye were not ashamed to make a public profession of his name before the world, but cheerfully to take up his cross, and deny yourselves of your former pleasures, friendships and delights of this world. This hope hath been your support in many sharp trials and bitter combats you have had with the enemy of your soul's peace within, and with the enemies of God's holy way and Truth without.

In all your conflicts, you have found him nigh at hand, to put forth his power on your behalf, as you have depended upon him for his assistance; and by these experiences of his goodness, your faith has been strengthened. By the same word of life that quickened you, many more have been reached unto; so that you have seen a daily addition of strength in the particular, and also an addition to your number, to your great comfort and encouragement. Many have come to wait upon the Lord among you, and many are daily inquiring after the way to Sion, with their faces thitherward. These things are worth your remembrance, and serious consideration, that you may look upon these great mercies, as obligations upon your souls, to walk humbly before the Lord, and to be devout and fervent in your testimony, for that God that hath done thus great things for you.

Friends, consider of the great works that this mighty arm of the Lord hath brought to pass in the general, as well as in the particular. How many contrivances have been framed, and laws and decrees made to lay you waste, and to make you cease to be a people, and how have the wicked rejoiced thereat, for a season, crying, ah, ha, thus would we have it; they are all now given up to banishment, to imprisonment, to spoil, and ruin. Now let us see if that invisible arm they trust in, can deliver them. Oh Friends! how hath your God been your support in the midst of all these exercises? and when he hath pleased, how hath he quieted the sharpest storms, and turned back the greatest floods and torrents of persecution that ever you met with? How hath he confounded his and your enemies, and brought confusion upon the heads of them that sought your hurt? Were not these things wrought by the power of God? Did your number, your policy, your interest, or any thing that might be called your own, contribute any thing to these your great preservations and deliverances? If not, then let God have the glory, and acknowledge to his praise, these have been the Lord's doings, and are marvellous in our eyes.

Again, dear Friends, consider how the wicked one hath wrought in a mystery among yourselves to scatter you, and to lay you waste from being a people, as at this day! How many several ways hath he tried, raising up men of perverse minds, to subvert, and to turn you from the faith, and from the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus our Lord, and to separate you from that invisible power that hath been your strength, and to separate you one from another; and by subtle wiles, to lead you into a false liberty above the cross of Christ; and sometimes by sowing seeds of heresy and seditions, endeavouring to corrupt the minds of whom they could, with pernicious principles. But oh! how have their designs been frustrated, and the authors thereof confounded and brought to nought; and how have you been preserved, as a flock under the hand of a careful shepherd, even unto this day; which ministers great cause of thanksgiving unto all the faithful, who have witnessed the working of this preserving power in their own particulars.

Also, my Friends, it is worth your consideration, to behold, how that by this invisible power, so many faithful watchmen are raised up upon the walls of Sion; that in most of your meetings, there be men and women upon whom God hath laid a concern, to be taking care for the good of the whole, and to take the oversight upon them, to see all things kept in good and decent order; and to make due provision for the comforting and relieving the necessities of the needy and distressed, that nothing be lacking to make your way comfortable. These have not been, nor are brought under this charge, by any act of yours; but God hath raised up pastors and teachers, elders and deacons, of his own election and choice, and bowed their spirits to take upon them the work and service to which they are appointed for the Lord's sake, and for the bodies sake, which is the church; to whom it may truly be said, as in the xxth chapter of Acts, ver. 28, take ye heed to the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, &c. Such ought to be hearkened to in the discharge of their trust, as those that must give an account to him that called them, and gifted them for their several works and services in the church.

By these ways and means hath the Lord established among you a heavenly government, and built as it were a hedge about you, that ye may be preserved from generation to generation; a people fitted for the glory that is, and shall daily more and more be revealed among and upon the faithful, who delight in that power that called them to be saints, and to bear a profession for the holy name of God, against the many names and ways that men in their changeable minds have set up, that the name of the Lord alone may be exalted.

Dear Friends and brethren, I entreat you, that the consideration of these great and weighty

things which God hath wrought for you, and among you, may have that deep and weighty influence upon your souls, that ye may find yourselves engaged to answer the love and mercy of God in your lives and conversation, and in all you have to do in this world, that ye may show forth the honour of God in all things; that the light which has shined in you, may shine forth through you unto others, who yet sit in darkness, that all men may know by your innocent and harmless conversation, and by your close keeping to the Lord, that ye are a people who are assisted and helped by a supernatural power, which governs your wills, and subjects them to his blessed will, and that guides and orders your affections, and sets them upon heavenly and divine objects, and that gives you power to deny your own private interests, where they happen to stand in competition with the interest of Truth. These, and these only, will be found the true disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, who can deny themselves, take up a cross daily, and follow him in the guidance of his regenerating power, which brings death upon self, and crucifies the old nature, with its affections and lusts; and raises up a birth in you, that hath a holy will and desire to serve the Lord, and do his will on the earth. Such as these are instruments in the hand of God for him to work by, and to do works of righteousness, of justice, of charity, and all other the virtues belonging to a Christian life, to the honour of God, and for the comfort and benefit of his church and people.

And all you, dear Friends, upon whom the Lord hath laid a care for his honour, and for the prosperity of the Truth, and gathered you into the good order of the gospel, to meet together to manage the affairs thereof; take heed that ye have a single eye to the Lord; to do the Lord's business in the leadings of his spirit, which is but one, and brings all that are given up to be governed by it, to be of one mind and heart, at least, in the general purpose and service of those meetings. Although through the diversity of exercises, and the several degrees of growth among the brethren, every one may not see or understand alike in every matter, at the first propounding of it, yet this makes no breach of the unity, nor hinders the brotherly kindness, but puts you often upon an exercise, and an inward travailing, to feel the pure, peaceable wisdom that is from above, to open among you, and every one's ear is open to it, in whomsoever it speaks. Thereby a sense of life is given in the meeting, to which all that are of a simple and tender mind, join and agree.

But if any among you should be contrary minded in the management of some outward affair, relating to the Truth, this doth not presently break the unity that ye have in Christ, nor should weaken the brotherly love, so long as he keeps waiting for an understanding from God, to be gathered into the same sense with you, and walks with you according to the law of charity. Such a one ought to be borne with, and cherished, and the supplications of your souls will go up to God for him, that God may reveal it to him, if it be his will, that so no difference may be in understanding, so far as is necessary for the good of the church, no more than there is in matters of faith and obedience to God. For, my Friends, it is not of absolute necessity that every member of the church should have the same measure of understanding in all things; for then where were the duty of the strong bearing with the weak? Then where were the brother of low degree? Where would be any submitting to them that are set over others in the Lord? which all tend to the preserving unity in the church, notwithstanding the different measures, and different growths of the members thereof.

For as the spirit of the prophets are subject to the prophets, so are the spirits of all that are kept in a true subjection to the spirit of life in themselves, kept in the same subjection to the sense of life given by the same spirit in the church. By this means we come to know the one master, even Christ, and have no room for other masters, in the matter of our obedience to God. While every one keeps in this true subjection, the sweet concord is known, and the oil is not only upon Aaron's head, but it reacheth the skirts of his garment also; and things are kept sweet and savoury, and ye love one another, from the greatest to the least, in sincerity, and, (as the apostle saith,) without dissimulation. This love excludes all whisperings of evil things; all backbiting, tale-bearing, grudgings and murmurings, and keeps Friends' minds clean one toward another, waiting for every opportunity to do each other good, and to preserve each others reputation; and their hearts are comforted at the sight of one another. In all their affairs, both relating to the church and to the world, they will be watchful over their own spirits, and keep in the Lord's power, over that nature and ground in themselves, that would be apt to take an offence, or construe any word or action to a worse sense than the simplicity thereof, or the intention of the other concerned will allow of.

And whereas it may often fall out, that among a great many, some may have a different apprehension of a matter from the rest of their brethren, especially in outward or temporal things, there ought to be a Christian liberty maintained for such to express their sense, with freedom of mind, or else they will go away burdened. Whereas if they speak their minds freely, and a friendly and Christian conference

admitted thereupon, they may be eased, and sentimes the different apprehension of such a e comes to be wholly removed, and his un- rstanding opened, to see as the rest see. The nger in society, doth not lie so much in this, at some few may have a differing apprehen- on in some things from the general sense, as doth in this; namely, when such that so ffer, do suffer themselves to be led out of the nd of charity, and labour to impose their ivate sense upon the rest of their brethren, d to be offended and angry, if it be not re- ived. This is the seed of sedition and strife at hath grown up in too many to their own rt.

Therefore, my dear Friends, beware of it, nd seek not to drive a matter on in fierceness r in anger, nor to take offence into your minds t any time, because what seems to be clear to ou, is not presently received. Let all things the church be propounded with an awful re- erence of him that is the head and life of it; ho hath said, where two or three are met in y name, I will be in the midst of them: and he is, and may be felt by all who keep in is spirit. But he that follows his own spirit, ees nothing as he ought to see it. Therefore, t all beware of their own spirits and natural mpers, (as they are sometimes called,) but let ll keep in a gracious temper. Then are ye fit r the service of the house of God, whose ouse ye are, as ye keep upon the foundation hat God hath laid. And he will build you up, nd teach you how to build up one another in im; and as every member must feel life in hemselves, and all from one head, this life will ot hurt itself in any, but be tender of the life all.

For by this one life of the Word, ye were egotten, and by it ye are nourished, and made grow into your several services in the church f God. It is no man's learning, or artificial equirements; it is no man's riches, or great- ess in this world; it is no man's eloquence and atural wisdom, that makes him fit for govern- nent in the church of Christ; unless he, with ll his endowments, be seasoned with the hea- enly salt, and his spirit subjected, and his gifts ass through the fire of God's altar, a sacrifice o his praise and honour, that so self be cruci- ied and baptized in death, and the gifts made se of in the power of the resurrection of the ife of Jesus in him.

When this great work is wrought in a man, hen all his gifts and qualifications are sancti- ied, and they are made use of for the good of he body, which is the church, and are as orna- nents and jewels, which serve for the joy and omfort of all who are partakers of the same livine fellowship of life, in Christ Jesus our Lord. Thus come many to be fitted and fur- nished to good works, which are brought forth in their due seasons, for edification, and build- ing up the weak, and for repairing the decayed places, and also for defence of them that are feeble, that hurtful things may not come near them.

Oh! Friends, great is the work the Lord hath called you to, and is fitting you for, who inno- cently wait upon him; and the Lord hath opened my heart unto you, and laid it upon me, to exhort and beseech you to have a care that ye quit yourselves as ye ought, in what God re- quires of you. And for the more particular expressing what lies before me in the matter, I shall set down a few particular observations, for your benefit and advantage; and my soul's desire is, that my labour of love may have a good effect in all your bosoms, that God may be honoured thereby. Friends, ye know the chief business to which ye are called in your particular men's and women's meetings, is under these two heads, justice and charity; the first, to see that every one hath right done him, and the other to take care there be nothing lacking to the comfort of the poor, that are made par- takers of the same faith with you.

When ye meet about these things, keep the Lord in your eye, and wait to feel his power to guide and direct you, to speak and behave your- selves in the church of God, as becomes the peaceable gospel. Beware of all brittleness of spirit, and sharp reflection upon each others words; for that will kindle up heats, and create a false fire; and when one takes a liberty of a sharp word spoken out of the true fear and ten- derness, it oftentimes becomes a temptation to another; and if he hath not a great care, it will draw him out also, and then the first is guilty of two evils. First, being led into a temptation, and then, secondly, he becomes a tempter to others. Therefore, all had need to be upon their watch, neither to tempt, nor be tempted; and let none think it a sufficient ex- cuse for them, that they were provoked; for we are as answerable to God for evil words spoken upon provocation, as without provocation; for, for this end hath the Lord revealed his power to us, to keep and preserve us in his fear and counsel, in the time of our provocations.

Therefore, if any man, through want of watchfulness, should be overtaken with heat or passion, a soft answer appeaseth wrath, saith the wise man; and, therefore, such a time is fittest for a soft answer, lest the enemy prevail on any to their hurt, and to the grief and trouble of their brethren. It is the proper duty of watchmen and overseers, to spare the flock, that is, let nothing come nigh them that will hurt them, and wound and grieve them. The good apostle was so careful over the flock of believers, that if there were any doubtful mat-

ters to be disputed of, he would not have them that were weak in the faith at such disputes, much less ought they that are weak to see those that are strong, descend from their strength, and go into the weakness, where they are not able to bear, for that is certainly weak that cannot bear. Those that really live in the strength and power, they can bear even burdens for them that cannot bear their own. The apostle, in the place before mentioned, when he sent for the elders of Ephesus to Miletus, and left a charge with them, before he said, take heed to the flock of God, he said, take ye heed to yourselves. And, indeed, we are none of us like to discharge ourselves well towards others, but by taking heed to ourselves, to be kept in that sober, innocent frame of spirit which the Truth calls for.

In the next place, my dear Friends, when ye are called upon in point of justice, to give a sentence of right between Friend and Friend, take heed that neither party get possession of your spirits aforehand, by any way or means whatsoever, or obtain any word or sentence from you in the absence of the other party, he not being yet heard. There is nothing more comely among men, than impartial judgment. Judgment is a seat where neither interest nor affection, nor former kindnesses may come. We may make no difference of the worthiness or unworthiness of persons in judgment, as we may in charity; but in judgment, if a good man, being mistaken, hath a bad case, or a bad man a good case, according to his case must he have sentence. It was a good saying, he that judgeth among men, judgeth for the Lord, and he will repay it. Therefore, let all be done as unto the Lord, and as ye are willing to answer it in his presence; and although some may for a time be discontent thereat, yet in time, God shall clear up your innocency as the sun at noonday. They that kick at sound judgment, will find but hard work of it, they do but kick against that which will prick them; and, however, such through their wilfulness, and their abounding in their own sense, may hurt themselves, yet you will be preserved, and enjoy your peace and satisfaction in the discharge of your consciences in the sight of God.

And, as concerning practical charity, ye know it is supported by liberality; and where liberality ceaseth, charity waxeth cold, yea, so far ceaseth. Where there is no contribution, there is no distribution; where the one is sparing, the other is sparing; and, therefore, let every one nourish charity in the root, that is, keep a liberal mind, a heart that looks upon the substance that is given him, as really bestowed upon him as much for the support of charity, as for the support of his own body. Where people are of this mind, they will have a care of keeping back any of God's part, for he hath in all ages, in a most singular manner, espoused the cause of the poor, the widow and fatherless, and hath often signified by his prophets and ministers, a special charge upon rich men, that had this world's goods, that they should look to it that they were faithful stewards of what they possessed, and that they might be found in good works, and might not suffer their hearts so to cleave to uncertain riches, as to neglect the service God had given them the things of this life for, either to give them up when called for, in a testimony for his worthy name, or to communicate of them to those that were in necessity.

Now, as concerning the necessities of the poor, there is great need of wisdom when ye meet together about that affair. For as I said before, though the worthiness or unworthiness of persons, is not to be considered in judgment, yet in this it is; and you will find some that God hath made poor, and some that have made themselves poor, and some that others have made poor, which must all have their several considerations, in which you ought to labour to be unanimous, and not one to be taken up with an affection to one person more than another; but every one to love every one in the universal spirit, and then to deal out that love in the outward manifestations thereof, according to the measure that the Lord in his wisdom working in you, shall measure forth to them.

As to those who by sickness, lameness, age, or other impotency, are brought into poverty by the hand of providence, these are your peculiar care and objects pointed out to you, to bestow your charity upon, for by them the Lord calls for it; for as the earth is the Lord's and the fullness of it, he hath by his sovereign power, commanded in every dispensation, that a part of what we enjoy from him, should be thus employed. The Israelites were not to reap the corners of their fields, nor to gather the gleanings of the corn nor vintage, it was for the poor. In the time of the gospel, they were to lay by on the first day of the week, a part of what God had blessed them with, for the relief of those that were in necessity. They did not confine themselves in their charity to their own meetings, but had an universal eye through the whole church of Christ, and upon extraordinary occasions, sent their benevolence to relieve the saints at Jerusalem, in a time of need. All that keep in the guidance of the same universal spirit, will make it their business to be found in the same practice of charity and good works.

To do good, and to communicate, forget not, saith the apostle. They that forget not this Christian duty, will find out the poor's part in the corners and gleanings of the profits of their trades and merchandizings, as well as the old Israelite did the corners and gleanings of his field; and in the distribution of it, will have a

regard to comfort such who are by the divine providence of God, put out of a capacity of enjoying those outward comforts of health, and strength and plenty, which others do enjoy. While they are partakers of the same faith, and walk in the way of righteousness with you, submitting themselves patiently to the dispensation of God's providence towards them; they are of your household, and under your care, both to visit, and to relieve as members of the one body, of which Christ Jesus is head; and he that giveth to such poor, lendeth to the Lord, and he will repay it.

But there is another sort of poor, who make themselves poor through their sloth and carelessness, and sometimes by their wilfulness; being heady and high-minded, and taking things in hand that are more than they can manage, and make a flourish for a season, and then through their own neglect, are plunged down into great poverty. These are a sort which the primitive churches began to be troubled with in the early days of the gospel. The apostle took notice of some that would not work at all, and sharply reproved them, and said, they that would not work should not eat. These are commonly a sort of busy-bodies, and meddlers with others' matters, while they neglect their own, and run into a worse way than the unbelievers, while they profess to be believers, yet do not take a due care for those of their own household.

The charity that is proper to such, is to give them admonition and reproof, and to convince them of their sloth and negligence; and if they submit to your reproof, and are willing to amend, then care ought to be taken to help them into a way and means to support themselves. Sometimes by a little help in this kind, some have been reclaimed from the snares of their soul's enemy; but if they will not receive your wholesome counsel and admonition, but kick against it, either in their words or actions, Friends will be clear of such in the sight of God. It is unreasonable in them to expect you should feed them that will not be advised by you, because they break the obligation of society by their disorderly walking. For our communion doth not stand only in frequenting meetings, and hearing Truth preached; but in answering the blessed principle of Truth, in life and conversation, and therein both the rich and the poor have fellowship one with another.

There is another sort that are made poor by the oppressions and cruelties of others. These oppressed poor, cry loudly in the ears of the Almighty, and he will in his own time, avenge their case. But in the meantime there is a tenderness to be extended to them, not knowing how soon it may be our turn; and if there be need of counsel and advice, or if any application can be made to any that are able to deliver them from the oppressors in such cases, let all that are capable, be ready and willing to advise, relieve and help the distressed. This is an acceptable work of charity, and a great comfort to such in sharp afflictions, and their souls will bless the instruments of their ease and comfort.

And, my dear Friends, as God hath honoured you with so high and holy a calling, to be his servants and workmen in this his great and notable day, and to work together in his power, in setting forth his praise and glory in the earth, and gathering together in one the scattered seed, in this and other nations; oh! let the dignity of your calling, provoke and encourage you to be diligent attenders upon his work and service you are called to. Let not your concerns in the world, draw you from observing the times and seasons appointed to meet together. You that are elder, set a good example to the younger sort, by a due observation of the hour appointed, that they that come first one time, may not by their long staying for others, be discouraged, so as perhaps they may be last another time. But when the time is come, leave your business for the Lord's work, and he will take care your business shall not suffer, but will add a blessing upon it, which will do more for you, than the time can do that may be saved out of his service.

And when ye have to do with perverse, and froward or disorderly persons, whom ye have occasion to reprove and to rebuke for the Truth's sake, and you find them stout and high, and reflecting upon you, then is a time for the Lamb's meekness to shine forth, and for you to feel your authority in the name of Christ, to deal with such a one, and to wait for the pure and peaceable wisdom from above, to bring down and confound the earthly wisdom. In this frame of mind you labour together, to pull the entangled sheep out of the thicket, and to restore that which is gone astray to the fold again, if you can; but if you cannot, yet ye save yourselves from the guilt of his blood; and if such do perish, his blood will be on his own head.

On the other hand, if ye suffer their perverse spirits to enter, and their provocations to have a place in you, so as to kindle your spirits into a heat and passion, then you get a hurt, and are incapable to do them any good; but words will break out that will need repentance, and the wicked will be stiffened and strengthened thereby, and you miss the service that you did really intend. Therefore, dearly beloved, keep upon your watch, keep on your spiritual armour, keep your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and the God of peace will be with you, and crown your endeavours with good success, to your joy and comfort. He will bring up his power over your adversaries and opposers, more and more, to which many shall bow

and bend in your sight; and will bring shame and confusion upon the rebellious, who harden their hearts, and stiffen their necks, against the Lord, and his Christ, and kingdom, which he will exalt in the earth, notwithstanding all that satan and all his evil instruments can do, to hinder the growth and progress of his blessed Truth; for of the increase of the government and of the peace of the kingdom of Christ, there shall be no end.

And now, Friends, I having cleared my conscience of what lay upon me for some time, to write unto you by way of remembrance, and as the exhortation of my life unto you; I remain travailing in spirit for the welfare of Zion. And although the outward man decays, yet in the inward man I am comforted, in beholding daily, the great things that our God hath done, and is still doing for them that have their sole dependance upon him.

So, committing you to the grace of God, for your director and preserver in these, and all your several services unto which God hath called you, that by the operations of his mighty power, ye may be kept blameless and unspotted of the world, to his honour and your comfort, and to the universal comfort and edification of the church, that so praises and thanksgiving may fill your hearts and mouths, your families and your meetings; for he is worthy, who is our tower, our support, the Lord of hosts, the King of saints; to whom be glory, honour and renown, through this and all generations, for ever and ever. Amen.

From your friend and brother in the communion and fellowship of the gospel of peace and purity,

STEPHEN CRISP.

London, the 15th of the Seventh month, 1690.

An Epistle written from Amsterdam.

DEARLY beloved Friends, brethren and sisters in the everlasting covenant of life, which is made manifest through Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom we have attained to the ancient fellowship and dominion of the saints, and holy brethren of old, in the eternal gospel of peace, and in the sense and feeling of an endless life, which is one in you and in me. In this fellowship I am drawn forth in the most dear and precious love of our heavenly Father, to salute you with this salutation of love, as a measure of the daily overflowings of pure love, which I daily feel towards you, whose remembrance, doubtless, is sweet to me in a far remote country; and especially when I behold how the Lord hath blessed you, and hath said unto his seed, multiply and prosper; and it is so, beyond all the countries round about you. Well, this is the Lord's doing, and the glory shall be his for ever.

And now, my dearly beloved, seeing that your gathering, preservation, and growth, is of the Lord, how ought every one to behave himself as the servant of God, in faithfulness unto that holy gift of his grace, by which you are what you are, at this day; and the more especially by how much you see the wiles and subtleties of the enemy, who desires to scatter you. Wherefore, in the everlasting Truth, this I say unto you all, watch and wait to feel your minds staid in that which is weighty, that is the wheat, the good seed, and who is in it, winds doth not remove them; but the chaff will be driven hither and thither, with winds of doctrine of men, and with tradition. This is the mind and spirit that hath not part in the ancient Truth, and is not satisfied with it; that seeks out or chooseth to itself new and changeable things; and against this all watch, and keep the dominion in the power of God, over it and all its ways. Forasmuch as ye know it was the love of God by which ye were gathered, dwell ye in love one with another, and let it abound in your hearts, that so you may bear the express image of him that hath begotten you, and thereby many may be yet gathered unto you.

And as concerning you, my dear brethren and sisters, who are grown up in the garden of God's delight, and walk as in the day-light of his presence, and in his strength and courage, with which he hath armed you; your joy is full in the Lord, and sorrow is fled from your hearts. Yet bear me a little in this matter: O, forget not the travail of the night, and the footsteps of the former darkness; in which we mourned for our beloved, and sought him with tears and broken hearts; that so in the remembrance of those things, ye may always be ready to sympathize with the poor, and with the dejected in spirit, whose day of darkness, gloominess, and sorrows, is but now. O, my Friends, they are exceeding near me, and my heart is deeply affected with their condition. O, go down with them into the house of mourning, and bear with them in their bitter lamentation; help them in the day of their travail, in the same compassion whereby we are helped. Be ye tender to such whom God hath made tender, so shall their souls come up from the dead, and stand forth in the power of the Lord, and bless you.

Friends, dwell in wisdom, and in the discerning and judgment of the spirit of God, that so you that are strong may be always instructed how to use your strength against such as are strong, but not in the Lord; for such, though ever so stubborn, shall be humbled, and the power is with you that shall do it; but the simple and upright soul, though ever so weak, bear up in your arms, and nourish with the

milk of the word, which is your daily support.

Finally, brethren, this is the breathing of my life daily on your behalf; that in all things ye may approve yourselves the servants of God, and one of another, in the free spirit of righteousness and peace; that so the dominion which ye have obtained through faith and patience, ye may still keep and hold in the name and power of the Lord God, over all powers and spirits whatsoever, that are not of this holy and heavenly fellowship, in the free spirit of peace and brotherly love, whether they appear as open enemies, or pretended friends, to the Truth; that none of you may be moved with fear of the one, or be deceived, entangled, or defiled by the other; but may grow and prosper in the nobility of that holy, royal seed, which never bowed to deceit, nor to the unrighteousness that is in the world; but was, and is, and is to come, a judge, and condemner of it all.

And, dear Friends, be diligent in every thing which the light hath showed you to be the work of God, and required of you in this your day. Let not lukewarmness enter upon any of you, for that is loathsome to the Lord; but with diligence meet together, and with diligence wait to feel the Lord God to arise, to scatter and expel all that which is the cause of leanness and barrenness upon any soul; for it is the Lord must do it, and he will be waited upon in sincerity and fervency of spirit; and such feel the Lord near at hand, while unto others he is as one afar off. Let charity and bowels of compassion abound among you, as becometh the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and let none be hasty to utter words, though manifest in the light, in which ye wait upon the Lord; but still wait in silence, to know the power working in you to bring forth the words, in the ministration of the eternal word of life, to answer the life in all; and if this be not known, retain in your vessels what is manifest unto you, and it shall be as bread in your own houses. He that hath an ear let him hear!

Dearly beloved, in that which is everlasting dwell and abide steadfast; so shall ye all grow and flourish as the blessed plants of the Lord, and men shall see that ye are fruitful, and glorify your Father which is in heaven; who hath been, and is, the husbandman, to whom my soul freely commits you all—by him to be taught and led to the finishing your course with joy, and to the glory of his great and precious name, which he hath made known among you.

God Almighty preserve you, and keep you faithful, fresh, and living, in a sense of his continual waterings and blessings; that ye may delight in him, and he may yet delight to do you good.

This is the supplication of your dear friend and brother, in the covenant of an everlasting brotherhood; with all who know the generation of the righteous seed, which is but one, and hath one name, which none knows but he that hath it.

STEPHEN CRISP.

Amsterdam, the 10th of the Second month, 1663, old style.

Letter to J. R.

FRIEND J. R.,—I am sorry I have the present occasion of writing to thee, and would have foreborne, if a necessity had not been upon me for the Truth's sake, and for thine. I have a deep sense of thy danger, and that thou art in the way to dishonour thy testimony; for I am informed by several who love thee well, that they believe thou art run into about three hundred pounds debt, to set thyself up as a public shopkeeper. Whether they have dealt with thee about it or no, I know not; but alas, John, what is the rise and spring of this, and what will the issue be? Sink down into that which gives a discerning, and thou wilt find a secret mistrust, mixed with an earthly lust, and a crafty carrying it on, under a show of Truth; that thereby some other things propounded, might the better proceed, or be carried on, to the making self somebody; and this ground is cursed for ever, and so will the fruit be.

O, consider, is this fitting thyself for thy testimony, and the keeping thyself from entanglements in thy warfare? Or is it not rather, a making use of the name of the Lord, and of Truth, to plunder others by fair means, or words, to get a visible estate into thy hand; and then thou may be plundered of it by foul means. It is an easy matter to preach and incur fines, when thou knowest others' goods must bear the loss; thou art on the surest side, and then if it be taken away at last, a whining complaint of suffering for Truth's sake, must serve instead of paying thy debts, as it hath done too many already.

Dear John, I wish thou would yet take my counsel, and send every Friend their goods home, with the money for what thou hast sold of theirs, and take thee to thy employment, where God blessed thee, and in which thou grew up. Stand ready at the Lord's call, that if he please to make any public use of thee in his church, thou mayst be free from worldly entanglements; and if not be content with thy daily bread, both inwardly and outwardly; and seek to adorn the gospel thou hast preached, by a holy, simple, and righteous conversation; without which, preaching, believing, and profession, and all the highest terms men can imagine, are all in vain, and will end with an evil savour.

I have written these things in love to thee and the precious Truth, in which my life stands,

although it is often bowed down, to see so many abuse the profession of the holy Truth; serving themselves thereupon, and not caring to keep up the reputation of it; but venturing the glory of God, the reputation of his people, yea, and their own souls also, for the reaching after their earthly and corruptible ends and purposes, which they have propounded to themselves. I might enlarge, to show the many evil consequences attending this practice, but hope by what I have written thou wilt consider the rest, and still account me thy friend in the Truth.

STEPHEN CRISP.

The 28th of the Ninth month, 1678.

Letter to a Friend.

DEARLY BELOVED IN THE LORD,—My soul salutes thee in the fellowship of that life that reigns over death and darkness, in which is the kingdom we seek. Nothing enters this kingdom, but what is born of this life immortal; and that we may be kept in it to the end of our days, is the humble prayer of thy true and real friend and brother, in this heavenly relation, in which thou may feel my integrity in a few words.

Dear William, I have had a great exercise of spirit concerning thee, which none knows but the Lord; for my spirit hath been much bowed into thy concern, and difficulty of thy present circumstance. I have had a sense of the various spirits, and intricate cares, and multiplicity of affairs, and they of various kinds, which daily attend thee, enough to drink up thy spirit, and tire thy soul; and which, if it is not kept to the inexhaustible fountain, may be dried up. This I must tell thee, which thou also knows, that the highest capacity of natural wit and parts, will not, and cannot, perform what thou hast to do, viz. to propagate and advance the interest and profit of the government and plantation; and at the same time to give the interest of Truth and testimony of the holy name of God, its due preference in all things; for to make the wilderness sing forth the praise of God, is a skill beyond the wisdom of this world. It is greatly in man's power to make a wilderness into fruitful fields, according to the common course of God's providence, who gives wisdom and strength to be industrious; but then, how he who is the Creator, may have his due honour and service thereby, is only taught by his spirit, in them who singly wait upon him.

There is a wisdom in government that hath respect to its own preservation, by setting up what is profitable to it, and suppressing what may be a detriment. This is the image of the true wisdom; but the substance is the birth that is heavenly, which reigns in the Father's kingdom till all is subdued, and then gives it up to him whose it is. There is a power on earth, that is of God, by which princes decree justice, this is the image; and there is a power which is heavenly, in which the Prince of Peace, the Lord of lords, doth reign in an everlasting kingdom, and this is the substance. By this power is the spiritual wickedness in high places brought down. He that is a true delegate in this power, can do great things for God's glory, and shall have his reward, and shall be a judge of the tribes; and whosoever else pretend to judgment will seek themselves. Beware of them; the times are perilous All men pretending to be believers, have not faith in the Lord Jesus; thou hast a good comprehension of things, wait also to receive a sound judgment of men.

I hope thou wilt bear this my style of writing to thee; my spirit is under great weight at the writing hereof, and much I have in my heart, because I love thee much. I cannot write much at present, but to let thee know I very kindly received thy letter, and was glad to hear from thee, and always shall [be]. My prayer to God is for thee, and you all, that you may be kept in the Lord's pure and holy way; and above all, for thee, dear W. P. whose feet are upon a mountain, by which the eyes of many are upon thee. The Lord furnish thee with wisdom, courage, and a sound judgment; prefer the Lord's interest, and he will make thy way prosperous.

For my part, I have not been at London since the last Yearly meeting, till now. I was last year at the Yearly meeting at Amsterdam, and there taken with a fit of the stone. It lasted three weeks; and in the winter following, it pleased the Lord to call from me my dear wife. As to my body, I grow very crazy and weakly; can neither ride, nor very well go on foot. A mile is a great journey for me; but am in good courage and confidence concerning the main business I am continued for, namely, for the service of my God and his dear people. Our country, at and about Colchester, is very quiet. While other meetings are laid by for fear, ours is continued by faithfulness, and is exceedingly large, and pretty many lately convinced, to my great comfort. Our dear friend Gertrude continues at my house yet, and is a careful nurse to me. I know her dear love is to thee; and many times have I heard breathing desires go forth of her to the Lord on thy behalf, from a weighty sense of the concern that is upon thee. She is at Colchester, but intends to come up to the Yearly meeting.

Well, dear William, I might write long ere all were written that lives in my heart towards

hee; but in summa, I love thee well, and saute thee dearly in that which is unchangeable, n which I remain thy true friend,

STEPHEN CRISP.

London, the 4th of the Third month, 1684.

Letter to J. T.

DEAR FRIEND, J. T.—It hath been some time in my heart to visit thee with a few lines, to express that true love that I have had to thee ever since I knew thee; which love hath been the cause of my dealing so truly and plainly with thee from time to time. I have always had an eye and desire to thy preservation in that Truth of which thou wert convinced; and I have always taken notice, that thy progress in the Truth hath been made harder and more difficult to thee than it is to many, by reason of thy natural temper, which is forward and unstable, and hath been mixed with a zeal to get forward, and to attain to high things; whereby the enemy, sometimes, hath taken advantage upon thee to thy hurt. Then the tender love of God hath again visited thee, and showed thee thy hurt, and thou hast been sensible that the Lord's hand hath been over thee for good; and this hath broken and melted [thy heart] for a season. But the enemy, who is always upon his watch, hath sought, even out of that tenderness, to lift up thy mind into the conceit of some great attainments again; and then the former tenderness hath been, as it were, shut up and closed; so that neither the true working of that power, nor the love and tender counsel of thy friends and brethren, could be discerned for a time; which hath been a grief and exercise to us, the Lord knoweth. Yet, notwithstanding, the love we have borne to thee hath not ceased; but for my part, I can truly say, that from time to time I have had an inward travail upon my spirit how to do thee good, and I thank God my labour of love hath not been in vain to thee ward.

Dear Jacob, I was exceedingly refreshed in the account I received from dear G. D. that thou wert open hearted to Friends, and that a tender love was in thy heart, working thee into more unity than formerly. Well, dear friend, nothing saves us but love, for God is love; and nothing redeems us but righteous judgment administered in that love. Where this love is retained in the heart, and this pure judgment dwelt in, such must needs have fellowship one with another; for there all are kept meek and humble, and they have nothing and nobody to exalt, but only by the name in which they find the salvation.

Now, dear Jacob, let me tell thee, I do not believe that all thy temptations are overpassed, or that thy enemy hath given over his seeking to winnow thee. Therefore, there is a great necessity for thee to keep upon thy watch; and when thou feels most of the inflowings of joy, then to be most low, and careful to keep thy heart open to the Lord and to his people; and so shalt thou retain that which is given thee. Whereas, if thou give way to that which leads into exaltation and much talking, thou may talk it away, and then be dry and empty in thyself.

The nature of the true seed is, first to take a deep root downward, and then to bring forth its fruit upward. Therefore, let thy soul affect the inward, invisible rooting and growth of Truth, more than the outward appearance. Where there is an inward growth to Godward, it is seen and discerned by the spiritual eye that God hath opened in his children; by which we do appear lovely, amiable, and comfortable to each other; and in this it is that the lasting fellowship stands. If I speak with the tongue of men and angels, and want this, the life of the seed will be burdened and oppressed in them where it is risen; though others, whose life stands in the affection, may be greatly joyed and lifted up thereby; but this will never bring to God, nor add any to the body of Christ, nor edify his church.

Therefore, I have always found it safe, to keep something in the storehouse for my own food; and to break only that bread to others that was given me for that purpose; and the same that I have learned by experience declare I unto thee, because I love thee. I hope thou wilt be sensible of my love, and receive these lines as a token of it; and remember my very dear love to thy wife and daughter. Tell her, I am glad to hear good news of her, and, if thou writes to me, let me hear how it goes with her: she is now come to years of understanding, and knows the leadings of the light in her own conscience, what she may do and speak, and what not; and as she is obedient thereunto, she will find peace in her own bosom, be a comfort to you, and will appear lovely to all her friends.

So no more, but my true and unfeigned love to you all: I rest thy friend in Truth,

STEPHEN CRISP.

Letter to a Friend.

DEAR FRIEND,—Thine I have received, desiring me to deal faithfully with thee as to thy state, which, indeed, I am willing to do; for the Lord gives me to distinguish the work of his spirit, (which is, indeed, to convince of sin, because of unbelief,) from the work of the enemy, who also, sometimes, being the author of unbelief, yet accuseth for the same; but it is not

his voice that cries, Lord! help my unbelief. Dear lamb, my soul is affected with thy state even daily, and I may often say hourly; and a travail is in my spirit concerning thee before the Lord; and upon my most near search before the Lord, I have nothing but good to prophecy concerning thee. The Lord hath beheld the uprightness of thy heart, which is his own work, and delights therein; and as to all those murmurings, repinings, and rebellions thou writes of, the Lord knows how little consent they have in thee; but bring anguish upon thy poor soul, that thou may feel the need of his salvation. Hitherto he hath never failed thee, but though thou waited sometimes long and sought him, yet he answered at last. Though now the coming of thy soul's beloved, be but as the lightning that shines from the east and passeth into the west, and is not as the glory of a perfect day; yet, my dear heart, bless the Lord for what he doth bestow, and that he hath given thee a heart to wait for more; and that this world cannot satisfy thee; for such will the Lord assuredly satisfy in his own time. Dear lamb, trust in the Lord, and so farewell.

STEPHEN CRISP.

Letter to a Friend.

DEARLY BELOVED,—In the Lord my soul salutes thee, as one who is brought into my remembrance, by that Spirit that doth often bow me to thy burdens, which, I know, are not a few.

Dear heart, it is nothing but the day that expels the night, and the day-star brings the hope thereof; therefore, my dear friend, forasmuch as it hath pleased God to cause this star to appear, and that thou knowest thine eye has seen it, be not discouraged because of clouds, but know that the day is at hand. And as concerning all satan's buffetings, know and consider that though they are never so many and strong, yet they are but like the waves of the sea, and they are limited. Feel thou an habitation in that which limits them, and rest in patience, and possess thy soul in that, and it will be well in the end. If there were no trials, there would not be so much need of patience. Dear heart, feel my love, which is beyond words.

So, with my dear love to thy husband, M. and Anna, &c. I rest thy true friend,

STEPHEN CRISP.

THE LIFE OF

MARY DUDLEY,

INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF

HER RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENTS AND EXTRACTS FROM HER LETTERS.

She "being dead yet speaketh."—*Heb.* xi. 4.

INTRODUCTION.

As it is declared that "the memory of the just is blessed," and "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance," it seems to be the duty of those who possess the requisite materials, to select and bring forward such particulars, respecting the lives and characters of pious and devoted individuals, as may tend to instruct and encourage survivors, and exalt the power of divine grace.

My beloved mother did not keep a regular journal; yet when absent from home she mostly transmitted copious details of her engagements, and sometimes made memoranda to which she often mentioned her intention of adding; but frequent attacks of illness, and the occurrence of trying circumstances, combined to frustrate her purpose; so that when not actively engaged in the service of her Lord and Master, the leisure she possessed was seldom accompanied by sufficient ability for much writing. In the following pages, however, her own language has been generally adhered to, although in making extracts some trifling verbal alterations were found necessary; but great care has been taken to preserve the true sense and import

where any small variation seemed expedient. The prosecution of this interesting employment has been attended with a consciousness of inability to do justice to the valuable documents committed to my trust, and the character of my departed parent; both of which are capable of being made extensively useful, had the office of editor been filled by one more competent to perform its duties.

The work is now submitted to the public, with an earnest desire, that one who spent so large a proportion of a lengthened life in seeking to promote the highest interests of her fellow-creatures, may, though dead, continue to speak instructively to the hearts and understandings of those who are alike "called to glory and virtue."

ELIZABETH DUDLEY.

Peckham, Eleventh month, 1824.

CHAPTER I.

From her birth to the time of her joining the Religious Society of Friends, in 1773.

MARY DUDLEY was the daughter of Joseph and Mary Stokes, and born in the city of Bristol, the 8th of the sixth month, 1750. Being of a delicate constitution, she was, during infancy and childhood, subject to frequent and severe indispositions; yet she was early sent to school, and has often mentioned as a proof of serious thoughtfulness, her love of reading the Holy Scriptures, and that her partiality for the Prophecies of Isaiah was such, as to make her governess repeatedly inquire whether she had not yet got through that book? Being of quick parts, and possessing facility in acquiring knowledge, she made rapid progress in learning; and as she advanced to youth, the vanity which is inherent in the human mind was much fed by the admiration of her relations and acquaintance; yet, even at this early period, she was at times sensible of the humbling visitation of divine love; and in expressing her solicitude for young people, she has often been heard to say, how highly she should have valued the privilege of Christian counsel and sympathy, under those convictions which were at times counteracted on one hand by incitements to worldly pleasure, and on the other by ridicule for wishing to appear better than her cotemporaries; nor were these efforts untried on the part of those whose duty it was to act very differently. The following are her own observations:

——— "I am drawn to commemorate the gracious dealings of a merciful Father and Creator in early visiting my mind, which though ignorant of the nature of deep religious feelings, was certainly often impressed with them in the morning of my day; though, from a remarkably lively disposition, I did not yield to that awful fear, at seasons felt, which preserving from the snares of death would have led into a conformity to the divine will. Being educated in great strictness by my parents, respecting the observance and ceremonies of the worship they professed, (that of the Establishment,) I was a constant attendant upon them from childhood, though with this, allowed to enter into most of the amusements of the world, to which my natural disposition greatly inclined; while in the midst of dissipation I often felt a dissatisfaction, and my mind was visited with something so awful that I appeared to others very grave, and have frequently been laughed at for it. I was fond of reading, and found much pleasure in yielding to it; which, with a turn for poetry, and the intimate acquaintance of several sensible, seriously inclined persons, occupied much of my time from seventeen to eighteen years of age. These circumstances, together with the death of my beloved grandmother, gave a shock to that vanity, in the gratification of which she had much contributed to suppport me; and a disappointment in an affectionate attachment terminated the attraction to visible objects, so that my mind was like a blank, waiting to be filled up, and prepared for the more extensive reception of the precious visitation, which, early in the twentieth year of my life, was sweetly vouchsafed; so that all that was within me bowed in deep prostration, and yielded to the superior power of heavenly love. My mind being in the prepared state above described, it would be unsafe to date this change from the particular period of my attending the Methodist meetings; though in doing so I certainly felt more of divine impressions than at any previous season, and particularly when under the ministry of one of their preachers, who seemed commissioned with a message to my mind. I continued to hear him, with many others; attended all the means, as they are called, and was often sweetly affected and comforted; yet even at such times there was something within me craving the purity of an inward, spiritual life—and seeing that without holiness no man could see the Lord, as I did believe was attainable, how did my whole soul breathe for this knowledge to be revealed, and in the depth of silence, struggle that I might rightly seek and experience it. I went into various places of worship among the Dissenters, and was at one time greatly taken with the Baptists; but still found a want, a vacuum unfilled with that good I was thirsting after. Not from conviction, but partly from persuasion, and something

in me yielding to the way I thought might easily settle me, I joined the Methodist Society, and also continued constantly to attend the established worship, that of my education; but in the several ceremonies of this, and the different meetings of the other, such as classes, bands, &c. I felt unsatisfied, and often, while others were engaged in attention to the preaching and singing, has my spirit in solemn silence communed with the "Lord my strength," so that I scarcely knew what was passing around me, and even felt disturbed from this inward attraction, when obliged to draw to that spot where the outward elements were prepared for the congregation. Oh! how did I then feel the heavenly mystery, and sweetly partake of the bread of life, so that all forms and shadows fled away, and became no longer of use or efficacy to a mind feeding spiritually on the substance. During these feelings and consequent shakings from all visible things, I often went into Friends' meetings, and there, especially in silence, did my spirit feed, as it also did in deep awful retiredness, when no eye saw me; but when, by this powerful attraction, hours have passed away, so that my body seemed to do with a very small portion of rest or sleep. I felt like a child clinging to its parent's breast; and in this state covenant was made, which to this hour, I humbly trust has not been forgotten."

Her totally withdrawing herself from those scenes of amusement in which she had dissipated much precious time, brought upon her the ridicule of her young companions, and even the censure of many who were much older though less thoughtful than she was; and the expectation of her again returning to worldly pleasures, was frequently evinced; while both flattery and entreaty were made use of, to counteract that seriousness of demeanour which was deemed so unnecessary at the age of nineteen. The change which she felt it her duty to make, by leaving off ornaments, and wearing such attire as was consistent with her views of Christian simplicity, being very mortifying to some of her nearest connexions, she suffered considerably on this account. The peace, however, with which her mind was favoured, more than counterbalanced these trials; and strength being mercifully proportioned to the occasion, she was enabled to persevere in the path of obedience, and has frequently been heard to say, that her company soon became as undesirable to her former gay associates, as theirs was to her; while her society and example proved the means of solid advantage to some of her cotemporaries, who continued or sought her acquaintance. At this period she frequently recorded her feelings in metrical composition; and the two following pieces are selected, as instructively describing her state of mind.

WRITTEN ON HER TWENTIETH BIRTH-DAY.

Did angels' love or seraphs' glowing fire
My bosom warm, or my glad breast inspire—
With what loud praises would I pierce the skie
What tuneful incense from my lips should rise.
Yet tho' my pow'rs with no such ardour glow,
The feeble strains of thankful love may flow;
My languid numbers shall a tribute bring,
And humble praise awake the silent string.
While nineteen years their varied seasons roll'
How chain'd this captive heart in winter's cold
Unaw'd by threat'nings and uncharm'd by love,
It still refus'd the quick'ning draught to prove.
Vain the return of ev'ry annual day,
Its call still slighted or neglected lay;
In vain it told me that it gave me birth,
For still it found and left me slave to earth.
Immur'd in shades of interwoven night,
In Nature's dismal chaos, void of light,
Thus lay enwrapt my pow'rs, till mercy spoke,
And thro' the gloom a ray obedient broke.
Amazing *grace!* thro' *this* I still survive,
And boundless love has bid the rebel live;—
Bids me, for once, with joy behold the day
That brought to light this animated clay.
Since Mercy deigns to smile,—hail welcome mo
Forever solemniz'd be thy return;
On thee let pure devotion ever rise,
And breathe to heaven unsullied sacrifice.

A HYMN,

WRITTEN IN THE TWENTY-FIRST YEAR OF HER A

How shall I tune a trembling lay,
How touch the soften'd string?
Fain would I heav'nly love display,—
The God of mercy sing.

I would,—but Oh! how faint each power,
How far too high the theme;—
Come, blessed Spirit, aid restore,
And raise the languid flame!

What wondrous grace! what boundless lo
What soft compassion this,
That calls my rebel heart to prove
A never-fading bliss!

Long have I sought the pleasing sound,—
But sought, alas! in vain—
Explor'd in Pleasure's mazy ground,
In Nature's desert plain.

What grace that I am not consum'd,
Not hurl'd to endless night;
Mercy has all her pow'r assum'd,
And yields a cheering light.

'Tis Mercy bids me seek the Lord;
'Tis Mercy bids me fly;
'Tis Mercy speaks the balmy word,
"Repent, thy God is nigh."

'Tis Mercy fills my trembling heart
With agonizing pain,
With keen distress and poignant smart,—
Nor heave these sighs in vain.

The tears that now in torrents flow,
This Mercy will repress;
Remove the load, a pardon show,
And speak a healing peace.

Then let me humbly wait the hour—
The hour of sweet release;
Incessant, saving grace implore,
Incessant, pant for peace.

At thy blest feet, my LORD and KING,
Resigned let me lie,
Till the glad peals of triumph ring,
And Faith behold Thee nigh.

Then shall the stammerer's tongue proclaim
The goodness of the LORD;
In grateful strains rehearse His fame,
In hymns His love record.

I'll warble to each list'ning ear
The feeble song of praise;
My sweet employ while trav'lling here,
To lisp Redeeming Grace!

She was much esteemed by John Wesley, and other distinguished characters in the Methodist connexion, and was frequently urged to become what is called a class leader; but she freely confessed to him, and other members of the society, that her views were not perfectly accordant with their tenets, and she uniformly refrained from taking any active part amongst them. Her exercises of mind, under the gradual discoveries of the divine will concerning her, being in degree unfolded in some letters to a dear and intimate friend, it is thought the following extracts will be acceptable to the reader.

May 10th, 1771.—"I have nothing, my dear friend, to tell you, but of mercies—nothing but unbounded love should be my theme. The Lord is indeed gracious, and has lately given me to feel it. Oh! what sweet calls, what gentle admonitions has He indulged me with. The feeble structure of clay is impaired—but, glory to my God, my soul feels the invigorating influence of his grace; in some moments of retirement lately, it has been ready to burst its barrier, and I have earnestly longed to be with my Beloved, nor can I think it will be long first. Glorious prospect! Oh! my friend, if our next meeting should be around the throne! While I write, my heart feels unutterable desires. Pray for me, that the work of grace may be completed in my soul. I believe it will—I feel I want every thing, and am fully confident Jesus will supply all that is lacking. In the eyes of some, this might appear as the wild excursion of enthusiasm; to my friend it will wear a different aspect, and I trust, engage her in my behalf at the throne of grace. This, however, we are certain of, there is no danger from any thing that leads to God, and an impression, whether real or imaginary, of our nearness to death, cannot but give a solemnity to the mind."

November 5th, 1771.—"Do not you, do not I, feel the need of just such an all-sufficient Redeemer, as the compassionate Jesus? Blessed be his name, we cannot, we would not do without Him, as our Prophet, Priest, and King. Here our poverty is indeed our greatest riches: we are content, yea, we rejoice, that our whole dependance is on, and our entire support derived from Him in whom all fullness dwells; as having nothing and yet possessing all things. Christ is indeed eyes to the blind, ears to the deaf, feet to the lame, yea, all the sinner wants. For my own part, I feel I am all weakness and helplessness, having every thing to learn, but find the Lord Jesus to be that rock whereunto I may always resort. I long to be more closely united to Him who hath so graciously condescended, and mercifully delivered me. Oh! that my one desire, aim, and intention, may be to live to His glory."

——— "To be in the will of Him who does all things well, is blessed: may we bow continually to his easy sway. Oh! what happiness should we find resulting from the desire that He might choose for us. Surely infinite love joins with infinite wisdom, and wills our peace. May our language then be ever this—

'Melt down our will and let it flow
And take the mould divine.'

——— "Consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Jesus Christ, who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross. Oh! my friend, let us press toward the mark, this glorious mark of conformity to our divine Lord and Master. Does nature, that principle which cries spare me, oppose, and strongly resist the operation of that power which lays the axe to the root of the tree, and forbids self-indulgence? yet, let us in the strength communicated, obey that command, "follow me;" and will not every act of self-denial we are enabled to perform, weaken the power of our enemies, and encourage us to persevere in the glorious combat? Verily it will, and also meet a present recompense of reward from conde-

scending grace. Come, then, my beloved friend, gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and watch unto prayer; the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet him; meet Him, by adverting to him in your own heart, where he waits to speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Oh! for that attentive listening to His secret voice, which one felt who said, 'Be still, Oh my soul! speak, Oh my Love!' I had almost said, Hail celestial silence, sacred source of heavenly safety, sweetest spring of solid peace. I know not of any path besides that is truly safe,—it is an impregnable fortress. 'I will watch to see what he will say unto me,' was the determination of an ancient servant of the Most High: may my friend go and do likewise, and may the God of all grace enable His weakest worm to follow every solemn injunction, and obey the dictates of His spirit. Pray that I may ever keep an attentive watch, lest I should be surprised in an hour I expect not."

——— "I have frequently wished for an opportunity of addressing you through this channel, but in vain, till the present moment, and with more than usual pleasure I embrace it; but what can I say? Not rich and increased with goods, but poor and needy, where is my spring of help? Even in Him who is the Alpha and Omega; if in matchless condescension He deigns to communicate, as His is the power, to Him also may the glory be ever ascribed! I suppose my friend expects an interpretation of what has been lately hinted, with regard to the approbation I feel of the Quakers' mode of worship: on this point I have little to say, yet with the most unreserved freedom will I speak to that friend, whom I wish to know the inmost recesses of my heart. I need not tell you how exceedingly different my natural disposition is from the love of solitude, whether internal or external. Prone to activity, and fond of dissipation, I pursued the attraction, till a more powerful and all conquering one allured me. Since I have known any thing of the peace which is from above, retirement has been pleasant, though a principle of acting was yet alive; this was encouraged by my connexion with the Methodists, who I need not tell you are in the active class. Having premised how opposed to my own, I think I may conclude, that the Spirit of God has now produced a cessation of self-working within me, and by emptying as from vessel to vessel, is showing me I have every thing to learn, and that by lying in His forming hand, the temple will be raised to his own glory; this leads me into the inward path of abstraction from those things I once thought essential, and to the confirmation of these feelings the ministry of the Friends has much contributed; the small still voice has whispered unutterable things to His unworthy dust in their assemblies, and given tokens of his approbation to my meeting with them. Adored be his condescending love! Hitherto then hath the Lord brought me, and who hath been His counsellor? Verily his own unerring wisdom: the future, with the past, is His; ignorance itself am I. I have no light, but as he diffuses it, and He has graciously promised that His followers shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life; they shall be taught of God. Is this Divine Teacher my friend? May I be all attention to Him who has given me the desire to be instructed by Him. To this guiding, my much loved friend, I leave my cause; I feel it my privilege to wait upon God. I know not that it is my duty to be joined with this part of the flock, though my mind strongly unites with them: my path must be more illumined before I presume to take a step so important. I want not a name, need I tell you so? it is the nature of that Christianity which is life and spirit, that can alone administer real peace to mine and to every soul. Permit me then, my friend, to meet with, and love those who are the subject of your fears—your friendly, tender fears—and think not that I shall ever realize these, unless plainly directed thereto. My ever dear friend will, I doubt not, bear me on her heart before the throne of grace, where I trust our united language will forever be—'Father, thy will be done.'"

Many others of her religious acquaintance also testified their uneasiness at her evident attraction to the Society of Friends; and John Wesley wrote to her in very strong terms of disapprobation. The following letter to him closed her correspondence with this highly esteemed friend, who afterwards continued to treat her with affectionate regard, and to speak of her in terms of respect.

Letter to John Wesley.

July 29, 1772.

"My very dear and worthy friend:—For once I can say, the receipt of a letter from you has given me inexpressible pain; I am therefore constrained to address you in this manner, before we personally meet, as I fear my spirits would not enable me so freely to speak, as to write the undisguised feelings of my heart. I believe the apprehension of my valuable friend and father, arises from a tender affection for an unworthy worm; of the sincerity of which he has only added a fresh and convincing proof. Whether I may give weight to, or dissipate your fears, the most unreserved declaration of my sentiments will determine. Your reviving in my remembrance, the many favours I have received from the liberal hand of mercy, since my connexion with our dear friends, is kindly

proper; I think I have some sensibility of the love of God towards me in this respect, and esteem that memorable hour when I heard the gospel trumpet among them, the happiest of my life. Yes, my dearest sir, my heart burns while I recollect the attraction of heavenly grace! the many, the innumerable mercies since then received, I desire with thankfulness to acknowledge; and which, unless the spirit is separated from the gracious Author, cannot be forgotten. 'Beware of striking into new paths,' says my revered friend. Much, very much, should I fear exploring any of myself, or taking one step in so important a point, without the direction of Him, who is emphatically called, 'Wonderful! Counsellor!' To His praise be it spoken, He has given me the desire to be guided by Him; and I humbly hope, in obedience to this Holy Teacher, I have at some seasons lately attended the Quakers' meeting, but not at the time of our own worship, except Sunday evenings, when, with truth I say, the excessive warmth of the room was too much for me to bear. I am obliged to testify, the Lord has clothed his word delivered there with divine power, for which the heart of my dear father will rejoice, since

'Names, and sects, and parties fall,
And thou, O Christ, art all in all!'

With regard to silent meetings, I apprehend their authority may be known by the power they are attended with. I have not been at such, yet in my own experience find the unutterable prayer to be the most profitable, and am led much into what is so beautifully expressed in one of our hymns.

'The speechless awe that dares not move,
And all the silent heaven of love!'

I long to be more internally devoted to that God, who alone is worshipped in spirit and in truth; and find, in order to keep up a spiritual intercourse, there must be a deep, inward, silent attention, to the secret intimations of divine love, for which my inmost soul aspires to Him, who has promised to fulfil the desire of them that seek him; and is this, my dear sir, 'stepping out of the way?' Surely it cannot, while I find a peace that passeth all understanding. Can this lead me to think slightly of my old teachers? Oh! could my heart be opened to my friend, he would see far other characters imprest. Will this teach me to neglect my meetings? I esteem them great privileges where, not custom, but a sincere desire for God's glory is our principle of action. What further can I say to my honoured friend, after disclosing so much of that heart which holds him in most affectionate and respectful love. I can only add the request, that he would join me in that emphatic prayer to the God of all grace, 'Thy will be done;' to which an attention and obedience will, I trust, divinely influence his very unworthy, but gratefully affectionate,

"M. Stokes."

After this she gradually withdrew from the Methodist Society, and became increasingly sensible that it was her religious duty to profess with Friends, which she was strengthened openly to acknowledge in language and demeanour, about the middle of the year 1773. This important event, and the deep exercises by which it was preceded, are thus stated in my dear mother's own narrative;

——— "The active zeal of the people I loved, and had joined, now appeared to me irreconcilable with that self-abasement, and utter inability to move without holy help, which I experienced. I had nothing but poverty and weakness to tell of; and when from the force of example, I did speak,* my little strength was rather diminished than increased. Indeed, I found little but in quietude and inward attention, and when centered here, I had all things, because I possessed the good itself. Thus was my mind drawn from all creatures, without the help of any, to the Creator and source of light and life, who, to finish His own work, saw meet to deprive me of my health; this happened in the year 1773, about the time of my dear father's death, on whom I closely attended through a lingering illness, wherein he said to me, 'O Polly! I had rather see you as you are than on a throne.' I believe he died in peace. My complaints threatened my life, being consumptive, but I felt no way anxious respecting the termination. I was weaned from all creatures, but felt, beyond all doubt, that if life was prolonged, were there no Quaker on earth, I must be one in principle and practice; but being determined if the work was of God, He himself should effect it, I read not any book of their writing. Being utterly unable to go from home, I attended no place of worship, and conversed with very few, except my beloved and most intimate friend, Rebecca Scudamore,† and even to her were my lips sealed respecting the path pointed out to me; but after hesitating and shrinking many weeks from using the plain language, wherein the cross was too great to be resignedly borne, she told me her fixed belief, that I ought to use it, and that my disobedience caused her great suffering, or to that effect: I then told her, I was convinced of its being required, but, that if giving my natural life would

* This alludes to the practice of disclosing individual experience in class meetings of the Methodist Society.

† This friend was a member of the Church of England, and highly esteemed, as a woman of distinguished piety and deep spiritual experience. A short account of her life was printed at Bristol about thirty years ago.

be accepted, I was ready to yield the sacrifice. My health grew worse, and every act of transgression increased my bodily weakness; until feeling all was at stake, in the very anguish of my spirit I yielded; and addressing my beloved and hitherto affectionate mother, in the language of conviction, my sufferings grew extreme through her opposition; but never may my soul forget the precious influence then extended. The very climate I breathed in was sweet, all was tranquil and serene, and the evidence of heavenly approbation beyond expression clear; so that this temporary suffering from mistaken zeal, seemed light, comparatively; and indeed all was more than compensated by future kindness, when light shone about that dear parent's dwelling. My health mended, I soon got to meetings, and though ignorant of the way Friends had been led, or some peculiar testimonies they held, the day of vision clearly unfolded them one after another, so that obedience in one matter loosened the seal to another opening, until I found, as face answered face in a glass, so did the experience of enlightened minds answer one to the other. I here remember the strong impression I received of the want of rectitude and spirituality, respecting the payment of tithes or priest's demands; feeling great pain in only handing, at my mother's request, a piece of money, which was her property, to some collectors for this purpose: so delicate and swift is the pure witness against even touching that which defileth."

Her relations left no means untried to dissuade her from a profession which involved so much self denial, and seemed, in their view, to frustrate every prospect of worldly advantage; and her mother considering her change as the effect of temptation, was in hopes the interference of the minister of the parish would prove helpful, and accordingly promoted their having an interview; but this did not produce any alteration, neither was it very satisfactory to either party. The clergyman very strongly censured her for having taken so important a step without first consulting him, to which she replied, that not feeling at liberty to confer with flesh and blood, even by consulting her own inclinations, she dared not seek any human counsel, and was endeavouring to act in simple obedience to the discoveries of divine light in her own soul. Upon leaving her, he presented a book, which he enjoined her to read, but upon looking at the title "A Preservative from Quakerism," she pleasantly observed, "It is too late, thou shouldest have brought me a restorative." In the midst of this opposition, she was much encouraged by the sympathy and Christian advice of Elizabeth Johnson, a conspicuous and valuable member of the Methodist society. This friend had frequently visited her during her illness, and once when she was thought near her end, after spending a considerable time in silence by the bed side, solemnly addressed her in the following language: "I do not believe that your Heavenly Father is about to take you out of the world, but I believe you are called to make a different profession; you are not led as the Methodists are, but are designed to become a Quaker." This, though very striking and of an encouraging tendency, did not produce any acknowledgment of what was then passing in the conflicted mind of the invalid, who, however, continued to derive comfort from the visits of this valuable acquaintance; and has often mentioned the sweet and strengthening influence of which she was at times sensible, when no words passed between them, as well as the tender and maternal interest which she afterwards manifested, when the view she had expressed was realized, by her young friend publicly avowing religious sentiments different from her own.

CHAPTER II.

Conflicts respecting her call to the Ministry—Marriage and Removal into Ireland. From 1773 *to* 1786.

THE state of her mind at this important period, will be best set forth by a further extract from the memoir already alluded to:

——"I now kept constantly to the meetings of Friends, and began to feel a settlement of mind in real peace, which my tossed state for several years had caused me only transiently to possess; or, at least, not in the degree of which I now partook; not that all the work seemed requisite to commence anew, for assuredly Christ had been raised in my heart, though until now, the government was not wholly on His shoulders; but by this unreserved surrender to His pure guidance, the mystery of godliness was beginning to open in increasing light and power, and that spirituality which had been discovered was now in a measure possessed. The view I had been affected with on my first convincement, now cleared, and appeared so near being realized, that my mind, almost without interruption, dwelt under so awful a covering, that even all conversation impressed me with fear, and I was held in deep inward attention for, and to, the revealings of life. In religious meetings I was for some time frequently affected even to trembling, when matter would present to my mind, as though I must deliver it, though seldom more than a very little; notwithstanding the love I felt was so universal, that I wanted all to be reached unto, but for this family, the Society of Friends, among whom I had tasted the soul-sustain-

ng bread; Oh! how did I long for them and their good.

"About this season, from a settled conviction of rectitude, I applied to be received into membership; and thought I might, when this privilege was granted, feel more strength should this solemn requiring be continued; but though my way was made so easy, that one visit only was ever paid me on this account, Friends being quite satisfied in their minds respecting the work begun in me; yet while the previous deliberation in the meeting took place, the fire of the Lord so burned in my heart, that I dared not but speak with my tongue. For several meeting days I hesitated, not from wilful disobedience, but awful fear to move in so great a work, and felt consequent poverty, though not severe condemnation; but one day, about the eleventh month, I think, in the year 1773, sitting with Friends in their meeting-house in the Friars, Bristol, (I had once in a little country meeting moved before, but never here where the cross was great indeed,) my spirit bowed in awful reverence before the God of my life, and a few words so settled, that I could not any way shake them from me. I sat and trembled exceedingly, and desired to be excused, till a valuable friend from America, Robert Willis, then on a religious visit to that city, stood up, and spoke so encouragingly to my state, that when he closed I stood on my feet, and the words impressing my mind, seemed to run through me as a passive vessel; he almost instantly kneeled down, and supplicated for the preservation of the little ones, saying, 'Thou hast brought to the birth and given strength to bring forth,' &c. I could not stand while he was thus engaged, being as though my whole frame was shaken through the power of truth. When meeting closed I got as quickly as I could out of it, and walked a back way home, with such a covering of sweet peace, that I felt the evidence indisputably clear, that if I were then called out of time, an everlasting inheritance was sure: the whole creation wore the aspect of serenity, and the Creator of all things was my friend. Oh! on my return home and retiring to my chamber, how sweetly precious did the language, addressed to the holy patriarch in an instance of obedience, feel to my spirit, and it was indeed sealed by divine power, 'Because thou hast been faithful in this thing, in blessing I will bless thee,' &c., &c. None of my family knew of this matter, and I strove to appear cheerful, which indeed I could in the sweet feeling of life; but so awful was the consideration of what was thus begun, that solemnity was also my garment, and I wished to be hid from the sight of every one. My body being very weak, the exercise and agitation greatly affected me, and I was that night taken alarmingly ill, but in a few days recovered, and got again to meetings. Friends manifested great tenderness towards me, and though not frequently, I sometimes said a few words in the same simplicity I first moved, and once or twice ventured on my knees; after which exercises, I mean all of this nature, I felt quiet and easy, but never partook in the like degree as before recited of divine consolation."

Here it may not be unseasonable to remark, that her dedication was made the means of reconciling her offended mother, to the change which had so exceedingly tried her: This dear parent being accidently at a meeting where her daughter spoke, was greatly affected by the circumstance, and calling upon an intimate acquaintance afterwards, expressed her regret at having ever opposed her, adding, that she was then convinced it must be the work of God, as from the knowledge she had of her daughter's disposition, she was well aware it must have cost her close suffering to undergo the exposure she had witnessed that evening. The fruit of this conviction became immediately apparent, so that although no direct allusion was ever made to the subject, the return of maternal tenderness and love was a sufficient, and very grateful evidence to one, who had deeply lamented the necessity of giving pain to a parent, by acknowledging the superior duty she owed to her heavenly Father.

In her own memoranda she then writes:

——— "My acquaintance now increased amongst Friends, and I had frequent opportunities of hearing the observations of some very wise and experienced persons, respecting ministry. Though great was the encouragement given me by many, as well residents in the same place, as strangers, a disposition always prevalent in me, especially on religious subjects, now took the lead, and I fell into great reasoning respecting my call to, and preparation for, so great a work. I imagined if I had longer abode in the furnace of refinement it had been better, and sometimes thought I was wholly mistaken; that perhaps the first, or all the little offerings, were acceptable as proofs of the surrender of my will; but, the ministry I was not designed for, the woe had not been sufficiently felt, &c., &c. Oh! it would be difficult for me to mention, nor might it be safe, what my spirit was by these reasonings plunged into, insomuch that at last life itself was bitter, and a coincidence of outward circumstances added to my inward pressures, so that I fainted in my sighing, and found little or no rest. Meeting after meeting I refused to move at the word of holy command, which hereby became less intelligible, and my understanding gradually darkened through rebellion, so that I said with Jonah, 'It is better for me to die than to live.' Frequent-

ly, before going to meeting, has my spirit felt the interceding language, 'Leave me not altogether, but, if this thing be required of me, again reveal thy power, and I will yield obedience; and such has been the condescension of the Lord that I have been repeatedly so favoured; but presuming to say, this is not a motion strong or clear enough, I cannot move in doubt or uncertainty, my covenant was not kept, and I again incurred divine displeasure, and in a manner only comprehended by experience, knew the poverty of withholding more than was meet. I at last became almost insensible to any clear call or manifestation of duty; yet when deprived of my health, and not expected by others to recover, I was favoured with inward quiet, and perhaps might have obtained mercy, had I then been taken; but He, whose goodness and ways are unfathomable, saw meet to raise from the bed of languishing; and soon after, in the year 1777, I entered into the married state, and removed to settle in Ireland.

"It was now about four years since I had first opened my mouth in the ministry, and perhaps three years since the reasoning of my mind had kept me from a state of obedience, in which time I had removed from Bristol to Frenchay, where I was married, at which place of residence I never recollect appearing in any meeting, and seldom in any private sitting; often concluding, that, if any gift had ever been entrusted, it was now quite removed, and I must endeavour in some other form to be a vessel, if that could be, of use. I well remember, as I had nearly centred in this state, and in more than distress, even wretchedness at times, a language saluted the ear of my soul, which I then knew not was in Scripture, but on searching found it. 'The gifts and callings of God are without repentance:' then my strong hold of settling in that state was broken up, and I was humbled in grateful acknowledgment that I might still be restored. Being in the situation above described, I was recommended to the meeting which I had now removed to, only as a member of Society, which was done in a very affectionate manner; though in the certificate from Bristol to Frenchay, my appearances in the ministry had been mentioned. Soon after settling in Clonmel, I was, however, introduced into the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and also made an overseer, in which station I sometimes made remarks in private sittings and meetings for discipline; hoping thereby to obtain relief; but alas! every effort in this line failed to procure me ease of spirit, and instead of becoming more weaned from visible things, these attractions revived feelings which I had before known to be in subjection, and every act of disobedience strengthened the enemy of my soul's happiness in his efforts to keep me in bondage. When sitting in religious meetings, I was often sensible of the revival of exercise; and undoubtedly felt a sufficient degree of strength to have gone forth, had I been willing to use it; but the old plea, more clearness, more power, prevented my accepting the often-offered deliverance; and at last the intimation became so low, the command so doubtful, that it seemed as though I might either move, or be still, as I liked, and I even have rejoiced after meeting, in an ungodly sort, that I had been kept from the temptation of speaking in the Lord's name.

"The concern of sensible minds on my account now became frequent, and several were led into near and tender sympathy with me, and travailed for my deliverance; but I now had no hope of ever again experiencing this; and often was I brought apparently to the borders of the grave, by trying attacks of illness; so that I may describe my situation as being often miserable, though the sackcloth was worn more within than without; and I appeared to men not to fast, when my soul lacked even a crumb of sustaining bread. Thus I went on, as nearly as my recollection serves, for about seven years, after my first yielding to the reasonings before described; and indeed just before being brought out of this 'horrible pit,' I think the extremity never was so great, insomuch that I fainted in my spirit, and all hope was cut off, my language being, 'I shall die in the pit.' In this state I attended a Province or Quarterly Meeting, in Cork, and after sitting two meetings for worship on First-day, in, I fear, wilful rebellion to the gentle intimations of duty, I went to Samuel Neale's, in a trying situation of mind and body, and his conduct towards me was like a tender father, saying, 'The gift in thee must be stirred up.' I got little rest that night, and next morning went in extreme distress to meeting, where I had not sat long before a serenity long withheld covered my mind, and I thought I intelligibly heard a language uttered, which exactly suited my own state; but it so hung about me, as at my first appearance, though not any thing like the same clear command to express it, that being lifted above all reasonings, before I was aware I stood on my feet with it, and oh! the rest I again felt, the precious holy quiet! unequal in degree to what was first my portion; but as though I was altogether a changed creature, so that to me there was no condemnation. Here was indeed a recompense even for years of suffering, but with this alloy, that I had long deprived myself of the precious privilege, by yielding to those reasonings which held me in a state of painful captivity. One might naturally suppose, that after obtaining so great mercy, and feeling the precious effects of deliverance, great care would be taken, lest the fetters should again be felt;

ut though in some sort this was the case, my edication seemed only partial, and frequent elapses into want of faith again involved in istress and uncertainty, so that the relief at easons obtained, was broken in upon. And ometimes as delivering only a part of the commission obstructed the return of peace, it might ave been easy for me to conclude all wrong; o at other times great serenity was my covering, and the honest discharge of duty was revarded with the incomes of life.

"Having a disposition naturally prone to ffectionate attachment, I now began, in the ddition of children, to feel my heart in danger f so centering in these gifts, as to fall short of ccupying in the manner designed, with the ift received; and though at seasons I was rought in the secret of my heart to make an ntire surrender to the work I saw that I was alled to, yet when any little opening presented, ow did I shrink from the demanded sacrifice, nd crave to be excused in this thing; so that n enlargement was not witnessed for some ears, though I several times took journeys, nd experienced holy help to be extended."

CHAPTER III.

Visit to Friends at Limerick; and Journey into Leinster Province. 1786 *to end of* 1787.

The first religious engagement, of which she has left any account, was a visit to the families of Friends in Limerick, accompanied by her dear friend Margaret Grubb, of which service she writes as follows:

——"We arrived, through the protecting care of a kind Providence, in safety, on Seventh-day, the 2nd of the Ninth month, 1786, and met with a kind reception at T. M.'s. My spirits were sensibly sunk at not meeting my dear friend E. H., whom I had expected to join in the visit, but in a degree of hope that the great Master would aid with a little help and supply every want, we concluded to begin after meeting. In this season truth seemed at a low ebb, and the language of my poor spirit was, what came I here for? Yet with a remaining view or prospect of what had been before me; though almost afraid, from the painful feeling of things, how we might get through: but although we commenced the service, poor and stripped, we were favoured with a little supply of strength.

"Third-day, the 5th, sat a laborious, heavy meeting, truth exceedingly low, and the life sensibly oppressed: many men absent, and very few of those who were gathered, seemed digging for the rising of the spring.

"Sixth-day, the 8th—went again to meeting, where after a hard, laborious travail of spirit, the command seemed clear to sound the call formerly uttered: 'Wash ye, make ye clean,' &c. Help was graciously administered, yet life felt low, and I thought there was very little room in the minds of the people. We had two family sittings afterwards; and thus ended the arduous labour, whereunto I humbly trust the great and good Master led, and though it has been a very exercising time, the Lord has been near, enabling his poor little ones to discharge what appeared his requiring, in which a degree of peace is mercifully afforded, and it is to His name I would ascribe all the praise."

In the spring of the next year, she felt her mind attracted to Friends of Leinster Province. The following is extracted from her own account of this journey, and its attendant exercises.

"14th of Third month, 1787, left my own habitation, in company with my dear friend S. Shackleton, and proceeded by easy stages to Mount-Mellick, where we were favoured to arrive in safety the following day.

"16th. Sat a low exercising meeting, which was silent, except a few sentences delivered by dear M. Ridgway, recommending a self-examination to know why the spring did not rise in our solemn assemblies. The women's meeting was also a low season, but attended with more liberty to labour a little in heart, and some openness in expressing something of the sense impressed on the mind; there seems few in this place under qualification to help in the discipline, and I thought, (though it seemed conducted very regularly as to the letter,) there wanted more of the spirit or life attending. I felt myself after meeting, low and poorly in mind and body; no light as to moving from hence, I therefore concluded to stay over First-day.

"17th. Went to breakfast at J. G.'s, and had, afterwards, a little sitting, in much sweetness, with them and a few Friends not of the family; great nearness of sympathy with A. G., and much liberty in communicating what impressed the mind. Dear R. Shackleton, who kindly met me here, was well engaged in recommending fervour of spirit, that there might be dedication to serve the Lord.

"First-day. Sat a most laborious, hard meeting, no words uttered, nor any springing up of that well whose waters refresh the thirsty soul. The second meeting was low and silent, my mind under very close exercise, from the view, which now seemed confirmed, of sitting in the families here; the struggle on this subject was great, yet I got courage to throw it before my kind sympathising friend R. S., who uniting with the concern, we began on the 19th.

"Fifth-day, 22nd. Sat with the children in the Provincial school, which was a season of

great favour and liberty; much opened in pure love to this hopeful plantation, which seems evidently to me to be under the cultivating hand of Divine power. We dismissed the children, and had afterwards a sitting with the masters and mistresses, which was also owned by continued solemnity, and great liberty in mentioning what was felt; and we parted in the renewings of best love.

"First-day, 25th. Sat a very exercising meeting held in silence. Life exceedingly low. In the afternoon another trying meeting; dear M. R., was beautifully engaged in speaking to various states, and had to address some in the very language which had been used in several families; this tended greatly to comfort and strengthen my poor mind; which amidst this arduous work, has been deeply plunged and discouraged.

"Fourth-day, 28th. Sat another low, exercising, and silent meeting, though I believe it had been better for me to have spoken. Went that afternoon to Mountrath, and attended meeting there next day, which was a time of uncommon travail to my spirit; all seemed death and darkness; but through long waiting in silent baptism, I at length ventured on my feet with the language, 'Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins,' &c.; great liberty followed, but very little entrance seemed in the minds of the people.

"I felt at the conclusion of this meeting quite easy to proceed, so we set forward for Roscrea, and got safely and timely there, meeting a cordial reception from cousin Eleazer Dudley and his hospitable wife. Before leaving Mount-Mellick, I had expected that I might feel something about the families here, and soon after arriving was confirmed in the view of it, and got very low, desiring in the night season I might be rightly directed: but as it had arisen in the light, and there seemed enough to move in, we have concluded to begin this engagement to-day.

"First-day, 1st of Fourth month. Sat two deeply exercising meetings; the sense weightily impressed my mind, that there would be no revival in this place, till individuals come under the washing, sanctifying power of Truth; to which, I think, in the renewed love of the gospel, they were intreated to attend.

"After tea we had a solemn sitting in the family, long in silence, which was a profitable season; liberty was felt to invite the youth to abide much in stillness, to learn there, and also attend to the language, 'The Master is come and calleth for thee;' and, indeed, He does seem calling for that family to support His slighted testimonies. I have much hope of the dear children, if the chilling air that surrounds them does not blast their tender shootings.

"I was thankful for feeling clear of Roscrea, a place of extreme suffering to my mind; yet, though things were so low, and very close doctrine was given to declare, I have seldom been more sensible of help, than in my little exercise in these family visits. The sympathy and accordant feeling of my valuable companion R. S., tended to strengthen me in the hope, that the light which deceiveth not, had manifested the right line to move in.

"We got to Mount-Mellick third-day evening, and next day sat an exercising silent meeting there; afterwards a select one for this Monthly Meeting, which was silent also, except a few remarks by R. S., much to the purpose.

"Sixth-day, Fourth month 6th. The Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, was to me a low season, though dear E. Hatton and M. R., seemed favoured in delivering close testimonies. In an evening sitting, E. H., spoke in an encouraging line to the young people; and feeling a little matter moving on my mind respecting going down to the potter's house, &c., I ventured to follow him; holy help was near to open and enlarge beyond my first view—recommending to go down deep into Jordan for living stones, fit for memorials of the Lord's goodness and leadings.

"These seasons are precious, they strengthen Christian fellowship. I thought this little renewal of mutual exercise, cemented and bound closer in the one bundle—there seems, notwithstanding the low state of things, a stirring of good; may it be attended to, and carefully cherished, by all who feel it.

"Seventh-day began the Quarterly Meeting, which was long, and life low. In the morning meeting on first-day my mind was much exercised, but desiring greater clearness, I refrained from moving. J. Williams was well engaged, and I rejoiced, as far as I was able, that the Great Master was preparing and causing new trumpets to sound in His name; this dear friend seems coming forth in gospel authority. E. H., followed, and M. R., afterwards addressed different states; first the tried, apparently unfruitful branches under the purging hand, and then, the careless, worldly-minded professors; she closed in solemn supplication.

"I left the meeting in heaviness, fearing all was wrong with me, and sorely tried for disobedience. After this I parted with my beloved husband, who came to attend the Quarterly Meeting, and comforted me by bringing good accounts of our dear little flock. I was almost ready to conclude I should accompany him, but dared not do so.

"Though very low and poorly, I went again to meeting at four o'clock, where He, whose mercy faileth not, was pleased a little to cheer my drooping spirit: the command once more

went forth, 'Blow the trumpet in Zion,' &c.; it seemed to me, as though this command had been obeyed, and the trumpet had given a certain sound; but few were prepared for the battle, the spiritual weapons having fallen as on the mountains of Gilboa—the shield of the mighty being vilely cast away; yet a little sympathy was felt with the wrestling seed, to whom this language was addressed; 'Fear not, I am with thee, be not dismayed, I am thy God.'—Peace succeeded, and the meeting closed comfortably.

"Second-day the 9th, a solemn cementing season at J. G.'s, after which we parted with some dear friends, under a renewed hope that each, in their different portions of labour, would be shielded by divine power: we had afterwards two family sittings, and dining at ——'s, a solemnity ensued; 'The Master hath need of him,' struck my mind, with the remembrance that 'the colt was tied;' caution was freely administered, that neither the world, nor any hindering thing, might tie and confine from service, or coming forward, into usefulness. I felt great love to this young couple, and wish they may not be hurt by any thing in this life. My mind was rather peculiarly attracted towards a young woman who had come to the Quarterly Meeting, and getting her alone, a season followed worthy of being held in thankful remembrance, as one wherein the flowing of the Father's love was evident.—I felt deep travail that she might obey the call to come thoroughly out of every wrong thing, by submitting to the power of Truth: her mind was much tendered, the words seeming to have entrance, as into softened ground: may no presumptuous hand close the eye and ear which I do believe have been opened in this dear child, though in her appearance gay and trifling: I fear for her, lest some fowls of the air hovering about her may pick up some of the precious seed.

"Thus ended our exercising labour in this place, which is indeed a favoured one, though too many seem like the ground which has been often watered, and bringeth forth briars and thorns; few comparatively, concerned for themselves, but depending on the labour of the poor oppressed servants; and I often thought while here, the day was advancing, when the people must be scattered every one to his own: a wrestling seed, however, seems preserved; a little Goshen as in Egypt.

"Third-day, 10th, parted with our kind friends, I. and M. H., and set forward for Tullamore, where we arrived to dinner. Two Friends' families only residing in the town, it felt easier to me to sit with them, separately, than to appoint a meeting; after which service I felt quite released, and we left them; getting to Birr that night. Attended meeting there next day, in silence, and under a feeling of distress: several genteel people were present, to whom I was sensible of gospel love; but the members of our own little community seemed the objects of my travail, so far as I was able to travail. I thought if I could get them alone I should be more at liberty, we therefore concluded to sit with them in their families; which we did, and so ended the visit in this place, where darkness seemed indeed prevalent, and scarcely name or memorial for the Lord of Hosts to be found among them. I was glad to leave it, and after dinner we set off for Roscrea.

"Seventh-day, the 14th, felt a stop in my mind to proceeding this day to Knockballymaher, where I purposed being on first-day: some uneasiness respecting home had been hovering about me for several days; I tried, however, to have my mind as much disengaged from all anxiety as I could, and desired to be singly turned to whatever point light most shone on. We went in the afternoon to Dungar, and took tea with dear M. P., and her aunt A. P. On returning to our lodgings found W. N., just come from Clonmel; he informed me that the young woman who had the chief care of my children had taken the measles, and was removed out of the house. I sensibly felt this intelligence, and the struggle was not small to endeavour after, and attain, a degree of quietude, sufficient to discover the right path.

"I went distressed to bed, I think honestly resigned, either to go forward or return home, as truth opened. I got but little sleep in the night, and Knockballymaher seemed uppermost in the morning, so I rose early, and roused my companions—we set out, and after a rough ride for nearly two hours, got to meeting soon after Friends were assembled.

"Through the continuance of that mercy which never faileth, all thoughts of home seemed dispersed, and I was helped to get a little to my own exercise—my lot through most of this journey—that of being dipt into sympathy with the imprisoned seed. There seemed to be much business going forward in this meeting, but it was not the Lord's business—one seemed at his farm, another with his oxen, and almost all pleading excuse for not obeying the gracious invitation to the marriage—the ground of the hearts of many seemed never to have had the clods broken up by the holy plough, so the seed could not take root or spring up. With these feelings I was helped upon my feet, and enabled to deal honestly, as truth enlarged, in matter and manner—a few excited my sympathy, who knowing where to look for food, were concerned to wait for it—the faith of these was, I hope, a little strengthened to continue asking for daily bread.

"This is a poor spot—the members of the meeting far scattered one from another as to

places of residence, and I think such situations unfavourable to the right growth; though if all were careful to dwell near the life in themselves, no doubt the animating virtue would diffuse in their assemblies—instead of which, in many places it seems so oppressed that there is scarcely liberty to labour for its arising; it feels as though the hardness in many minds would stone those who are sent unto them.

"Several Friends kindly asked me home with them after meeting, but I felt an inclination to go to a family who did not urge it, that of a widow Friend, so went on with them to dinner. After tea we got into stillness, which proved a season of profit to my mind—much instruction was afforded therein, and I thought not only for my own advantage, but that something flowed to the younger part of the company, of which number there were I think nine or ten; some of these felt to me evidently under the cultivating hand, and such as would become fruitful boughs, and their branches run over the wall, if they, like Joseph, abode by the well, whose waters nourish and make green. Some caution was administered not to get out of the valley, where the dew lies long, but to abide in humility and holy fear, that so sound and acceptable fruit might be brought forth. This family manifests that much religious care has been exercised in their education, they are plain, exemplary, and solid—a fine sight in this degenerate day.

"After this visit I saw no way further, and, though the feeling of love was strong to other quarters, I was most satisfied to return home, believing the suspension for a while, might work increasing liberty at some other period if the weight continued; so on Second-day the 16th I set off for Clonmel, and was favoured to find my dear husband and children in health; for which blessing, with that of merciful preservation through this journey, I desire humble gratitude may fill my heart to Him, who is indeed the Alpha and Omega of all that is good."

CHAPTER IV.

Journey to some parts of Holland, Germany and France—in company with Sarah Robert Grubb—1788.

The next religious engagement upon which my dear mother entered, was one of an extensive and deeply important nature: the prospect of this, and her preparation for entering upon the service, will be best described in her own words. Alluding to the year 1787, she says:

——— "About the fall of that year I was seized with an alarming illness, out of which few expected I should recover, nor did I myself when judging from bodily feelings. As to my mind, it was kept in such a state of deep poverty that I could form no settled judgment respecting any thing, save that at some seasons, the evidence of having passed from death unto life, by the feeling of near unity with the brethren, consoled me.

"During this probation, though apparently I was near the closing scene, there were moments when the love of the gospel so prevailed, that a willingness, and even desire to live was felt, so that I might by any means be thought worthy to suffer or do any thing for the promotion of truth, and the good of others. These impressions were accompanied with a belief, that if I were raised up again, it would be for this purpose; and my heart was called, at a period when those about me expected my dissolution, to such a deep attention to the discoveries of light, that, as in a vision, though perfectly awake and sensible, I was carried to some distant parts, even to a people of a strange language; where gospel liberty was felt in a remarkable manner: then the vision was again sealed, being for an appointed time, nor did I ever fully understand it, though from that period a solemn covering spread over my mind, till my ever dear and valuable sister S. R. Grubb laid before our monthly meeting her concern to visit some parts of France and Germany. The nearness of spirit I had with her, in her watchful attendance on me during the first of my illness, was surprising; and often, when no words passed, we mingled our sighs and tears, though she never gave me any hint of the exercise she was under, nor had I then any perception of being under preparation for any service in conjunction with her.

"After she had obtained her certificates, we united in a little visit to a branch of our monthly meeting; and on returning I wished to hasten her departure, but found she felt no liberty to proceed, and said all concern was taken from her; but so closely queried of me respecting my feelings, that without saying much I wept, and thereby discovered what I was struggling against, or at least wished to conceal, believing it was impossible I ever could be resigned to such a movement.

"From this time, the weight grew almost insupportable, so that sleep, appetite and strength, nearly departed from me, and my dear husband queried—after watching unperceived by me—what can this be? He once mentioned France, but I requested him no more to do it, being affected to trembling, and I believe I could as readily have given up my natural life as made this surrender. Oh! great indeed was the struggle, until at length the precious grain of all-conquering faith proved victorious, and believing Him faithful who had promised, I ventured to move in this awful matter, and when the needful steps had been taken, left all and en-

laboured resignedly to follow my Great Master."

She had seven children at this time, the youngest only ten weeks old, and her health was very delicate, so that the sacrifice was indeed great, but the merciful extension of proportionate assistance is thus acknowledged by herself:

——"In the course of the embassy, many and sore were my provings, and of a closely trying nature my conflicts, but the arm of all sustaining help was near, and I feel thankful that this cup hath been drunk; for though mingled with deep and exercising sufferings, it has, I trust, tended to the further reduction of the creaturely will and choosing, and brought measurably into willingness to submit to the humiliating leadings of the holy hand."

The following is extracted from her own account of this journey.

Second month 27th, 1788.

"I parted with my beloved husband, and many dear friends, in Waterford, and in company with R. and S. Grubb, went on board a vessel bound for Minehead, setting sail with a tolerably fair wind, but after being out all day, and getting several leagues out to sea, the wind changed, and the captain found it best to put back into harbor. Being very sick we concluded to go on shore about noon, landed at Passage, and spent a comfortable night at Brooklodge; embarked about ten next morning, were favoured with a safe, though rather rough passage, to our destined port, and met a kind reception at our friend Hannah Davis's, where, after the inconvenience of sea-sickness, we were consoled by friendly attention.

"We left Minehead on third-day, and arrived in London on fifth; I was affectionately received by my dear friends J. and M. Eliot, and retired to rest, under, I hope, a thankful sense of many unmerited mercies, with the additional one of hearing from my family that all were well.

"Sixth-day, attended meeting at Gracechurch street—a low time to my poor mind, which seems oppressed, and as it were in prison. Some prospect of moving forward opened this evening, in a conference with G. Dillwyn, who seems bound to the awful service on the continent. It is pleasant to have the prospect of so strong a link to this chain. I am very low and poor, emphatically 'going forth weeping'—may the right seed be kept in dominion! Amidst such qualified servants in this mission how little do I feel myself! Yet hope I have not entered presumptuously on the list—the cause, I know, is in the best hands, and if my venturing brings no dishonour to it, I hope to be thankful—further seems not now in my view.

"The kindness of dear J. and M. E. is mixed with a feeling of friendly sympathy better felt than described, and I have not been without some apprehension that J. E. feels deeper on the occasion than mere unity with the concern of others; but he is reserved and cautious; and if it so prove, it will, to be sure, be pleasant.

"First-day the 9th, was a day of peace and liberty to me, though one wherein there was rather a descending to the deeps than ascending to the heights. The morning meeting at Gracechurch street was large, gay, and oppressive, but it is a favour to be allowed to visit the seed in prison, and a great one to feel a willingness so to do. My beloved S. G. was afresh anointed in both meetings, and I thought my small vessel contained a little more than what was properly my own; and, we read, the debt was first to be paid, before the residue of the oil was set apart to live on. The day closed comfortably in a little season of retirement at Richard Chester's.

"Second-day the 10th, attended the morning meeting, and produced our certificates. Friends seemed disposed to enter thoroughly into the matter; near sympathy and unity were expressed, and a committee was appointed to draw up certificates for us, and one for G. D., who laid his concern before them. We had a conference this day with Adey Bellamy respecting our proposed journey.

"Third-day, 11th, sat a quiet solid meeting at the Peel, held in silence, wherein a little renewal of faith was afforded, and cause for confidence in holy help. Last night confirmed me in a feeling sense of my short-sightedness. The southern parts of France being all along the first object in my view, the way to get there the soonest, appeared desirable, and the passage from Dover to Calais that which effected this desire most speedily; but our beloved companion G. D. feeling the passage to Holland most clear to his mind, I felt mine greatly tried, wishing if I had but ever so small a bit of ground to move on, it might be my own. I went to bed thus exercised, and endeavoured to think only of Dover, but after a season of very close conflict, and I think honest travail for right direction, a serene sky seemed over this prospect of G. D.'s, and every other passage to France utterly closed, so I simply communicated my feelings this evening to my companions, and thus far peace attends.

"Our dear friend J. Eliot is, I believe, bound to the south, but has as yet made no movement in his monthly meeting. Adey Bellamy has laid his prospect before Friends, and it is likely will be liberated by the time J. E. is, if he discloses his feelings at his next monthly meeting. Our having come hither seems providential, as

J. E. and A. B. understand the language well; and the hope of this seasonable assistance has tended to renew my faith, and patience, which I sometimes trust will hold out to the end.

"Fourth-day, 12th. We attended Gracechurch street monthly meeting, that for worship was low to my feelings, the one for discipline long and flat, much business agitated, and many pertinent remarks made; but life seemed oppressed, and human, more than divine wisdom uppermost.

"Fifth-day, 13th. After being at meeting at Ratcliff, I accompanied G. D. and wife to Jacob Bell's, to dinner; a solemnity covered my mind afterwards, under which it felt pleasant to have a pause, for seeking the renewed influence of the pure principle of life and love, and the season was graciously owned. Spent the evening at another friend's, I thought profitably, in free conversation.

"First-day, 16th. Went to Horselydown meeting in the morning—a low time: Gracechurch street in the afternoon, and at six in the evening a public meeting appointed by G. D., in which he was largely engaged. I again felt, in a painful manner, the consequence of withholding more than is meet, yet trust wilful disobedience was not the cause, but a fear of not feeling sufficient authority:—'seekest thou great things?' seems the query often put to my poor mind on such occasions, and though the injunction is added 'seek them not,' how slowly do I learn!

"Second-day, 17th. Morning meeting, a time of favour through several instruments; our certificates were signed, I believe, by all present, and the meeting seemed to conclude under the uniting evidence of Christian fellowship; many dear friends expressing near sympathy with us, poor pilgrims, in our going forth, and G. D. closing with solemn supplication for the continuance of gracious protection.

"Third-day, 18th. We turned our backs on the great city, and got to Colchester to dinner; met a kind reception at our friend John Kendal's, and had there in the evening, the company of Thomas Corbyn and Thomas Hull, who returned with J. K. from the service of visiting the meetings in that county. It was pleasant to us to see T. Corbyn before our embarkation, and he was kindly affectionate and sympathizing to us; dear Rebecca Jones also spent the night here in her return from Ipswich.

"Fourth-day, was their meeting in course, which we attended, not knowing but we might afterwards proceed to Harwich; but our G D. found a cloud remaining on his tabernacle, at which I wondered not, as I had before told him I did believe he would not get away without a meeting for the people: one was held that evening, and I think owned by gracious regard.

"As no packets leave Harwich regularly, but on fourth and seventh days, our proceeding thither seemed not desirable till near the time; we therefore rested at our comfortable lodgings fifth-day, and on sixth went to Manningtree, where a meeting had been appointed for ten o'clock; the house is small, and few Friends reside here, but it was pretty well filled with a solid, quiet company, and was to me the best meeting since my leaving home, a time of enlargement in true love and productive of peace. After dining at a Friend's in the town, we went on to Harwich, and had a meeting there at six in the evening; the house, a new small one, was soon filled with fashionably dressed people, and a considerable number were in the yard; they seemed rather unsettled in time of silence, but quiet when any thing was offered: my beloved S. G. and G. D. were afresh anointed with gospel oil, and I was comforted in beholding good work well done.

"My poor mind is under discouragement from various causes; remarkable anxiety has attended me for several days about home, and faith is indeed low, though I thankfully remember having been enabled to surrender all I have to the disposal of unerring wisdom.

"Seventh-day, 22nd. The wind contrary, and no prospect of sailing, I feel very low, and almost in danger of casting away hope.

"First-day. So ill that I could not get up till about noon; our company went to meeting, where, I think, only about seven attended. In the evening, a solemnity covered us, under which dear G. D. revived the query put to the disciples, 'when I sent you without purse or scrip lacked ye any thing? and they said, nothing:' again, they that have left all 'shall receive an hundred fold now in this time, and in the world to come eternal life.' This seemed so peculiarly applicable to my tried state, that while my soul was as though it refused comfort, I could not but taste a little renewal of hope. We just broke up when a summons to go on board was sent us.

"There being but little wind, and that not quite fair, we had a tedious passage, but were favoured to experience holy protection, and landed about eight o'clock on fourth-day evening, at Helvoetsluys, where we got to a clean inn, kept by two English women. While in the boat going on shore, a sweet calm covered my mind, accompanied by the fresh application of that gracious promise, 'I will be to thee mouth and wisdom;' this, after the tossings I had been tried with for many days, tended to renew my confidence in divine sufficiency and goodness.

"Fifth-day, 27th. Left Helvoet this morning in a carriage wagon, and travelled on a very deep road—often in danger of overturning—

to the Briel; here we crossed a ferry about a mile over, went again by land to another ferry, and thence to Maasslandsluys. In this place we seemed as gazing stocks to the people, many following us, though all behaved civilly, and had they understood our speech would probably have helped us. I felt what I think was the love of the gospel, my heart being so filled that I could have spoken to the people as I walked along the street, and while in the house where we stopped to get a little refreshment; but I felt what I was, and who I was with, and had not to courage to query whether we might not as well remain a while; therefore with the heaviest heart I ever remember feeling at leaving any place, we went on board a treckschuyt for Delft, whence we proceeded to Rotterdam, and there got to the house of an English woman that night.

"I feel sensibly confirmed in the belief, that passing through Holland was the right way, for in coming through the towns to this place, there has been so much love prevalent, that it has felt to me as though we were not among strangers, though with a people of a strange speech; and that there were many who could be spoken to from something answering in their minds to what is felt by us, even without outward interpretation. A minister of the Calvinist church drank tea with us, this evening, and undertook to give notice of a meeting which is appointed for to-morrow.

"Seventh-day, 29th. The meeting was held at ten o'clock; G. D. and S. G. were strengthened to recommend inward waiting for the revelation of divine power, but there seemed little openness among the few assembled; several ministers of the Calvinistic church attended, and we took tea with one of them—many others were present, and a good deal of religious conversation took place, wherein an explanation was entered into of our principles and testimonies; G. D. opening these clearly, and apparently to their satisfaction. I thought this was a season spent profitably, though as to my own feelings I am like one in prison; may I be helped to resign myself into His hands who has, I trust, sent me out on this journey; for while my conflicts seem rather to increase than lessen, and the exercise of my spirit almost weighs down the poor body, I do at times feel renewed confidence that I shall be preserved, and that those I have left will be taken care of.

"First-day, 30th. A public meeting at four in the afternoon: it was very large, more coming than the house could hold; some liberty was felt by all of us in expressing what arose, but it was an exercising low time: a physician and his wife came to tea with us, and expressed satisfaction in our company, which we also felt in theirs, and parted from them in that love which throws down all distinctions of names in religion.

"Second-day, 31st. After a solemn season with the only person we knew of here, who makes any profession with us, we set off in a treckschuyt, for Amsterdam, where we arrived the next evening, and met a kind reception, from John Vanderwerf.

"Fourth-day, attended the monthly meeting of the few Friends here, and light seeming to shine upon visiting these, in their own houses, we entered upon the service, which was so owned by the prevalence of gospel liberty and love, that hard things were made comparatively easy. S. G. and I had never before spoken through an interpreter, which office J. V. jun. filled agreeably, and our minds were bowed in thankfulness to the Lord, who manifests himself a present helper.

"The situation of these few sheep, as it were in a wilderness country, calls for near sympathy, and it is a favour when not only this feeling is extended, but a willingness accompanies to let it run as it flows. It is about four years since they were first visited by G. D., S. Emlen, and J. Kendal; that life which is the crown of all profession is certainly low; the seed seems in a wintry state, scarcely shooting above ground, yet we have thought it is under the care of Him who can nourish and bring it forth, if it be only allowed to lie under His cultivating hand, and not exposed too much to the chilling breath that surrounds. There are also some hidden, seeking minds in these parts—perhaps mixed with the various names to religion, and others who we find do not join with any denomination, but keep quietly among themselves, exemplary in their conduct, doing good, and communicating of their outward blessings; plain in their appearance and manner; one of these, after sitting in an opportunity where evident solemnity covered us, observed, that though we could not understand each other, there was 'a feeling and unity within.'

"First-day, 6th of Fourth month. We had two public meetings, one at half-past nine, the other at four. G. D. and S. G. were favoured to minister with gospel love and authority, I had fresh cause for confusion, and the acknowledgment that to me belongeth shame; pain still attends the remembrance of my want of dedication in these meetings.

"Second-day morning. We had a little sitting among ourselves, desiring to feel our way from, or detention in this city, rightly ordered; we were afresh helped to believe, that, as the eye was kept single, He who had led forth would continue to preserve us. We went to tea with a family named Decknatel—a widow, her son, and two daughters; these were

educated in the Anabaptist profession, her husband having been a preacher among this sect, but since his death they have not joined in communion with any particular people, but keep themselves select, except going sometimes to the Moravian worship. A sweet influence prevailed in the house, and a good deal of religious conversation occurred—J. Vanderwerf being with us to interpret. They believe in the sufficiency of the spirit of Truth to lead into all truth, though they seem not fully to have entered into that rest where there is a ceasing from our own works, as they sing hymns sometimes, and have an instrument of music in their house. They were very desirous of understanding us, and our errand—it seemed strange to them for me to leave a husband and seven children, but feeling liberty to enter a little into the cause, and some particulars of my convincement, &c. as the remembrance arose with renewed thankfulness, they appeared not only fully satisfied, but to comprehend the language. This conversation introduced to a solemn silence, in which they readily joined, and we had each to unite in the testimony that the salutation of 'peace unto it' belonged to this house: this memorable season closed in awful supplication, and we parted under a feeling of that pure love which throws down the narrow barriers of nominal distinction, and baptizes into the unity of the one Spirit.

"9th. At four o'clock this afternoon we had another public meeting, which was well attended as to numbers, but the people were unsettled in time of silence; the doctrine of Truth ran clearly, and a hope was raised that some felt a testimony to it in their own minds.

"10th. Left Amsterdam with J. V. jun. and Frederick Mentz, in a carriage boat, the usual way of travelling in this country; it is drawn along a canal by a horse, and consists of a small cabin, calculated to hold seven or eight, and a larger room which will contain about thirty people, with seats to accommodate all the passengers, and light sufficient to work by. We arrived at Utrecht between three and four o'clock, felt exercised respecting a meeting here, but not living enough by faith, and looking too much outward, discouragement prevailed.

"11th. Set off from Utrecht in a post wagon, and travelled over deep roads, through a woody country thickly inhabited, though the land is poor, and we found but indifferent lodging and entertainment until we reached Dusseldorf, on the evening of the 13th, where we got to a good inn.

"14th. Concluded to stay this day, to feel whether bound or dismissed from hence; in the forenoon called on Michael David Wetterboar, whom our friends Decknatel recommended us to see, we also drank tea with him, and found him an inward retired man, living pretty much alone, and not knowing that he has any companions in this large place, where superstition seems to reign. We had a season of solid retirement after tea, and some profitable conversation through R. G. in French.

"15th. Went off the direct course about eighteen miles to Elberfeld, expecting to find some seeking people. We were directed to a person named Smith, with whom we spent a little time; he speaks English and was civil, but seemed fearful of engaging to be our interpreter: he informed us there were some mystics in the town, who met together on first-days, but we found no way to get into their company. In the morning we walked out, G. D. and I one way, and R. and S. G. another, but though we called in at some houses, no way opened for a meeting, we therefore returned to Dusseldorf to tea. M. D. W. spent the evening with us, and we had a season of spiritual refreshment in the feeling of Christian liberty and love, under which we parted.

"17th. Left Dusseldorf about half-past six, and got to Cologne to dinner—a dark place of popish superstition, crosses and images appearing almost every where in and about it: we all felt oppressed and glad to leave this place; reached Bonn, a smaller town, where similar idolatry prevailed: G. D., and R. G., walking out, saw the host, as it is called, carrying about, and the people kneeling to it.

"18th. Rode through a beautiful valley of vineyards, and other plantations, bounded on one side with richly cultivated mountains, and on the other by the Rhine, on each side of which, towns and villages thickly appeared, also some monasteries and ruins, altogether forming as diversified and lovely a scene as I ever rode through; but in this day's journey I found nature unusually oppressed, so that it was hard to bear the motion, and my illness increased so much, that when I saw a town on the other side of the Rhine, not knowing it was our destination, I thought it looked a desirable resting place, and wished to get to it; when the driver turned the carriage that way, and it proved to be Nieuvied, a place to which we had recommendations.* Here we got to a comfortable inn, like a private lodging, kept by Moravians, who received us cordially, and we took up our quarters with them.

* Copy of one of the Introductory Letters given by the family of Decknatel.

"My Dear Brother;

I give this address by these Friends, whom they call Quakers, from England; perhaps they will call in their journey at Nieuvied—though you cannot speak with them but by an interpreter, yet you may have an agreeable feeling and influence in silence, through the favour of the Lord, which you desire—I salute you with renewed affection. J. D."

"19th. I was very ill, so as to lie in bed all day, low in mind as well as in body; dear S. G. indisposed also, and we felt glad in this state to be in a quiet asylum.

"20th. First-day, my complaints continuing I was not able to go out, my dear companions sat at my bed-side, where, in a season of quiet refreshment, we remembered with comfort that it was when the disciples walked together and were sad, that their great Master joined Himself to them.

"21st. A day of distress every way, mostly in bed during the forenoon: after dinner went to see the Moravian establishment, the schools for girls and boys, &c., but so low that nothing seemed capable of cheering me; my faith and patience are so tried that I am often ready to fear the honour of the great name, and that excellent cause which, through every discouragement, is dear to my heart, may suffer by my engaging in this embassy. I feel myself so insufficient for the work, and even at seasons when holy help is near, qualified to do so little, that I am ready to query, for what am I sent? Yet I remember there are various vessels in a house, and it may sometimes seem proper to the Master to call for one of the smallest, to use as He pleases—to convey what He appoints; and if care be only taken to have this vessel kept clean, though it may not be often called for, or able to contain much, it may answer some little purpose, by having a place in the house; and help to fill up some corner, which a larger one could not so easily get into. I know that I sought not this, that I ventured not without feeling the weight of 'Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel' where the holy finger is pleased to point: and the remembrance of these baptisms, with the renewal of frequent close conflicts, raise a hope through all, that though the sea may be permitted to swell, and the waves rise exceedingly high, the poor vessel will be preserved from becoming a wreck amidst the storms, and the little cargo be safely landed at last.

"23rd. We called this morning on an old man, belonging to a sect who called themselves inspired—a little conversation through an interpreter proved rather satisfactory. At seven in the evening we went to sit with these people in their meeting, expecting from the account received of them, that they sat mostly in silence, but we found it far otherwise. They remained awhile still, with apparent solemnity, then all kneeled down, and used words as prayer, afterwards singing, then one of them read part of a chapter and expounded. We sat still until they had concluded, when a few words were, as well as the language admitted, conveyed to them. On the whole we were not sorry we obtained this acquaintance with their manner of worship, as others denominated them Quakers, and we were now able to unfold to them the difference between us. We have abundance to discourage us within and without, many fears, and no outward help but the comfort we find in being closely banded together; and beside the sufferings we are dipped into, no apparent prospect of these tending to gather many, if any, from the barren mountains; for let us feel as we may, we have, since leaving Utrecht, been unable to convey our meaning to the people in general, and appointed no meeting—what our passing through, and being as gazing stocks may do, must be left; it will, I trust, increase our humiliation, if no other good be done.

"24th. In a little retirement this morning light seemed to shine on a public meeting here, the Menonists, agreeing to give the use of their house at 4 o'clock in the afternoon; a few of these, with some Moravians, and Inspirants, attended. Joseph Mortimer, a single brother from Yorkshire, kindly acted as interpreter for us. Feeling a little desire in my heart to call on a man whose countenance had struck me in the meeting, we went: on entering the house a salutation of love arose, and a memorable season ensued, which to me seemed like a brook by the way, consolatory after a season of great trial and drought—and we left Nieuvied with renewed feelings of that love which had nearly united us to many there.

"We got to Wisbaden the evening of the 26th, and met with an Englishman who accompanied us to several bathing houses, this place being famous for an extraordinary boiling spring of a sulphureous nature, which is communicated by pipes to the different houses. From thence we proceeded to Frankfort, a fine populous town, remarkable for the liberties it possesses, being governed by its own magistrates, who are Lutherans; it is supposed to contain twenty thousand inhabitants, and among these three thousand Jews. No man pays more than five pounds a-year taxes, which commences on his declaring himself worth fifteen hundred pounds. This city being so privileged is a thriving one, and not obliged to take part in war, unless the empire be invaded.

"Here we met one called a Pietist, with whom we had some religious conversation to our mutual comfort.

"From Frankfort we pursued our journey through Fridburg, and some parts of Suabia, and being favoured with delightful weather, and having little delay, we arrived at Basle the 3rd of the Fifth month.

"4th. Had a little season of quiet retirement alone, and in the evening we went to see a person named Brenan, with whom Claude Gay lodged for three weeks—he and another old man lived retired—they are of the sect of Inspi-

rants; several met us to tea, and religious conference ensuing, liberty was felt in recommending silent waiting for ability to worship. This sitting renewed that fellowship which is indeed the bond of the saints' peace, and the harmony in service increased that cement, which is as precious ointment sending forth a sweet savour. We went to supper with Jean Christe, a Moravian to whom we were recommended from Nieuvied; several of that sect were with us, and we had a satisfactory time of innocent cheerfulness and freedom.

"5th. Sat as usual together in our chamber; my mind was under some exercise about a public meeting, but I felt fearful of mentioning it; our friend Christe came to tea with us: the symptoms of being measurably redeemed are obvious in this man; we all felt much love in our hearts towards him, and his seemed opened to us. J. Sulger, a Moravian, who understands English, kindly interprets for us; in him also the seed of life appears to shoot forth in grain which we hope is ripening. Oh! if these visited ones were but inward enough, how would their growth be forwarded!

"6th. Went to tea with a large company of Moravians; some of their inquiries respecting women's preaching and the nature of our visit, were answered to apparent satisfaction, but our minds being drawn into silence we found it a close conflict to yield—the company were ready to hear, or talk, but the opposition in them to silence, and our nature pleading to be excused, brought on deep exercise. Our friend Sulger asked if he should desire them to be still; this was a relief to S. G., and myself, and she was, after some time of stillness, engaged to explain the nature of true worship, and the necessity of waiting for preparation to perform it. They again began talking, to show their approbation of what had been said; but silence being again requested, G. D. followed with good authority, and I thought some of them then felt what true silence was, particularly our interpreter, to whom, as well as through him, I believe, the testimony flowed. I sat some time in close travail, desiring that the people might feel as well as hear, but found it a great trial to speak what seemed given me for them; at length love prevailed, and this memorable season, which closed in solemn prayer, was to me, one of the most relieving since I came on the continent.

"We went to sup with the two dear old men, J. Christe accompanying us; it was a pleasant visit—peace evidently surrounding the dwelling: on parting I just remembered how Jacob was favoured near the close of his life, and what worship he performed leaning on his staff; after reviving which, we left them in love.

"7th. Our men Friends called on a few persons at a little distance from town, and in the evening we all went to J. C.'s, where after some time, silence was procured, several young people being present, to whom our minds were drawn in feeling of gospel solicitude, which we were enabled to evince; and although this season was a strange thing to, I believe, all, except ourselves, what was said seemed well taken, and we felt peace in having yielded to this manifestation of duty.

"8th. On a little comparing our feelings this morning, we thought it best to appoint a meeting: many difficulties occurred, but at length our friends J. and H. Brenan agreed to give us a room in their house. It proved a deeply exercising season, though strength was mercifully afforded to express the feelings that were raised: but the opposition to this way of worship was, I believe, clearly felt to obstruct the stream from running as it otherwise might. Those called Inspirants have a great dislike to women's preaching, and our transgression in this respect, probably did not suit them; we however felt easy, and this little act of dedication tended to an increase of peace, and cleared the way for moving on.

"9th. Parted with our dear friends at Basle under a sense of uniting love, and travelled through a beautiful country, richly diversified by nature and improved by art, to Geneva, where I was confined one day by illness at a poor inn: here we got an account of our friends J. Eliot and A. Bellamy having arrived at Lyons. Though I was still greatly indisposed, we set forward on the 16th, and travelled through almost incessant rain to Chalons, a little French village, where we were indifferently entertained and lodged at a very dirty inn. Next day we had a romantic ride between very high rocks and mountains—strong torrents of water pouring with wonderful rapidity, some not less than three hundred feet, with perpendicular and sloping falls—these emptying themselves into a lake below, and thence into the Rhone. This scene of grandeur was rendered awful by remarkably loud claps of thunder, and vivid flashes of lightning, which continued some hours, accompanied by heavy hail storms and rain. Through divine preservation we got to a tolerable inn to sleep, and were favoured to reach Lyons the evening of the 18th; where the interview with our dear friends proved mutually comforting; and I had fresh cause for thankfulness in finding several letters from my beloved husband, conveying the intelligence of all being well. This, after suffering much from anxiety about home, was humbling to my heart. May I learn increasingly to commit all into the divine hand!

"We proceeded from Lyons in a carriage boat down the Rhone, passing many towns and villages, on the banks of this rapid river; landed

at Pont Esprit, and reached Nismes in the afternoon of the 22nd; from whence we proceeded next day to Congenies,* about three leagues distant.

"On the coach stopping at a little inn where we designed to alight, a large number of people surrounded us, some looking almost overcome with joy, others surprised, some smiling, but all behaving civilly. Our men Friends alighting in order to make arrangements for our reception, left us women in the coach; but such was the covering with which my mind was then favoured, that being a spectacle to thousands would have seemed trifling to me; tears flowed, from a renewed sense of unmerited regard, and the extension of the love of the universal parent to His children, spread a serenity not easily set forth.

"We were desired to accompany some who joined us to a neighbouring house, and the room we entered was soon filled with persons, who, by every testimony we could comprehend, rejoiced in seeing us; though many expressed their feelings only by tears. They reluctantly consented for the first night, to our occupying three tolerably commodious bed-chambers at the house of a Protestant, (but not one professing as they do,) and we designed to engage these rooms, with another for a kitchen, and hire a servant to attend on us: but before we were dressed next morning, several of these affectionate poor women carried off our trunks, &c.; and on consulting together, we concluded it was best to yield to the wishes of those we came to visit, resigning the personal convenience we might enjoy, in being permitted to provide for ourselves. We therefore accepted apartments in two of their houses, and while these and their manner of cooking, are very different to what we have ever been accustomed to, the belief that we are here in right direction, smooths what would otherwise be hard to bear. Their love for our company is such that they seldom leave us alone, and seem to think they cannot do enough to make us comfortable.

"A few both of the men and women are sensible, intelligent persons, with whom, could we converse, some of us would be well pleased.

"We are well aware, that speaking only through an interpreter obstructs the stream of freedom, and yet I have thought that even this might have its use, by tending to prevent too much conversation, and thereby drawing their and our minds from that state of watchfulness, wherein receiving suitable supplies, we may be qualified properly to administer in due season to their wants.

"First-day, 25th. Their meeting this morning was attended by between eighty and ninety persons: soon after sitting down several of them appeared strangely agitated, and no less than five spoke one after another, partly in testimony and partly in supplication, all sitting except one man, who stood up and expressed a little in humility and tenderness.

"We found that our safety was in getting to our own exercise, desiring, as ability was afforded, that the right seed might rise into dominion, and the imaginations of the creature be brought into subjection: and though it was evident, that but few of them were acquainted with that silence, wherein the willings and workings of nature are reduced, and the still small voice which succeeds the wind and the fire, intelligibly heard, yet we were comforted in observing much of this emotion subside, and the meeting was favoured towards the conclusion, with a solemnity it wanted before; the people settling more into stillness, while testimony and prayer went forth through G. D.

"Thinking that sympathy with them in their different growths, and situations, was likely to be more fully known by a discriminating visit, we proposed after having our certificates read this evening, to sit with them in their families, which proposal they gladly accepted.

"Sixth month 4th. Since the 26th ult. we have sat with twelve familes in this village—one at Fontanes, six miles distant, two at Quisac, nine miles further, and one at Calvisson, one and a half-mile from hence; at this last mentioned place resides Louis Majolier, who has been our attentive companion in the family sittings, and at our lodging, since we first came; he is a sensible, intelligent young man, evidently under the tendering visitation of Truth, and humbly desirous of right instruction. As is often the case amongst the more privileged members of our religious Society, we have in many of these visits to struggle hard for the arising of life; some of those we sit with, seeming unacquainted with the necessity of witnessing the dominion of that divine power, which is the crown of glory and diadem of beauty to the true Israel: but there are others, who, having measurably learned where to wait, we believe are a little strengthened by our sympathy with them, and receive with joy the communicated word. In some seasons this has had free course, many, like thirsty ground, drinking in the rain; so that the watered, and those who have been renewedly helped to water, have rejoiced together.

"Their appearance, manner of behaviour, &c., are certainly such as bear little resemblance to our Society; but the honest simplicity

* Congenies is a small village in the department of the Garde, where, and in the several adjacent places, a number of persons reside, who profess nearly the same principles as those held by Friends in this country, although they are not yet recognized as members of our religious Society.

there is among them, the apparent consciousness of their deficiencies, and tenderness of spirit, confirm our hope of a clearer prospect opening in due season. We have not felt it our business, to call their attention to the different branches of our Christian testimony; the little labour bestowed tending to centre them to that 'light' which 'maketh manifest,' and, by an obedience whereto, the gradual advances of the 'perfect day' is known; and we are greatly deceived if this day has not dawned upon many in this dark corner, though its brightness is yet intercepted by shades and clouds. Their meeting last first-day was different from the former, only one disturbing the quiet of it, and none of those agitations which were apparent in the preceding assembly. In the afternoon they held their Monthly Meeting, the business whereof is only the care of their poor, and oversight of each other's moral conduct; but our men Friends, who understand the language, observed that their method far exceeded their expectations. This season was also graciously regarded, and renewed help afforded for the service required. The company of J. E. and A. B., is truly pleasant, and their facility in speaking French helpful; they lodge at a Friend's named Marignan, and we at a widow Benezet's.

"5th. I rose very poorly this morning, but set off with my companions for Codognan, a place where about fifteen of the same profession with those here reside; and feeling easy to take them collectively, we had but one sitting with them, which was a season of openness in labour, though one of deep exercise, they being mostly outward in their views, and very restless: towards the close, however, some careless minds were, I hope, a little reached. We returned to Congenies in the evening.

"6th. In a conference together this forenoon, we concluded to have the most weighty part of the people here together, and have a sitting with them; and after selecting some names for this purpose, at four in the afternoon sat with a family who came from the country.

This was to me a season of instruction, under a feeling of the universal regard of Him who knows the various situations of His children, not respecting the persons of any. What was said to these poor people seemed to have entrance, and tended to our peace. At six o'clock we met as appointed with those selected; much freedom of speech was used, in pointing out to them some inconsistencies, and recommending to increasing watchfulness; that being swift to hear, and slow to speak, they might be enabled to distinguish the Shepherd's voice and follow it, refusing to obey that of the stranger. I hope this was a profitable season to them and us.

"7th. We went about a league to sit with a few professors—rather a low time, though liberty was felt to express what arose; and we parted under humbling feelings, returning to Congenies to tea.

"8th. First-day, about ten o'clock, we met as usual: the assembly was soon covered with great stillness, and evident solemnity, which I sincerely desired might not be lessened by me, though I believed it right to revive the language of David, 'One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in His temple.' I felt renewed help in communicating what arose, and the sense of good seemed to increase, while the stream of gospel ministry flowed through other instruments; and our spirits were bowed in awful reverence before Him, who had not sent us a warfare at our own cost, but graciously supplied every lack. They were afterwards recommended by S. G., and myself, to be not only hearers, but doers of the law, and, like Mary, to ponder the sayings they had heard in their hearts, keeping up the watch.

"I had previously mentioned to our company a view of having the younger and unmarried people assembled; and at the close of this meeting it was proposed to have them convened at four o'clock in the afternoon. At two, we sat with nine persons who came from a distance, to satisfaction; and at the time appointed met our young Friends, who made a considerable appearance as to numbers. The fore part of this sitting was heavy, but life gradually arose, and sweet liberty ensued: our belief being confirmed that there is, among this class, though in an unfavourable soil, a seed sown, which through individual faithfulness, would spread and become fruitful to the praise of the great husbandman. These were honestly cautioned against what might retard their growth, and earnest prayer was offered on their behalf. Some of us feeling desirous of having a meeting with the inhabitants of this place, the subject was solidly considered among ourselves, and notwithstanding apparent difficulties, we agreed to attempt it.

"By the laws of the land no public meeting is allowed to any but the Catholics, Protestants meeting even here in the fields or private houses, and the dear people we are visiting sit in their assemblies with the outside door locked; and believing they had not yet attained sufficient strength to be exposed to much suffering, we have feared putting them out of their usual way; the proposal, however, of giving liberty to any of the neighbours who might incline to accept the invitation, was readily acceded to by them. At ten o'clock on the morning of the tenth, a considerable number of Protestants, and some Roman Catholics, assembled; they behaved

with great quietness, and the meeting was mercifully owned by a feeling of liberty to labour, and a sense of that love which is universal, and would gather all under its blessed influence.

"11th. We rose early, and after breakfast most of those we had visited in the village collecting in our apartment, a solemnity covered us, under which the same love which had attracted us to them flowed in a strong current, and the language of the apostle was revived, 'Finally, brethren, farewell! be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.' We parted, with many tears on both sides, from these endeared people, for whom we had, in our different measures, travailed that Christ might be formed in them, and they be not only the visited, but redeemed of the Lord. L. Majolier and F. Benezet accompanied us to a town called St. Giles, where we lodged at a comfortable house belonging to one of our Friends, and on the 12th had a meeting with such as resided in the place; next day I became alarmingly ill, and was not able to join my companions in sitting with some who came from the country.

"14th. My illness so increased that towards noon I doubted my continuing long if not relieved. My dear S. G. was poorly also: what trials of faith and patience are permitted for the proving of some; no doubt in unerring wisdom!

"15th. Though still much indisposed I was not easy to stay from meeting; therefore arose, and was made renewedly sensible, that when the creature is so reduced, as to know indeed that it can do nothing, He who is strength in weakness shows himself strong. I was helped to discharge myself honestly, to my own peace, and the meeting concluded in awful prayer and praise.

"16th. We left St. Giles, and spent that night at Nismes; here we experienced fresh conflict with respect to the way of proceeding; next day, however, our difficulties seemed to lessen, and the prospect of going to Alençon opened with clearness. We had a solemn parting with dear L. M. who felt very near to us, and to whom the language 'Be thou steadfast, immovable,' &c., was addressed in the fresh flowing of gospel love.

"We travelled from Nismes in a tedious manner, drawn by mules at the rate of about thirty miles a day, rising early, and late taking rest. The country abounds with vineyards, oliveyards, fig and mulberry trees; pomegranates growing in the hedges like our white thorn, and the air in some places rendered fragrant by aromatic herbs, springing up spontaneously in rocky ground. There is but little pasture land in these parts; a rudeness in appearance, with the want of neat fences, &c., render the country less beautiful than ours: the houses are dirty, and the people slovenly; they seem chiefly employed in making wine and raising silk-worms, which give them profitable produce. There was neither a cow nor a milch goat in the village of Congenies.

"We got to Lyons fatigued and poorly on the 21st: here I was again very ill, and mostly in bed, till second-day afternoon, when we set out in three voitures, and proceeded agreeably through a beautiful fertile country, richly improved, fine pasture and corn fields, and walnut trees frequently bounding each side of the road for miles together.

"We arrived at Paris on the evening of the 29th, and left it again the 2nd of the seventh month, travelling post to Alençon; here our friend J. M. met us, and we went in his coach to Desvignes, his place of residence, about a league distant; we were kindly received by his wife, and being weak and weary, found this resting place comfortable.

"6th. A solemn sitting with J. M., his wife, and little son, was graciously owned by divine regard, and sympathy renewedly felt with the hidden seed in a state of proving, as in the winter. In a little conference among ourselves, afterwards G. D. avowed his prospect of going to Guernsey; the idea of parting felt trying, but the belief that it is individual faithfulness which constitutes Christian harmony, tended to produce resignation.

"8th. With a savour of good, covering all our minds, we took leave of this family; and at Alençon under somewhat of solemn sadness, parted with our endeared companions G. and S. D.; J. M. going with them to Guernsey, and the remainder of our little band proceeding towards Dieppe, where we arrived the afternoon of the 10th. We were called up at four o'clock next morning, got on board the Princess Royal packet about six, and through the extension of continued goodness, were favoured with a fine, though rather tedious passage of twenty-three hours, landing at Brighthelmstone on seventh-day morning. We went on that afternoon to East Grinstead, and thence twenty miles, on first-day morning, to Croydon; attended meeting there, and reached London to tea. In this great city our five-fold cord untwisted, R. and S. G. going to R. Chester's, A. B. to his own house, and J. E. and I to Bartholomew-close; where the company of dear M. E. and her children was a real consolation to my poor mind, feeling this hospitable mansion as a second home.

"14th. Attended the Quarterly Meeting for London and Middlesex, which was large and favoured. We feel, I trust, humbly thankful

at being once more indulged with seeing many near and dear friends, whose affectionate reception of us, seems a cordial to our spirits after our various exercises. We attended many different meetings in the city, and on the 21st returned to the Morning Meeting the certificates received therefrom, and gave a little account of our movements in this arduous service, of which a record was made on their books.

"After this I was confined for nearly a week, by illness, having struggled for several days with symptoms of inflammation on the lungs, but yielding to the advice of my friends to consult a doctor, his prescriptions have so far succeeded, that, through abundant goodness, I am now, (on the 28th,) considerably better, though sensible of having a weak chest, and being still hoarse.

"29th. Left London and got to Brentford to tea, where at the peaceful dwelling of our valuable friend T. Finch, we spent a pleasant, and, I trust, profitable evening. We attended meetings at Uxbridge and Amersham, on fourth and fifth-days, and on the evening of the latter had one at High Wycomb, which was large, and I think satisfactory. Some private opportunities in this place were graciously owned by heavenly regard: how do the preservation and growth of the dear young people among us, excite earnest solicitude and breathing of spirit.

"Eighth month 2nd. We reached Burford this forenoon, and went to the house of our friend Thomas Huntley, with whose scholars, sixty in number, we had a season of retirement, which was mercifully favoured by the overshadowing of good. We proceeded to Cirencester, and remained over their forenoon meeting on first-day, which was deeply exercising to our minds, the pure life feeling in a state of imprisonment: but in a little sitting after dinner, at a Friend's house, where several were present, we felt some hope that this short tarriance might not prove altogether in vain. Having had a prospect of that little stripped spot, Painswick, we felt easy to leave Cirencester afternoon meeting, and go thither to one appointed for seven o'clock in the evening. A large number of Methodists and others, attended, and I trust no harm was done to the precious cause. We were affectionately entertained at the house of our friend Davis. Next day we called on the few families of Friends residing there, and after several seasons of liberty and favour, went on second-day afternoon from thence to Gloucester.

"4th. This morning we breakfasted with the only Friends residing here, and in a time of quiet afterwards, were enabled to discharge our minds towards the family. We proceeded to Monmouth, and thence to Pontypool, where we had an appointed meeting on fifth-day."

My dear mother's account ends here, but there is reason to believe that she and her companions attended meetings at Swansea and Haverfordwest in their way to Milford, whence they sailed to Waterford, and she was favoured to reach her own habitation in safety about the middle of the eighth month, worn indeed in body, but with a relieved and thankful mind; and in alluding to her late engagement, she writes as follows:

——— "Under various deep exercises during this journey, the language 'Wherefore didst thou doubt!' has been so legibly inscribed on my heart, that I often think none has greater cause to depend on the Arm of everlasting help than I have; and the confirming evidence of a peace passing every enjoyment, has been as a stay in the midst of conflict, an anchor in times of storm; nor do I ever remember feeling a more abiding sense of this heavenly treasure, than during my residence with that dear little flock at Congenies, towards whom the current of gospel love still sweetly flows."

CHAPTER V.

Family visit in Cork—Journey to Ulster Province—and Public Meetings in some parts of Munster. From Twelfth month 1788, *to Third month* 1792.

In the twelfth month, 1788, being at her own quarterly meeting, held in Cork, my dear mother felt a pressure of mind to unite with Sarah Robert Grubb and Elizabeth Tuke, in a visit to the families belonging to that monthly meeting, but her affectionate attraction to home, induced her to attempt returning, without an avowal of the concern she was under. Her conflicts on this account, and some particulars of the arduous engagement, are stated in letters to her husband, and the following extracts seem calculated to prove both instructive and encouraging to some, who may be able to trace their own feelings in the experience here described.

"Cork, twelfth month, 15th, 1788. It has turned out as I believe thou expected it would, and I am once more in this place; after thou left me I determined to proceed for meeting thee under our own roof this night, and even set out for that purpose. On entering the carriage, I instantly felt darkness cover my mind, still I went on, but I never remember being quite so much distressed—rebellion—rebellion, sounded through my heart, and I grew so ill, that I dared not proceed; so turned about and had a comparatively lightsome journey hither, my body and mind feeling gradually relieved. We reached E. Hatton's to dinner, but the conflict I had sustained made me require a little rest,

so that I did not get outwardly banded in this service till the evening, when a harmonious exercise and labour were afforded, as a comforting evidence of rectitude so far—perhaps a few sittings may relieve my poor mind; thou knowest how gladly I shall embrace the dawning of release.

"Thou wilt readily believe that our dwellings are not in the heights, though I trust we are sometimes so helped to ascend the Lord's holy mountain, as experimentally to know there is nothing there that can hurt or destroy; it seems a time when rather the invitations than threatenings of the gospel are to be proclaimed, and I think there does seem an open door for communication, though it be sometimes sad, because of the things which have happened. I am far from being satisfied with myself, but I am truly so with my fellow labourers, and with my return to this city, even though bonds and afflictions await us in it. Why should we not suffer when the seed suffers? Where else would be our unity with this seed, which lies in a state of captivity? There are now about twenty-nine families got through, and I trust it may be humbly and gratefully acknowledged, that hitherto the Lord has helped.

"I may honestly confess that I am still bound to this arduous work, and through divine mercy we are not only sustained, but have a little trust at seasons, that 'the labour is not in vain.' Some sittings have been graciously owned, but I know not any so much so, with the sensible gathering of that manna which falls from the heavenly treasury, as one this morning in the dwelling of that prince in Israel, Samuel Neale, whose outward man is visibly decaying, while the inward man is renewed day by day. The spring seemed to open on our sitting down, and the waters gradually rose as from the ancles, till the refreshing consolation truly gladdened the Lord's heritage, that in us which could own His planting, and by His renewed watering, glorify him. It was truly encouraging and strengthening to hear this father in the church declare, that he had not flinched from whatever had been required of him, but had done it with all his might, and that, through divine mercy, he now found support in the midst of infirmities, 'therefore,' he added, 'be faithful, follow the Lord fully, and give up to every manifestation of His will.'

"We received a note declining an intended visit. I confess such a repulse made me exceedingly low, having had a particular feeling towards this family, but I believe it safest to look from it; perhaps even this offer of ourselves may recur, and not be useless, though we see it not; we could do no more than seek an interview, and love still prevails towards them.

"Yesterday was the three weeks' meeting here, which we attended, visiting our brethren also; hope no harm was done. I am afraid of no one but myself, and I desire always to suspect that enemy self, lest on any occasion, it should take the lead; but under heavy pressures here, I have a degree of hope, that not going this warfare at my own cost, I may yet be helped to the end of it, which now draws nigh, having gone through about eighty-five families, and only a few remaining."

The next religious service of which there is any account, was a visit to some part of Leinster Province, early in the year 1790, wherein her former companion Richard Shackleton, was her kind attendant and helper, and her dear friend Elizabeth Pim united in a part of the work. During this engagement she visited the families comprising the monthly meetings of Moate, Edenderry, and Carlow, which she describes as a 'service closely trying,' yet, productive of solid peace, and near the winding up of this labour writes as follows:

——— "Many are my fears and doubtings before willingness is wrought in me to leave such endeared connexions, and many my tossings and conflicts, in seasons of separation; but may I, with increasing devotedness, trust in the Arm of never-failing help. Through unmerited mercy the Lord has not only given a degree of resignation to leave all, when the call has been clearly distinguished, but sustained under various laborious exercises, so that the promise is indeed fulfilled, 'as thy days so shall thy strength be;' and there is cause to trust with the whole heart, for future direction and support."

Towards the close of the year she had a long and suffering illness, as well as considerable anxiety through indisposition in her family, her eight children being in the hooping-cough at the same time; and the death of her beloved friend and companion, S. R. Grubb, in the twelfth month, was a heavy and unexpected affliction, which for a season sunk her very low. But in the spring of 1791, she believed it required of her again to leave her own habitation, and pay a religious visit to Friends of Ulster.

After attending the National Meeting in Dublin, she accordingly proceeded with her companion Sarah Shackleton, and having sat a meeting with the few Friends belonging to Timahoe, went on to Castle Freeman, whence her first letter to my dear father is dated.

"Fifth month, 13th. We reached this place very agreeably, being favoured in weather and roads. I felt in passing through part of Old-Castle, (where Friends' meeting house is, though I did not know it,) a spring of love towards the 'sheep not of this fold;' but said nothing about

it till we got here, when I found that some inclined to be visited by having a meeting held in one of their houses, but it seemed best to attend to the previous intimation, and I ventured to have one appointed for nine o'clock to-morrow morning, with notice that it will be open to such as are disposed to sit with us. Thou knowest me well enough to be aware that this prospect tries my little stock of faith, which is indeed low, but it can be graciously renewed, and I trust will, from season to season, as singleness of heart and eye is kept to."

"Ballybay—Monaghan, Fifth month, 15th, 1791. Respecting the meeting at Old-Castle, it may in commemoration of holy help be recorded, that those who trust are not confounded, but experience strength proportioned to the day of trial. I do not remember many assemblies of this sort, more owned with the covering of good, and the solidity of the people during the whole meeting exceeded what is to be often met with; at the close of the public sitting I felt a wish that Friends might keep their seats, and that season was also one of relief to my mind. We took a little refreshment in the meeting house, and then pursued our journey, arriving at Cootehill, twenty-five miles in the evening, tired and poorly, but humbly thankful for the assistance every way afforded.

"As there are no Friends in circumstances to accommodate travellers, we lodged at an inn, and attended meeting at the usual hour this morning, to which many came who are not in profession with us, and I trust nothing was said to discourage the honest inquirers after truth. There was a little stop afterwards with the members of our own Society, perhaps not exceeding eleven or twelve, among them a widow and her daughter, who have joined Friends by convincement, and appear in a solid frame of mind; we spent a little time with these, and had a season of retirement with a young physician who was at our meeting, and to whom my mind was particularly drawn; he was invited to drink tea at this widow's, and in the prevalence of gospel love I freely communicated what I felt to arise towards him, which I believe was well received, and we parted under feelings which were precious, and caused humble thankfulness of soul. We came on to this place to lodge, had a meeting appointed for eleven o'clock yesterday morning at Castle-Shane, with a small company of Friends, amongst whom very little life was to be felt, which they were, I trust honestly, told; and went on afterwards, through wind and rain, sixteen miles to our friend Thomas Greer's, where we were kindly received, and concluded to stay a day, my poor body requiring rest."

Her getting to such a resting-place seemed critical, for she was almost immediately taken alarmingly ill, having been for several days affected with a heavy cold, and symptoms of inflammation which required medical care. The judicious prescription of a physician, and kind attention of the family at Rhonehill, proved the means of seasonable relief, and on the 21st of fifth month she writes as follows:

——"I am, through continued loving kindness, considerably better, which I ought thankfully to acknowledge, as my situation for some days past rendered so speedy an amendment very doubtful.

"Lurgan, Fifth month, 24th. Although my dear Friends and the doctor would have had me stay some time longer to nurse, yet apprehending my mind might obtain a little relief by endeavouring to fill up the line of duty, which while unaccomplished is an oppression to the body, I ventured yesterday afternoon to go as far as Berna, whither our truly kind friend T. G., sent me and my dear S. S., in his carriage; many Friends met us there, and we were favoured after tea with the spreading of the holy wing, in a manner that I believe tended to the gathering and centering nearly all present in a state of humble waiting, wherein an enlargement of mind was experienced, to dip into feeling with, and administer to, several states in the company; it was a season worth suffering for, and we returned to our lodgings relieved in mind.

"This morning while preparing to move on, we felt a little stop which it seemed best to attend to, and after a salutation of gospel love to the dear family at Rhonehill, we separated in the feeling of sweet affectionate nearness; T. Greer coming several miles with us.

"Rathfriland, 26th. Attended the usual meeting at Lurgan yesterday, and this morning that at Moyallen, both proving seasons of deeply exercising feeling, the doctrine which opened being of a very close nature, and trying to deliver, but assistance was graciously afforded to my humble admiration.

"In getting so far through this Province, it seems to me that no superficial work will avail, nor any thing short of a willingness to get down into deep feeling with the seed, in its imprisoned and oppressed state, and administering as enabled to its wants; in this exercise none can, I believe, have an adequate idea of what conflicts await the poor mind, but those who are thus introduced into them. I know my capacity for right understanding, is far inferior to many of my brethren and sisters in the work; but it seems as much as body and mind can at times bear, to feel in my small measure for the hurt of the daughter of my people, too many of whom feel not for themselves, and I fear come under the description of the whole who need

not a physician; so that though there is abundant balm in Gilead, they remain unhealed; though there is a sovereign physician there, they are unrestored. Among such as these, if any thing be uttered, it must indeed be a plaintive song, a language of mourning and bitter lamentation, for many are falling before the enemy, and carried away captive as into a strange land.

"The meeting at Rathfriland on sixth-day, was attended by most of the members and professors, a small company, and one, among whom I think there was less of the moving of spiritual life, than in any other spot we have been at. The seed of the kingdom felt to me in a state, where it could not be ministered to but by Almighty power; the struggle for its arising was, however, mercifully continued, and through best help, victory so far experienced, that supplication could be vocally poured forth to the Fountain of light and life: blessed be the name of Him whose throne of grace is ever accessible to faith.

"We returned to our lodgings, and after a season of honest plain dealing with the heads of the family, and feeling with and about the large flock committed to their charge in the wilderness of this world, we felt clear of this trying spot, and proceeded to Stramore.

"Lurgan, 31st. We attended Ballinderry meeting on first-day, which, like all others we have here, was an exercising season; we returned hither, and in an evening sitting in this family, were, through unfailing mercy, owned by the overshadowing of the holy wing.

"Yesterday afternoon we went to see Mary Ann Clibborn, who appears near being removed from a family of eleven children. After a time of religious retirement with the afflicted Friend, we sat awhile with the children and their father in another room, which proved a season of merciful condescension, in not only opening the gospel spring, but causing it to shed a softening influence, so as to excite a consoling hope that the bread cast upon the waters may not be lost. These visits produced real relief of mind, and indeed our feelings while in the house, tended to renew an humble confidence in the leadings of unerring Wisdom, at the same time bowing in that abasedness of self, wherein the heart-felt language is, 'not unto us, O Lord, but to Thy name be the praise, when any little ability is renewed to labour for the promotion of Thy blessed cause.'

"I had from the period of our first being in Lurgan felt inclined to return, and though the visit already mentioned was one attraction, there was a further exercise, even the prospect of another meeting, which I wished the inhabitants might attend; but faith was very low, and it was accompanied with, I trust, some little knowledge of myself, so that though I did intimate it, I requested the notice might be confined: the meeting was largely attended by Friends, and many not in profession with us were there also, but an inconsiderable number to what might have been, had faith been strong enough; however I may thankfully acknowledge it was a season of renewed instruction, and life did in degree triumph over the death that seemed to threaten.

"Gracious regard hath again been manifested in a season of retirement with some young people, and heart-felt satisfaction experienced. Thus we get on in a hobbling way, yet I trust are in our right places so far; a hope which reconciles to difficulties, and helps in a measure to surmount them.

"Maze, near Lisburn, sixth month, 4th. On fifth-day morning we went from Lurgan to Ballinderry, sat a meeting there, which was rather large, though a widely scattered settlement in a country place; life was exceedingly low, but I thought rather increased towards the last, liberty being felt to deliver close doctrine among them; we took a cold repast in a little cottage near the meeting-house, and Louisa Conran joining us, returned home with her and lodged. Went next morning to the Monthly Meeting at Lisburn, that for worship was passed in silent suffering; the women's meeting was rather a relieving one to my mind. At six o'clock in the evening we attended the select meeting, wherein a little light graciously shone, and something of Christian fellowship was witnessed.

"Yesterday afternoon an appointed meeting was held at Hillsborough, the number present but small, and to my apprehension little life was prevalent among them; only a few of other professions attended, and I thought the season clouded from too great a desire for words, which tended to obstruct the arising of the spring in the manner it might have been known, had each been engaged to dig for the pure flowing thereof into their own hearts.

"Lurgan, 8th. On first-day I was confined at John Conran's by indisposition, and on second we went to Lisburn and called on a few of the families, which proved a means of relief from some painful feelings. Being so inclined we passed one night under the roof of our tried friend Jonathan Richardson, who lately lost his lovely wife in a consumption. The Monthly Meeting here occurring, we attended it; that for worship rather low, the succeeding one more open, and the select meeting in the evening favoured in the unity of life, and a time wherein the liberty of the gospel was felt.

"Lurgan, 13th. We arrived at Rhonehill on fifth-day, and met as before a truly cordial reception. Next day was the Quarterly Meet-

ing of Ministers and Elders, which held long, and was a very exercising season; some circumstances being unpleasantly handled, caused a cloud to darken our hemisphere, but through favour this measurably dispersed, and before our separation a degree of light and life spread over us. The meetings for discipline on seventh, and those for worship on first-day were very large, and mercifully owned: my faith was low, but access being granted to the throne of grace, ability to labour was experienced, much to the relief of my poor mind, and I trust not to the injury of the precious cause.

"On hearing of the death of Mary Ann Clibborn, I found it best to return hither, though sixteen miles additional riding, to attend the burial; a very large number of Friends and others were assembled on the occasion; we went to the house before meeting, and felt inclined to go again in the evening, which some of us may be thankful we did, from the renewed conviction that it is better to go to the house of mourning than to that of mirth. The bereaved husband, and ten children, were present at a solemn season, which was marked by feelings of near sympathy, and closed with supplication for support in the day of trouble. The interment this day is the fourth from that house in two years, three children and their mother! These are indeed deeply instructive dispensations.

"We purposed proceeding on third-day morning, but being very much indisposed in health, and having gone through pretty close work for a week before, we concluded to rest at the truly hospitable dwelling of James Christy, before the fresh engagement of going round the Lough.

"The usual meeting at Lurgan on Fourth-day was well attended by the members, and though we had wanted to push forward, we had at this time, cause for adopting the old proverb 'a stop is no let' or real hindrance, believing that our detention was in best ordering, this meeting proving the most relieving to my mind, of any we had sat in this place. Next morning we resumed our journey, and travelled through much wind and rain to Antrim, seventeen miles from Lurgan, where only a few Friends reside. We concluded to sit with this poor little flock in their meeting house at six o'clock in the evening; there were several present, who through one means or other had forfeited their right to membership, though we knew not hereof, nor aught about them until after meeting; the line of reproving doctrine ran closely, while the honest hearted were, I trust, encouraged to hold on their way, and though a suffering season, it closed with renewed cause for humble thankfulness to our Almighty helper.

"Sixth-day, the 17th. We went to Ballymena, near which one family under our name resides. It had been usual for this family to meet Friends who were travelling, at one of the meetings, but I felt an unusual inclination to go to them, though it cost us a few more miles riding, and as soon as we entered the town I thought I understood why the impulse was so strong to visit it; but I kept the pressure my mind was under to myself, and no meeting house being there, nor Friends residing in the place, felt discouraging. However, on going up stairs at the inn, I observed two rooms with folding doors, which being opened made the whole pretty large; so I gave way to the impression, and had notice circulated of a meeting, to which, besides the few Friends, about forty persons came, who sat in much quietness and solidity during the time of silence. A solemn covering was evident, to the humbling of our spirits, and in the prevalence of gospel love the testimony of Truth was a little opened, gracious help being afforded beyond what I could have asked or expected, so that I could renewedly say it is good to trust in Thee—yea, none ever trusted and was confounded.

"This morning we set out after breakfast, and a few miles from the town, our guide informing us there was a settlement of Moravians at a little village he pointed to, I inclined to call on them: so we turned off the road, and went up to the house of the single sisters, where we were kindly received; and finding that I had been acquainted with many of their people in Germany, produced additional attention to us. They took us over their chambers, chapel, &c., and showed us the various works they wrought, and afterwards requested us to take a bit of bread; we did so in the matron's apartment, who appeared a religious, feeling woman, as was the case with several others of them, and this little visit seemed mutually satisfactory and pleasant. We got here to tea, and purpose remaining over meeting to-morrow.

"Toberhead, sixth month, 21st. We left Ballinnacree second-day morning, and reached this place in the evening, where we met a truly kind reception in the garb of simple hospitality, and feel very comfortable in the humble dwelling of our dear friend Gervas Johnson, attended by his two daughters, who, with their parents, endeavour to make our little tarriance here pleasant, and indeed it is much more so than many superior habitations would prove. At the meeting here this day the house was nearly full of Presbyterians, the preacher, his wife, and the clerk of their meeting amongst them; it was a season of liberty.

"There seems an invitation in these parts, as well as others, to those not professing as we do. Oh! that all may be gathered to the teaching of Christ Jesus the true Shepherd.

Since tea we have been favoured with a solemn season together in this family, where the precious life cemented our spirits, and under its prevalence a little of the oil ran through some vessels towards the beloved youth.

"Lurgan, 23rd. We arrived here this evening to tea, after travelling seventeen miles of remarkably rough road, so much so, that we were not only greatly shaken, but our chaise injured: we have travelled since this day week about one hundred miles, had five meetings, and several family sittings; the last meeting yesterday at Grange, whence we proceeded to Antrim, nine miles, to lodge. We intend to rest here awhile, feeling to require it after this journey, which has been truly exercising every way, but accompanied with a little of that peace which is worth suffering to obtain.

"Maze, Seventh month, 4th. I was painfully confined more than a week at Lurgan, and feel considerably reduced in strength by this attack, but was enabled to get to meeting there on fourth-day; my body suffered so much from the exercise which then fell to my lot, that though we had concluded to leave Lurgan the same afternoon, we gave up to rest a day or two longer. On seventh-day we proceeded hither, and yesterday morning went to meeting at Lisburn, where, as in one I before sat in this place, my mind was deeply pained and oppressed from the prevalence of a spirit which was thirsting for words, and sustained itself on the labour of others, without any exercise of its own, after that food which can alone nourish unto everlasting life. I was strengthened to get some relief by an honest endeavour to deliver what I apprehended was the counsel committed to me, and being out of debt felt a comfortable poverty, very different from what is brought on by withholding what is called for.

"Milecross, Fourth-day 6th. A meeting at Hillsborough on second-day evening, was attended by a tolerable number of Friends and others, and though there was less of the dominion of pure life than in some other opportunities of this sort, we had cause for renewed thankfulness; and yesterday morning, before leaving our dear friends J. and L. C., we were favoured with a precious cementing season, our spirits being baptized under a feeling of that unity wherein 'the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.' We arrived here in the evening and met a friendly reception from Thomas and Sarah Bradshaw: a meeting is to be held in their parlour, no meeting house, and but few in profession with us being here. Which way we shall move from hence is not yet fixed. I am earnestly desirous to feel and see the right path, and if that be towards my tenderly beloved connexions, it will indeed be deemed a favour.

"Lurgan, Seventh month, 9th. I am once more in this place, after being not only permitted, but apprehending it right for me, to seek that rest from close and deeply trying exercise, which I may find in my own habitation. My frame is exceedingly shaken, and according to human judgment unable to bear much more at present; and though I think, I was favoured to experience, (during the conflict I have passed through to obtain divine certainty,) a degree of willingness to spend and be spent, in that path whereon light shone, I believe that a gracious Master has mercifully withdrawn, at least for the present, the view of crossing the water, and caused peace to rest on the conclusion to return home, without which I hope I should feel afraid so to do.

"Our closing visit at Milecross, was on several accounts remarkable, different religious opportunities in the family being so owned by the extension of almighty help as to produce the thankful acknowledgment, 'Thy mercies are new every morning, great is Thy faithfulness and Thy truth.'

"Dublin, Seventh month, 16th, 1791. I told thee of my exercise respecting Scotland, and present release from the prospect. At Belfast our minds were renewedly dipped into the baptism of the cloud, and we had to be still while it remained; when a little light sprung up we discovered there was something required, which being strengthened to give way to, we left that place comfortably, and proceeded peacefully to Moyallen, where we were sensible of gospel love to the sheep not of our fold, and had the afternoon meeting postponed from four to five; the attendance was large, and I trust the season was productive of no injury to the precious cause of truth, solidity being evident. A large company supped at our lodging, and I think the covering we were favored with constituted a feast indeed, and felt like a sanction to a separation from some truly beloved Friends. Next morning we breakfasted at M. P.'s, with whom, her twelve children, and several near relatives, we had a season of retirement to the relief of our minds. Feeling attracted back to Lurgan to see one family, we went thither, and next morning proceeded to Warrenstown, where we were again favoured with gracious unmerited help.

"On Fifth-day morning, after a solid cementing opportunity, of renewed feeling with and for each other, we parted in near affection with several endeared friends, and travelled very agreeably to Dundalk that day; twenty-seven miles further yesterday, and this day arrived here, under I trust some little sense of numberless undeserved favours received from boundless mercy. May I be so preserved as not only diligently to inquire what shall I render?

but resignedly to follow the answer, which, from season to season a gracious Master may see meet to return, in entire dedication to His will."

She returned from this journey much exhausted in body, and was considerably indisposed for a long time, but her mind became strengthened for increasing exercise, and further religious service soon opened to her view. That upon which she next entered was to the city and western parts of the county of Cork, where she was engaged to hold meetings for those not in profession with herself. When on the point of leaving home for this service, she wrote as follows:

——— "I am going very poor and low in mind, but hope not without knowing whom I have believed, and whom I trust I desire humbly to follow, as His pure will is graciously revealed; if I return with renewed experience of his preserving power and in peaceful poverty, it will be enough."

The chief account of this journey is contained in letters from which the following extracts have been taken.

——— "In humble gratitude to the author of all our mercies it may be acknowledged, that the meeting at Bandon was a time wherein holy help was afforded, and not only a door of utterance but one of entrance opened, by His power who opened the heart of Lydia of old. The people were attentive, solid, and I believe many of them thoughtful; not only inwardly inquiring what is truth? but willing to receive the answer as there was strength to explain it; and the consoling hope attended, that some for whom our spirits then travailed, would be everlastingly inclosed in the true sheep-fold. This opportunity of feeling and labouring in the ability afforded, left solid satisfaction on our minds, with desire to commit the issue to Him, who ordereth all things according to the purpose of His own will. In the evening we sat with the few Friends there collectively; the labour here was abundantly more difficult, the work harder, and the hope less, because it seems indeed, when our little church is felt with, and ministered to, it must be as in a state of sickness, and alas! may it not be feared that this sickness is not deeply enough felt? therefore health is not in the sure way of being restored, which it otherwise might be.

"We held a meeting at Skibbereen, which was very largely attended, and mercifully owned by holy help, to the humiliation of self and exaltation of that name which is above every name, and whereto I trust some present bowed in reverent thankfulness of soul. Next day we went, through wind and rain, to Baltimore, a poor straggling place at the sea side, mostly inhabited by fishermen, seafaring persons and revenue officers, who I apprehend are generally Protestants. No suitable place could be obtained for a meeting but the public worship house, which we were glad to accept, the feeling of gospel love being strong to the people here. We filled one of the pews, and I believe all the others were nearly full: the company were quiet and solid in the time of silence, and very attentive during the communication of those truths we had to declare amongst them: indeed, soon after sitting down, the covering of solemnity was beyond what is frequently witnessed on such occasions, and I have a consoling hope that the labours of that day will not be altogether in vain. Thou hardly expected thy poor trembling wife would ever be strengthened to move in such a line, much less reason with the people in such a place; but it seemed no matter where the gospel was published, if given to publish, and indeed it added to the thankful feelings of my poor mind, that divine mercy had enlightened my eyes to distinguish truth from error, and substance from shadows.

"Castletown has been our head quarters, and we are now going to hold a meeting in the Custom-house, which is preparing for the purpose; my heart is heavy at the prospect, and every fresh exercise of this kind ought to feel weighty. My health is as good as I could expect, though our difficulties are not a few, and my dear E. Pim is a kind and sympathizing companion. We are favoured with having five Friends of Cork meeting, whose company is helpful and pleasant to us."

The winding up of this service was rendered memorable, by its furnishing an opportunity for visiting Samuel Neale, in his last illness, and also of attending his burial. He had long been an intimate and much beloved friend of my dear mother's and her companion; and manifested near sympathy and concern for them in the commencement of their journey; inquiring, when very weak in body, how they were getting on, and what assistance they had, in the affectionate terms, 'who is taking care of these good women?' On returning to Cork they found his complaints had made rapid progress; and it may not be uninteresting to such as knew and valued this devoted man, to peruse a few particulars of his state, and her own feelings in witnessing it, as related in a letter dated the 27th of second month.

——— "It was awful to enter the chamber of our venerable friend, and to behold one who had been so often the messenger of consolation to me and to many others, so reduced as to be almost unable to drop one collected sentence, without immediately rambling to something different, though all perfectly innocent and sweet as a child. He looked at me and said, 'Thou hast great burdens,' adding that it was long

since he saw me. I sat about an hour by his bed-side, assisted in moving him, &c., but he manifested little sign of distinguishing one from another; I scarcely expected the change would be so great in eight days; his breathing was hard, and by many corroborating symptoms it was evident that the termination drew near. The situation of this beloved friend has seemed to cloud any little prospect my mind may have had, so that it seems best to stand still until this trying dispensation is full. Yesterday evening, after taking tea with dear Sarah Neale, I came to my lodgings, where many Friends assembled, and a solemn season ensued, wherein the prospect of the removal of this Elijah brought an awful covering, and renewedly raised the inquiry, 'Where is the Lord God of Elijah?' who condescended to draw near unto the minds of some, and own their sad communications. This evening I have been again at the house of mourning, and waited until the last conflict terminated in everlasting peace, of which I thought it a great favour to be permitted to feel such an evidence; that instead of lamentation the language of praise might be uttered, while on account of the church this renewed loss is certainly grievous."

On the 28th, my dear mother and her companion resumed their important engagements by going to Kinsale, where a meeting was appointed for the next day; respecting which and subsequent religious service she writes as follows:

——— "The appointment of this meeting had been an object of considerable weight, and was given up to much in the cross, but through continued mercy it was memorably owned by our unfailing Helper. The number collected was very large, and it seemed to us as if more than a few were inwardly gathered, and like thirsty ground prepared to receive such gospel communications as there was ability to impart. Our stay in, and departure from this place, were rather singularly marked by feelings of peace and thankfulness, an abundant recompense for any little service; and what a favour it is that the sacrifice of our wills is graciously accepted, that our deficiencies are mercifully made up, and our transgressions pardoned: surely we may well say, worthy is the Lord to be served and fully obeyed!

"Fifth-day we had a meeting for the youth belonging to Cork meeting, which was large and solemn; it felt comforting to be among our fellow professors, and renewedly to believe that the extension of heavenly love is towards the children.

"Fifth-day, 2nd of Third-month, was the interment of our honourable friend, S. N.; the meeting was very large, and great numbers assembled at the ground; my dear companion was confined from both by illness, which caused me to feel lonely; for the help of her exercised spirit, and her labour in word and doctrine are consoling and rejoicing to my heart. She has been frequently during this embassy clothed with gospel power, and enlarged in her sound acceptable gift.

"We had a solemn season of retirement at Edward Hatton's in the evening, and apprehending that light shone upon our return, we set forward on seventh-day morning, and I was favoured to find all in good order at home that evening. Next day commenced our province meeting, and on the following first-day we had a public meeting at Carrick, which was graciously owned by the covering of good, and left us in possession of peace. This step had been long in prospect with me, but a sense of my childhood, and the greatness of the work kept me from avowing it, until encouraged by the experience of divine help in late engagements."

Soon afterwards she had a public meeting in Clonmel, and this being the first time she had so evinced her concern for the place where she resided, it felt weighty in prospect, as will appear by the following account of this important step.

——— "Hadst thou been here I might have been a little more valiant than I found myself, when a matter came to the point that I long had in view, though I never told any one of it till, in the anguish of my heart it escaped me, after meeting on first-day, to M. G. and E. P. on their inquiring what ailed me? The time for the fulfilment of this prospect seemed now arrived, and being favoured in the afternoon meeting to feel that rise into dominion wherein there was, even vocally, a surrender of my little all, as light might be mercifully afforded, I ventured to stop a few Friends afterwards, and informed them of the concern I was under: they evinced much sympathy, and encouraged me to follow apprehended duty.

"The meeting was attended by a considerable number, who were generally quiet and solid; and although there was more of darkness to encounter, and less, I thought, of the right thirst, than in some late meetings, yet it may be thankfully acknowledged, help was graciously extended, and that the honour of Truth being only in view, preservation was experienced from injuring the precious cause. I never more forcibly felt that truth, 'without me, ye can do nothing.' May it be deeply sealed on my spirit, and the spirits of all who move in this awful line, that so, sufficiency being derived from Him who can alone qualify, His own name may be exalted, and the creature laid in the dust."

The following letter was written in the year

1790, and so manifests the continuance of affectionate and Christian solicitude on behalf of her friends on the continent, that it appears calculated to prove an acceptable termination to the present chapter.

"My beloved Friend,—L. Majolier:

"Were I to tell thee and thy dear wife, with my other valued friends at Congenies, that I have not ceased to love you, as often as the sensible renewings of Christian fellowship refresh my mind, our converse in this way would be frequent; but though I may, through continued gracious regard, be indulged with this symptom of having passed from death unto life, love to the brethren, I seem but seldom under qualification to help any of my fellow professors in their spiritual travail; being often brought very low, not only in mind but in body; instructed by frequent chastisements of love, that I have no continuing city here. You, my dear friends, know some of my many infirmities, and I often gratefully remember how affectionately you sympathized with me, and endeavoured, by your friendly attentions, to alleviate such as I was tried with while among you; yea, the remembrance of having been with you is pleasant, and there are seasons when I seem so to visit you in spirit, to feel with and for you, that I am as though personally among you, joying, (if I may use the words of an apostle,) and rejoicing, to behold the steadfastness of some: among these hast thou, beloved Louis, refreshed my mind, in believing that the visitation of divine love has not been extended in vain; but, that in yielding obedience to the heavenly vision, thou hast known an advancement in the line of righteousness, and an increase in stability and peace. Go on, my endeared friend; the sense that often impressed my heart while with thee now revives, even that much depends on thy perseverance; not only thy own and precious companion's welfare, but that of the little flock, mercifully gathered by the everlasting Shepherd, under whose holy guidance I view thee delegated to lead them, designed in the forcible language of example to encourage them, 'to follow Christ.' Ah! my dear brother, how much is implied in being a follower of Christ: how deep ought the dwelling of such to be, in order that a full conformity may be wrought to His will, by a total renunciation of our own under every appearance. The work of thorough subjection is truly a great work, and it is to be expected, in the refining process, that deep sufferings and closely proving conflicts should attend the exercised spirit. 'Ye shall indeed drink of my cup,' was the blessed Master's language, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with; this is sealed in the experience of his tribulated servants; they measurably partake of the dispensations so largely filled up by Him, when in the prepared body, and herein their union with him is effected; but, blessed be His name, there is a consoling declaration gone forth, if we suffer, we shall also reign with Him. There are seasons when such baptized sons and daughters know, even here, through the resurrection of life, something of this sort, when Truth rising into dominion over all in their hearts, they are made as kings and priests unto God; and there is a season approaching, when, being unclothed of these mortal bodies, such shall be clothed upon with immortality and eternal life. My heart has been unexpectedly filled to thee my dear friend, and I have given my pen liberty; if any thing can be gathered up from these broken hints, which may serve as an encouragement to thee in thy trying allotment, I shall be glad, for surely I would encourage thee; mayest thou put on strength in the Lord's name, and trusting therein find it a strong tower, yea, an impregnable fortress, where the enemy cannot hurt, though he may roar and greatly disquiet. Remember the language applied to the true church, and which belongs to every living member therein, 'He reproved kings for thy sake, saying, touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.' And now, having relieved my mind a little towards one, I feel a renewed salutation to you, my endeared friends, who were collectively the objects of our visit; a visit to which love was the moving cause, and the consoling attendant of our minds while with you, and which I believe we all now feel to be the cement of a union, not broken or impaired by external separation. In the extension of this pure principle my mind is often drawn towards you, in fervent affectionate solicitude that the good work mercifully begun may abundantly prosper, and He who has been the Alpha become the glorious Omega, perfecting the new creation, and fulfilling His gracious purpose, by making you a people to his praise. It is, dear friends, and many of you have seen it, a gradual work; it begins, as in the first or outward creation, with that heavenly command, 'Let there be light.' There are those among you who have intelligibly heard this in the secret of your souls, and, through illuminating grace, have clearly distinguished the way wherein you should walk: now this light is to be attended to, according to what the apostle tells the believers, 'to which ye do well to take heed,' because it shines more and more unto the perfect day. While we simply follow it, we come under the description of walking in the day, and stumble not; but are, by regular gradations, introduced into the acceptable state of children of the Lord; taught of Him, and established in righteousness. It

is, my beloved friends, this desirable state of establishment in the right way, that my spirit renewedly craves for you and for myself; that every visited mind among you may become redeemed; every called, a chosen disciple, by unreserved dedication of heart to the pure unerring leadings of the only sure guide. Wait, in the silence of all flesh, for the further unfoldings of the divine law; seek to know a taking root downward; and as you come to witness the sap of heavenly grace to nourish and strengthen the root, you will in due season be qualified to bring forth fruit to the Lord's praise, 'First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear,' ripening under holy influence, and by the maturing rays of the Sun of Righteousness prepared to be finally gathered into the garner. Oh! how my spirit longs for the safe advancement of the beloved youth among you. May the enriching showers of celestial rain descend to preserve and nourish them; and may the further advanced, those in the meridian and decline of life, wait in humble resignation to know their spirits renewedly seasoned with the salt of the kingdom; that this may produce its salutary effects, enabling to minister grace, suitable example and precept, to the younger. Finally, beloved friends, farewell in the Lord! may He 'be sanctified in them who come nigh' Him, and the gracious purpose of His will be effected, by preparing for himself 'a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.' In the fresh feeling of undiminished love, I am your cordial friend,

MARY DUDLEY.

CHAPTER VI.

Religious Visit to Dunkirk and Guernsey, in the year 1792.

A SERVICE for which my dear mother had long been preparing, and which she contemplated with awfulness and many fears, now presented as the immediate requiring of her great Master, and early in the sixth month she laid before her monthly meeting a concern to visit Friends in Dunkirk, Guernsey, and some parts of the north of England and Scotland, having in prospect to hold meetings also with those not in profession with our Society. The trial which it was to her affectionate feelings, and the conflicts she endured, when thus about to leave her husband and children, are somewhat described in the following extract from a letter, dated

"Sixth month, 23rd, 1792. Thy sympathy in my present important prospect is truly consoling, and thy encouragement to follow apprehended duty is strengthening. Ah! my progress has indeed been slow, and my experience comparatively small; but how much has it cost my nature, yea, almost its destruction, to be in the degree I am, loosened from my precious domestic ties. When a gracious Master demands the sacrifice of obedience, what struggles do I renewedly feel to give up all; at this moment I am even ready to question whether that faith to which all things are possible will be victorious, or rather that the small grain will so increase as to give the victory."

On the 1st of the eighth month she sailed from Waterford, being accompanied by her dear friends, Elizabeth Pim and Edward Hatton, who both felt bound to the service; respecting the accomplishment of which, my dear mother writes as follows:

——— "Through merciful preservation we arrived at Milford about seven o'clock this morning, after a very tedious passage, the wind turning quite against us about two hours after we got on board, and next day it was mostly calm, so that little but fishing went forward among the sailors: we were all distressingly sick, but it is a great favour we had no storm, and have been so far preserved.

"5th. We proceeded from Haverfordwest to Carmarthen, where, as there was a meeting house belonging to Friends, we ventured to invite the people to come and sit with us: a little solid company attended, and I think there was no reason to be dissatisfied with this step. We rode on to Llandovery to lodge, and reached Monmouth the next day, called on a family of Friends about a mile from the town, who are settled in a lonely situation far from meeting, and separated from the society of Friends; some communication in a sitting with them tended to relieve our minds, and I hope sealed some profitable instruction on theirs. We went from thence to Ross, and finding their Monthly Meeting was to be held the next day, concluded to attend it. Our minds being drawn in gospel love to those not of our Society, notice was circulated and many came to the meeting, which proved a solemn one. E. H. was engaged with good authority, and the season ended in humble acknowledgment of divine mercy. We had a religious sitting in the family where we lodged, and proceeded that evening to Gloucester, where we also felt bound to appoint a meeting; and though but few attended, it was an open, relieving time, affording renewed cause to trust in the never-failing arm of saving strength.

"We reached Burford the evening of the 9th, and were affectionately received at the hospitable dwelling of Thomas Huntley. In religious retirement after supper, we were refreshed together, and felt a little of that fellowship which is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus

Christ. We had a season of religious worship next morning with the boys in their school room, and afterwards proceeded to High Wycomb, where we arrived just as Friends were going to a meeting held at seven in the evening on that day of the week; it was a solid time, the number attending not large. Here I met with my old companion Adey Bellamy, who took me to his house, and with his wife, a valuable religious woman, lodged and entertained us most kindly.

"11th. After breakfast we went to see our friend Mary Green, and her three daughters, where we were favoured with an opportunity the most refreshing and strengthening to my poor mind, of any we have had since leaving Waterford. A. B. supplicated, and after some communications in the line of ministry, his wife revived the language of David, 'Surely mercy and goodness hath followed me all the days of my life,' &c., when our valuable friend M. G., with whom much sympathy was felt, made humble acknowledgment of the mercy renewedly extended to her; after which another return of prepared praise closed this memorable season, wherein it seemed to me such food was graciously handed, as might be gone in the strength of many days, and our spirits were bowed in thankfulness to the Lord. We left this place in peaceful serenity, and reached London to tea, being cordially received at my dear friend J. Eliot's.

"12th. Attended Westminster meeting, which was to my feelings a low season, though E. H. was well concerned in testimony. The afternoon meeting was wholly silent, but I thought inward travail was got to, which it is a favour to be willing to abide under, even a state where the seed can be profitably visited and interceded for; believing that in this situation groans which cannot be uttered, reach the sacred ear. My mind was instructed in these seasons, as well as in a time of retirement at our lodgings, in the evening, and though my lips were closed in this city, I was in degree thankful for one sense of life, renewed willingness to suffer.

"13th. After attending the Morning Meeting, where our certificates were read, we apprehended ourselves clear of London, and left it about four o'clock accompanied by John Eliot and John Bevans. Arrived at Rochester late that evening, and not feeling easy to proceed without having a meeting there, one was appointed for next morning. This through divine favour proved a season of considerable relief; it was wholly confined to Friends, and I believe properly so, as it appeared a visit to our fellow members, who are sometimes deprived of their portion when others are present. Many Friends dined with us, at William Rickman's, and a solemn season afterwards crowned this labour of love. We proceeded to Dover that night, where, though not arriving until past ten o'clock, we were hospitably received at Richard Baker's.

"We found that our dear friends Martha Routh and Christiana Hustler, were daily expected from Dunkirk, and that a vessel was likely to sail for that place in the morning. We had before thought only of Calais, but R. B. recommending this, in preference, we changed our original intention, and set sail on fourth-day morning the 12th, with a favourable breeze, but this soon slackened, so that we were about twelve hours on sea, and suffered much from sickness. The gates of the town being shut when we got into harbour, we were obliged to remain on board all night. On reaching the house of our kind friend William Rotch, next morning, we found it was their usual meeting day; but not feeling ourselves equal to sitting down profitably, so soon after a voyage, it was deferred to six in the evening, when we assembled, and though but a small number it felt a time of solemnity.

"On conferring together next morning, it seemed consonant to all our feelings to sit with the few families, and we began at that of our kind host, with whom, his wife and two daughters, we were favoured to feel spiritual refreshment.

"In proceeding with this engagement, much exercise attended, and the truth of the Scripture assertion was sensibly enforced, 'ye have need of patience:' but I had afresh to consider that it is part of the labourer's business to break up the fallow ground, as well as to sow the seed; this is the hardest portion of the work, but the servant is not to choose. It is enough for the servant to be as his Master, and the disciple as his Lord. May I increasingly learn this salutary lesson, for I am far behind my fellow-labourers in the glorious work.

"First-day, the 19th. Our meeting this morning was attended by a few others besides Friends, and through the extension of divine regard, proved solemn; holy help being afforded to visit the different states of the people to some relief, and I trust profit. In the evening, at our lodging, a memorable season crowned this day, so that it was indeed measurably known that through continued mercy the outgoings of the morning and the evening rejoice.

"20th. After the last family sitting an exercise which had attended my mind since coming here, became so heavy that I mentioned to my companions the view of having a meeting with the inhabitants of this place; they encouraged me, but did not appear to be themselves, under the weight of it. This tried my faith, and on speaking to our dear friend William Rotch, he expressed some fear that owing to

the present state of public affairs it would not be of much advantage. Having moved so far, I felt relieved, and willing either to give the matter wholly up, or yield to it in the morning, should the pressure continue. After supper, a very solemn season ensuing, wherein access was mercifully afforded to the throne of divine grace, and renewed strength experienced, we again conferred on the subject, and concluded to appoint a meeting, and though the number attending was but small, it proved a season owned by the liberty of the gospel. E. Hatton was early engaged with good authority on the testimony concerning our Saviour, 'In Him was life, and the life was the light of men:' E. Pim followed acceptably, and strength was afterwards afforded for one of the poorest to be engaged in the service of a gracious Master, who was pleased mercifully to help while advocating His cause.

"At the close of this meeting, the members of our Society were requested to remain; and we had to recommend an attention to some points which seemed overlooked by Friends in this place, and to encourage to deep watchfulness lest the testimony of Truth might fall; also to strengthen the hands of those concerned for its support: this felt a solemn conclusion to our visit here, and my mind was favoured with a sense of calmness and relief.

"Apprehending that liberty was now given to proceed we prepared for doing so, and just before separating, the feeling of divine love sweetly cemented our spirits, under which a fresh salutation arose to several present, and solemn acknowledgment of the Lord's unfailing mercy was made; under which covering, and the evidence of solid peace, we parted with this dear family. There were, besides the household, several at this last opportunity for whom travail of soul had been experienced, that they might abide under the softening influence of heavenly love, and submit to the holy discipline of the cross.

"Benjamin Rotch accompanied us to Calais, where we were detained two days by unfavourable wind; a trial of patience, feeling anxious to get forward.

"24th. We embarked about four o'clock in the afternoon, and had a sick passage of eight hours; landing at Dover, I trust with thankful hearts, and were again affectionately received at our kind friend Richard Baker's.

"26th. Attended the usual meeting which was an exercising time: the life of religion being so low that suffering with the oppressed seed was our portion. My companions were well engaged, and I was drawn to supplicate for the church in her wilderness state, faith being mercifully afforded to trust that she will yet be brought forth: this I felt to be a renewed favour from the divine hand.

"We left Dover comfortably, and reached Canterbury, where we had requested an evening meeting might be appointed, and notice circulated among the inhabitants; but very few were there besides those who professed with Friends, and from our first assembling it felt very hard to get to profitable settlement or exercise. Dear E. P. and E. H. were concerned to minister, but my spirit was in a state of captivity with the captive seed, so that I could not visit the few who had given us their company, nor dared I address those for whom I was led into painful travail, until there was a separation; which being proposed, those not of our Society withdrew, and I ventured to express my feelings in a line of honest close labour; for truly it seemed as if no other would do in this place, where there felt too much rubbish in the way availingly to build any thing; and the outward appearance was such as might raise the inquiry whether most present were of our fold or not, so great a conformity to the fashions of the world was evident. Though little or no hope attended this labour, yet peace succeeded obedience to the manifestations of duty, and this is all the poor servant has to do with; we must leave the issue to Him who alone giveth the increase.

"27th. We arrived at Rochester to dinner at W. Rickman's, and had a satisfactory sitting with the children in his school; reaching London the same evening.

"On Third-day, the 28th, attended Devonshire-house meeting, where we met our dear friends Martha Routh, and Christiana Hustler. This proved a truly baptizing season, and out of the mouth of several witnesses words were established to the comfort of some of us. This favoured opportunity closed in supplication; and a consoling hope was a raised that a precious living seed was preserved, and under holy cultivation; for which earnest desire was felt that gracious care might continue to be extended, and the Lord cause it to bring forth fruit to His own everlasting praise. We dined with these dear friends at Simon Bailey's, and in the evening proceeded to Staines, lodging at John Finch's, where, after supper, a solemn silence prevailed, gathering our minds to the place where not only acceptable prayer is made, but strength mercifully obtained to journey forward in the spiritual race; liberty was felt to visit several states present, and we parted for the night, under a precious covering of good.

"29th. We reached Southampton about seven o'clock in the evening, and found a packet just ready for sailing to Guernsey, in which we embarked; and after a tempestuous night,

with much danger and distressing sickness, made about two-thirds of our passage in twelve hours: but the wind proving contrary, we got but little on our way through the night of the 30th: we were, however, favoured to make the port, late the following evening, and met a kind reception from Nicholas and Mary Naftel. We felt it a mercy to be once more preserved over the great deep, while crossing which, all our minds were tried on various accounts, though measurably kept in quietness, and confidence in the arm of effectual help; so that I did not wish myself any where else, and in the midst of distress had a view of this island, accompanied with the belief that there were some here prepared to receive a gospel visit; may our spirits be renewedly qualified for the service required.

"Ninth month, 1st. Prospects seem opening and the work feels heavy: may there be a centring deep so as to know the Master's will, and resignation to follow it let it lead as it may. We this evening took a walk, to see an elderly man, who was a member of the Church of England, but embraced the principles of Friends, from conviction, on reading some of their writings: he resides alone in a retired situation, about a mile in the country, has a garden, and with what it produces, &c., is worth about £14 per year: he considers himself rich with this, and teaches gratuitously a number of poor children to write. Soon after our entering his cottage, a precious covering spread over us, under which prayer was offered for future preservation, and humble acquiescence with the will of our divine Master. This was a season of renewed strength to my mind, which has been much tossed and tried lately.

"First-day, 2nd. The meeting this morning was largely attended, and I trust it was a profitable time to some: my mind was under such a weight respecting what was to take place in the afternoon, that I felt thankful silently to labour for a little strength; a meeting being appointed for the inhabitants, and permission granted to hold it in the assembly room. When we went, there was a large number collected, and the room was soon nearly filled; many of the people were solid, and apparently serious, but others restless, and so noisy that it required much faith to move at all; but the exercise being heavy, and the love of the gospel prevalent, as there was a venturing in simplicity, faith and strength increased, and gracious help was so afforded that what might be compared to the boisterous element was gradually calmed; and truth rose into such dominion, that not only from the necessity, but in the feeling of precious liberty, the gospel could be preached and its doctrines a little unfolded.

"The meeting concluded under increasing solemnity, and a consoling hope that all would not be lost, but some of the fragments be seen after many days. Though much exhausted from this laborious exercise, a time of divine favour after supper, tended to renew bodily and mental strength, and salutary repose again wound up the springs of nature.

"We went on second-day three miles into the country, to see a sister of Peter la Lecheur's, the person already mentioned, who like him, joined the Society of Friends from conviction; and held a meeting in a barn near her dwelling. Many people assembled and we spoke through an interpreter, which was made easier to my companions than they expected; solemnity and gospel love were prevalent, and I trust several were helped a little on their way; for while liberty to unfold the doctrines of Truth was experienced, there felt a door of entrance to the minds of some present. No Friends reside in this place, except the woman already alluded to; her husband is a Methodist, he was much tendered in the meeting, and very kind to us at his own house, where we dined; their children are also Methodists, the husband of one daughter lately felt a scruple at having his child sprinkled.

"We returned through heavy rain but in peace, and went to take tea with a solid man, who professes with Friends; his wife, a well-minded woman is a Methodist; we had a religious sitting with them in the evening to our refreshment.

"Fourth-day was their usual meeting, at which several besides Friends were present, among them a Calvinist minister, who had been with us twice at our lodgings, and with whom we had much conversation. At the close of this meeting, which was a time of solemnity, those not in profession with us were requested to withdraw, and we had a very relieving season with the few individuals of our Society, only ten in number. After these opportunities we began to think about returning, and hope we did not do wrong when we engaged a vessel which only came in the preceding day. No regular packet being then going, nor had any one sailed for England while we were on the island.

"Fifth-day, we crossed the water about half a mile, to a place called Castle-Island, where there is a garrison, and E. H., would gladly have had a meeting, but it could not be obtained without the Governor's permission, so was relinquished. We called in returning, to see a man and his wife, who had removed from Ireland, and who had been educated in our Society, and were pleased at having made this visit. In the evening most of our Friends were with us at N. Naftel's, and the covering of solemnity was again mercifully spread over us, the pre-

cious cement of gospel love binding us as in the one bundle.

"Sixth-day morning, 8th. While waiting to be summoned on ship-board, a sweet parting season crowned this visit, wherein a consoling hope was felt, that through many infirmities the arm of the Lord had not only been near to sustain, but graciously strengthened for the work whereunto He had called, so that in renewed faith His great cause might be committed to His holy keeping; whilst the belief was satisfactorily revived, that these Islands would learn more and more to wait for His law, and trust in His name: He can gather without instrumental means, and complete His own work by the effectual operation of Almighty power. I felt a rest in this assurance beyond all that I can set forth, and some deep conflicts respecting these parts seemed, as it were, swallowed up in that ocean of love, which I verily believe will operate until the knowledge of the Lord cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Under these precious feelings, praise renewedly waited as in the gates of Zion, for heavenly acceptance, and after getting on board the vessel, so strong did the current of gospel solicitude continue to flow, that I was constrained to express a few words to a number of persons who were collected on the pier. Holy support was near through this exercise, and peace succeeded, for which pledge of divine acceptance what is too dear to part with? May all our imperfections and short-comings be mercifully forgiven and every deficiency supplied, for the language is, I trust, deeply inscribed, 'to us belongeth confusion of face.'

"We were favoured with a fine passage of less than twelve hours to Weymouth, a distance of twenty-four leagues, and having a fair wind all the way were able to stay upon deck, and partake of the captain's provisions, feeling much better than I could have expected, though sick part of the time. While on the water I was sensible of gospel love towards the inhabitants of Portland, and wished we could land there instead of at Weymouth; but I feared avowing too much lest the vessel might not safely anchor there, so said nothing until seventh-day, when being about to proceed, and looking over our maps for awhile, I told my companions I did not believe the line would be discovered there, at least for me, and acknowledged the prospect I had of this Island.

"After making some necessary arrangements we went a mile and half to the ferry, but not being able to procure any conveyance at the other side, had to walk a long way upon rough gravel. At length after E. Hatton had gone on to try for a cart for us, B. Rotch discovered one returning to Weymouth, and representing the poor women as tired, and offering generous payment, we obtained possession, and found our friend E. H., at the inn sending off a conveyance to meet us. Here we were kindly received, and found that Deborah Darby and Rebecca Young had held a meeting in a very large room in the house, on being put ashore there on going to Guernsey.

"We appointed a meeting for eleven o'clock in the morning, finding the Methodists held theirs at nine, and it felt unpleasant to interfere with the hour of other professors. The Isle of Portland is divided into several little villages, our men Friends gave notice in the one we passed through, and that we were then in, but I apprehend the intelligence reached further, as several came on horseback and many were in the house before the appointed hour. The room, though very large, was not only filled, but the stair-case and adjoining chamber seemed crowded, and a solemn favoured season it proved; one wherein the poor could be invited to partake of durable riches. The people are mostly of a labouring, industrious class, reckoned very honest, and diligent in attending their place of worship, which is the establishment; there has been lately opened a Methodist meeting, and a rich man of that profession, named Brackenbury, has settled there with a view of benefiting the inhabitants in a religious sense: he was from home, but some of his family were at the meeting and conversed freely with us afterwards; they appeared solid persons, and were very friendly. A steady looking man, a preacher, came after dinner and invited us to this gentleman's house, but we were about setting off, and declined the invitation in consequence.

"This meeting recompensed us well for our little pains in getting to it, and I trust some were helped on their way: however we felt relieved, and renewedly encouraged to trust in the unfailing arm of divine support. As we left the Island, many at the doors spoke kindly to us, and our hearts and lips could affectionately say farewell. We went back peacefully in our cart to Weymouth, and after a cup of tea proceeded to Dorchester to lodge, where on second-day we parted from our dear friend E. Hatton, who set forward for Sherborne: we separated under the hope that each was endeavouring to follow the light afforded, though the division was sensibly felt on both sides. We proceeded under the kind care of Benjamin Rotch to Poole, were we lodged at Moses Neave's: several Friends spent the evening with us, and a very solemn season ensued before supper, which compensated for the little circuit we took in coming hither, and accounted for the inclination we felt to do so. The 11th and 13th we were at Alton and Staines week-day meetings, and on the evening of the latter, reached

London, which seemed to be the proper port to re-ship for another voyage."

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the same journey, comprising a visit to the North of England and Scotland. 1792.

"We remained in the city over first-day, attending Peel meeting in the morning, and Gracechurch-street in the afternoon, at each of which there was an affecting instance of mortality presented to our view: in the forenoon the remains of a young woman named Boyle were taken into meeting, and at Gracechurch-street those of Mary, the wife of Thomas Wagstaffe; both seasons were low and mostly silent. In the evening we attended the Meeting for Ministers and Elders, for the Peel Monthly Meeting, which was held at the School and Workhouse, and proved a time of renewed strength; for though the communing was sad, I was thankful for the belief that our gracious Master approved it by joining Himself to the little company, and affording a portion of food which could be travelled in the strength of, for a little while, if not many days.

"We left London about one o'clock on second-day, the 17th of the ninth month, John and Abigail Pim accompanying us as far as Wellingborough, where we attended meeting on fifth-day, as we had that of Olney, on fourth; we lodged at dear Benjamin and Tabitha Middleton's, and the former kindly taking charge of us, we proceeded after dinner to Market Harborough, lodged there, and travelled next day forty miles to Nottingham, where we arrived late, and were kindly received by John Storer and his wife.

"We were weary and exhausted upon reaching Sheffield seventh-day, but attended both meetings on first. That in the morning was a season of very close exercise, but I think owned with a good degree of the overshadowing of divine power, under which humbling influence there was a moving in the line of apprehended duty, so that relief of mind was obtained, and I hope a little profitable instruction sealed on some present. The number was very large, at both sittings, the latter heavy and laborious: we drank tea at William Fairbank's, where a season of solemn retirement ensued, and after supper at our lodgings, were again sweetly invited to inward attention by the spreading of the holy wing; and ability to perform spiritual worship was, I believe, renewedly experienced by several then assembled, to whom encouragement was administered still to maintain the warfare in faith: this was the crowning of a laborious day.

"24th. Our kind friend John Barlow took E. P. and me in a chaise to Ackworth, where, with several other Friends, we arrived to tea. When the children were summoned to supper, we went to look first at the girls, and here I know not that I can do justice either to my feelings, or the sight my eyes were saluted with: the silence that prevailed, the solidity of the mistresses and children, and the sense of good melting into an humble admiration, only to be expressed in such language as, the one half was not told me. The view of the boys afterwards was attended with similar feelings, and as our time was limited, it seemed best to desire the whole family might be collected. Several Friends from Sheffield and other places were present, and I believe all, in some measure, young an old, bowed under an awful sense of the divine presence, which indeed administered life, and excited thankful returns of praise to Him who is forever worthy. This one season was worth a long journey, and the feeling of sweet peace while under the roof, accepted as a precious pledge to our minds of the Lord's gracious regard towards this extraordinary institution, which is surely stampted with holy approbation, and will, I doubt not, be a blessing to future generations. I felt regret at being obliged to leave Ackworth so soon, but our prospects precluded a longer tarriance.

"We proceeded to York, in company with a large number of Friends, meeting with a cordial reception from William Tuke and his excellent wife. The Quarterly Select Meeting was held that evening, and largely attended from different parts of this county, as well as by strangers; dear Esther Tuke was beautifully concerned in the line of close doctrine in this sitting, and I ventured to drop the little fragment out of my small basket.

"Fourth-day, the meeting for worship was very large, and several living testimonies were borne: the meetings for discipline were held by adjournment till fifth-day noon; and the last sitting especially was one of solemnity, wherein precious fellowship was renewed, and the concluding meeting in the afternoon might, I hope, be accounted one of worship. Several young ministers appeared sweetly in their Master's cause, and that mother in Israel, Esther Tuke, was also well engaged. After these offerings M. Proud rose, and beautifully began what I expected would be an enlarged testimony, but after standing only about ten minutes in gospel authority, she closed in the very spot that one of the poorest sisters was dipped into, so the sentence remained, as it were, to be finished; and whether rightly concluded by me or not, is not my place to determine; but I trust the wing of heavenly love overshadowed some minds, and that this sepa-

rating season was a fresh confirmation, that gracious regard is continued to a church so abundantly favoured as ours has been and still is.

"After parting with many Friends who had been made renewedly dear to us, we remained in this hospitable mansion, (William Tuke's,) not feeling ready to depart; and indeed my spirit has been afresh led to feel after the right way to move hence, and I hope a little light shone upon our proceeding on second-day to Leeds, where a meeting is appointed to be held that afternoon, and one next day at Bradford; after which we expect to go on to Kendal.

"When this conclusion was come to, the weight of another matter, respecting which I had been feeling, so increased that it seemed best to mention the prospect of having a public meeting in this place, (York;) W. and E. Tuke feelingly entered into the concern, saying they had expected it, which felt encouraging to my mind. The meeting with Friends on first-day morning was a season of liberty honestly to labour, and at five o'clock a very large number of those not professing with us gave us their company, the house being nearly filled. A covering of solemnity early prevailed, under which there was an engagement to approach the throne of grace, and supplicate for ability acceptably to worship, after which dear Esther Tuke explained the doctrines of Truth with great clearness and authority; and I trust there was an endeavour, upon the part of each of us, to move in the order of our respective courses, whereby the harmony of gospel labour was maintained; and through merciful assistance the meeting terminated well, leaving upon our minds a humbling sense of gracious and unmerited regard.

"We had a sweet season of retirement in the evening with the little flock at our comfortable quarters; they are a lovely set of girls, and favoured with great advantages, in being under the superintendance of such friends as W. and E. Tuke.

"We paid a very interesting visit to our valuable friends Lindley and Hannah Murray; he is in a debilitated state of health, having been for a long time unable to walk or stand upright, except at a few intervals; at present his speech is so affected that he only whispers; yet he looks well, and has a countenance that would cheer one, indicating where he dwells, and what consolation is the source of his support. He cannot now attend meetings, but rejoices to see his friends, as they well may to see him, for indeed it felt to me that the Son of Peace was there, and had sanctified those dispensations which would otherwise be hard to bear. In a season of retirement after tea, we were favoured to experience true Christian fellowship, and our intercourse was attended with feelings which are precious even in the retrospect.

"Second-day, Tenth month, 1st. We left York, Henry and Mabel Tuke going on with us to Leeds, where we arrived in the afternoon. The appointed public meeting was held at six o'clock in one of the most commodious houses I have seen; it is a new one, calculated to contain twelve hundred persons, and at this time was thought to be nearly full, and a precious season it proved.

"Dear Sarah Lees met us here, and was first and well concerned to draw the attention of the people to that quietness which is so requisite as a preparation for acceptable worship. Henry Tuke spoke afterwards, on the subject of feeding the multitude, and I believe the subsequent labour was thus made easier: indeed it was scarcely labour in this meeting, compared with what is often the case, for the minds of the people seemed so like prepared ground, that if a little seed was handed by the good Husbandman it felt pleasant work to drop it, and I trust all that fell that night will not be lost. I have since heard that there are many serious persons in this town; and within about a year past, I think seven united to our Society from among the Methodists. It was remarkable that the line of expression ran mostly towards such as were under divine visitation, but had not attained to a settlement in religion.

"After the dispersion of the public meeting, Friends were requested to remain, and here labour was experienced; but in the gospel, because love was the covering, which induced 'plainness of speech,' and led to pour forth humble supplication.

"Third-day, 2nd. Parting with dear H. and M. Tuke, we set forward to an appointed meeting at Bradford, which proved a low exercising time; in the afternoon dear Sarah Hustler took us in a carriage to Keighley, where we lodged at an inn: next morning we took leave of this precious young woman S. H., and went on to Settle. Having felt about this place before seeing it, we had a meeting appointed and notice circulated, so that with Friends and others a considerable number were assembled by six o'clock, and we were favoured with a solemn opportunity.

"Our kind friends John andMary Birkbeck accompanied us next day to Kendal, which we reached in time for the Select Meeting, and were kindly received by John Wilson.

"On Sixth-day the Quarterly Meeting was held, and mercifully owned by the spreading of the holy wing; though the last meeting for worship, at six in the evening, was an exercising season, I thought owing to the lukewarmness of many, and revolting of others. In both

these general meetings life felt in a state of oppression, but much honest labour was bestowed. Alice Rigge, a mother in Israel, was engaged in a lively manner, and Anthony Mason, who is bright and fruitful at the advanced age of eighty-seven, cried aloud to the careless ones.

"Seventh-day was mostly occupied in calling on Friends—one sick in body, several so in mind; and among individuals here, as in many other places, the precious life is buried in visible things.

"First-day, 7th. We went nine miles to Windermere, where a meeting is held twice in the year on a fixed day, chiefly on account of the people who live about there and incline to attend. Sarah Wilson and several other Friends from Kendal, accompanied us; I believe it was felt by every sensible mind to be a solemn, favoured season; the extension of gospel love being evident to those assembled, concerning some of whom there is no doubt with me, the declaration of our Lord will in His own time be accomplished, 'them also I must bring.'

"We returned to Kendal to dinner, and having mentioned to Friends there our view of having a public meeting in the evening, we found notice had been given. It was largely attended, and though the people did not seem so like the prepared, or thirsty ground, as in some other places, there was a solemn covering felt increasingly to prevail over the assembled company; and as there was an endeavour simply to move and minister in the ability received, spiritual harmony was maintained, and the season graciously owned; so that for this renewed unmerited favour, we had cause to make the return of praise to Him who is forever worthy.

"After this the springs of nature were so run down, that it seemed needful to rest a day for winding up again; we therefore indulged part of second-day, and went to dine with George and Deborah Benson and their large family, and called to see Robert Dodgson, a valuable man in a very declining state of health, but with a mind, I believe, resigned, and in good measure prepared to be unclothed, if such be the divine will: it was consoling thus to feel in our sitting with him, which I hope was mutually refreshing. After tea, at George Braithwaite's, where many kind friends met us, a peculiarly solemn stillness occurred, not from any plan, but like the wind blowing where, and how it listeth; and hearing the sound thereof, we were sweetly gathered into pure silence, under which covering S. W. supplicated for continued preservation, and I thought the feeling of solemnity was thereby increased: she has appeared only a few months in ministry. Several others were engaged in testifying to the truth, as it is in Jesus, and I was ready to hope it might be the termination of labour in this field; but hearing of the usual meeting day being on the morrow, began to fear that we might not be liberated, and so it proved.

"Third-day was truly one of close exercise, but by an endeavour to owe no man any thing, I hope there was a clearing honestly out of this place, and was truly glad we remained. In this, as well as other instances, I found the use of a companion, for I should have tried to escape this meeting, if she had not been earnest for staying.

"We went fifteen miles that afternoon, and on fourth-day morning proceeded to Penrith, where a meeting had been appointed for eleven o'clock; most of the members were supposed to be present, and it was upon the whole, satisfactory. There, as in other parts, the life of pure religion is low, but it is consoling that a few are preserved living, and exercised on account of the spiritually dead; and I doubt not but the baptisms of these are in degree availing; that their prayers and alms-deeds come up as a sweet memorial before the throne, and find gracious acceptance. We spent the afternoon, which proved a very wet one, with Friends named Ritson, who entertained us in true kindness.

"Fifth-day, the 11th. Rode eighteen miles of hilly rough road, to Carlisle, where, next morning, we had an appointed meeting for Friends, but apprehend all the members were not there; it was a low exercising time. We did not feel satisfied to proceed before first-day, and spent part of seventh in social intercourse with our friends. We lodged with dear Mary Richardson, who is lively in spirit, and peaceful, though she has had to partake of a bitter cup in the form of domestic affliction; she bears up wonderfully, and says her mind was prepared for something trying before her return from Ireland.

"First-day, 14th. Attended the usual meeting at Carlisle, which was large, most of those in profession with Friends and many not so being present. It was a truly laborious time, and long before the spring of liberty opened; but when it did, relief of mind was mercifully obtained, through an endeavour to discharge manifested duty. Here, as well as in other places, much rubbish is in the way, and there are but few builders; while it is to be feared the strength of some burden bearers is decayed. There feels a little life, but a deal of death, so that the baptism of the living is deep, and no doubt the query often arises, 'What advantageth it us if the dead rise not?'

"The uncertainty of our continuance in mutability was at this season very awful to my mind, and the necessity of preparation to mix with redeemed spirits in the kingdom of purity renewedly impressed. To draw from these

solemn considerations, to present other objects to the active mind of man, and centre in that which gives temporary ease, remains the business of the great adversary of our soul's happiness; and, alas! how has he prevailed to the irretrievable loss of many preciously visited minds. I thought I was favoured to dip a little into a painful sense of these things; and were all not only to dip into them, but dwell under the impressions which are at times mercifully made upon their hearts, more hope might be encouraged of the restoration of our Zion than there now seems ground for. The meeting concluded under a humbling and thankful sense of unmerited regard; and we proceeded to Sykeside, near Kirk-Levington, where there is a little settlement of Friends, and with some difficulty in bad road and after dark, arrived at our lodging-place.

"Next day, 15th, had notice given of a meeting to be held at two o'clock in the afternoon, to which the greater number who belong to it came, though very busy about their harvest; several not in profession with us also attended. It was a solemn season, and I hope some were graciously recompensed for their dedication, by the gentle descendings of heavenly love, which hath sweetly gathered several of this little, and comparatively poor flock into the fold, where He who is their holy leader and feeder keeps in a state of humble dependence upon Himself. There was far more liberty for the gospel to be preached here than in many other places, for although the cares of this life have, if the snare be not guarded against, a tendency to choke the good seed, I am ready to think the glories of the present world have settled many in so high and exalted a situation, that with such, as on the mountains of Gilboa, there is less of an opening into the fields of offering, than amongst those who not finding a great deal of enjoyment in visible things, feel in want of rest for their souls; and being weary and heavy laden are of the number to whom the gracious invitation of the Saviour extends. The countenances of some of these simple ones cheered my heart, which is indeed often sad, and I was glad we had the opportunity of beholding and feeling with them. A fine old man, a minister, belonging to that meeting, accompanied us on third-day morning, and we reached Hawick, in Scotland, the following evening.

"Our road led through a beautiful country, and a diversity of pleasing scenes; sometimes between lofty hills or mountains, with the river Tiviot winding through the fruitful valleys; at other times in view of finely cultivated plantations, and substantial seats of the affluent inhabitants, with the comfortable though more humble dwellings of the laborious farmers, whose various toil might instruct an attentive mind, that there is no time for idleness, if the ground of the heart require as much cultivation and care as are apparently needful in the outward.

"After we had rode a few miles from Hawick, on fifth-day morning, we met dear Margaret Anderson going towards Carlisle; but like one who felt something of that truth 'as iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend,' she had the chaise turned, and went back with us the seventeen miles she had travelled, and after dining at Ancram, we were favoured to arrive at her hospitable dwelling at Kelso, in the evening. The next afternoon, a meeting was held for the inhabitants, but not very largely attended; our guide and valuable friend James Graham had good service in it; and I expect his mind was relieved by the opportunity, as the chief weight seemed to have fallen upon him.

"After taking tea at Jane Waldie's, a season of religious retirement in her family proved one of peculiar solemnity: her son, about twenty-two years of age, is likely to be taken from her by a consumption; he does not appear much like a Friend, but seems brought to a state of still, patient resignation, wherein I do hope he has, under this dispensation, been mercifully instructed, and that heavenly regard is sweetly manifested towards him, preparing for the awful change. We were sensible in this visit of the renewings of that fellowship, wherein there is not only a rejoicing in one another's joy, but a bearing each other's burdens.

"The usual meeting, on first-day morning, was attended by many others besides Friends, though no notice had been circulated, and proved a season of divine favour. I believe there were several feeling and awakened minds present, who, if they are but willing to centre deeply enough into quietness, will experience a state of true settlement. But, alas! many, who are at times enlightened to behold that path which 'the vulture's eye hath not seen,' are unwilling to part with those things which are for a prey, and therefore know not an establishment in the peace and rest that attend the submissive soul.

"Not feeling relieved by this meeting, we had another appointed for the afternoon, which was largely attended by persons of various denominations, and proved a season of much gospel liberty; one wherein we were renewedly taught, that those who trust in the extension of holy help need not be dismayed; for let their endeavours be ever so feeble to promote His blessed cause, the Lord is able to supply all deficies, as well as graciously willingly to forgive all transgressions. At the close, Friends were desired to keep their seats, which gave us an opportunity of imparting what we apprehended

was their due. There are but few in membership, and perhaps not all of these really initiated into the fold, by spiritual baptism.

"A hopeful man who attends meetings, resides about three miles from Kelso, at a place called Roxborough, whither I found my mind attracted before I knew it was a village, or that he lived in that direction. We went there on second-day morning, and having hinted our feelings to J. C. the preceding evening, he had prepared a school room near his own house, where, in a short time, a considerable number collected; and we were favoured with a solemn relieving meeting, and after a little visit to J. C.'s family returned peaceably to Kelso.

"In the evening we had a time of religious retirement with dear Margaret Anderson and her children, wherein we were afresh owned by the overshadowing of divine goodness, and she solemnly returned the sacrifice of praise. This kind Friend concluded to proceed on her journey the next morning, as we did on ours, and we parted under feelings of near sympathy and love. She had, at the time we met her, left home with a certificate to visit a few meetings in Cumberland; and had we known this, I believe we should have hardly been willing for her to return, though being a little together proved mutually pleasant.

"When we arrived at Edinburgh, on fourth-day, we found our dear friends I. and J. J. and A. T. which was truly gratifying; they had been at G. Miller's a week, but inclined to wait for us.

"Fifth-day, 25th. We all sat their usual meeting, and afterwards an adjournment of the Monthly Meeting; there were appointments to visit two, who had applied for membership, in both of which we united, and in the subsequent conference. Here, as in other places, the language may truly arise, 'the fathers where are they?' So few, almost everywhere, being qualified to administer help or consolation to inquiring visited minds, for want of seeking themselves to be renewedly supplied with heavenly virtue.

"Since being in this city I trust we have endeavoured honestly to move in the line of apprehended duty, though our lot has been in a peculiar manner exercising. The meetings on first-day were low, but little verbal communication: several not in profession with Friends were there; and at our lodgings, in the evening, we had the company of most of our Society residing here, besides several students from the college.

"On third-day we held a public meeting, which was very largely attended by persons of various descriptions; and through gracious unmerited regard it was, I trust, a satisfactory season, owned by the influence of divine love, and terminating under a precious sense of inward peace. We took tea with a family not in profession with us, who were desirous of our company, and were afterwards favoured with a solemn season, wherein I hope, we partook together of a little 'of that bread which cometh down from heaven,' and when this is obtained how do the barriers of names and distinctions fall under the prevalence of that feeling which breathes 'Good will towards all men.'

"We went next day to Dalkeith, and held a meeting which was largely attended. There are no Friends there, but many Methodists, several of whom were present. Some of the audience seemed scarcely in a state to have the gospel preached to them, however, even on this occasion, we had cause to speak well of his name who furnishes strength according to the day.

"The usual meeting at Edinburgh on fifth-day, proved one of more relief to my mind than any former sitting of the same sort; and in the evening a public meeting was held in the new town; it was largely attended by the genteel inhabitants, and I hope proved satisfactory.

"First-day, my dear companion and I were unable to attend either meeting, having both suffered considerable indisposition for many days; yet we had religious sittings in several families, times of conference, &c., and on second-day, the 5th of eleventh month, left Edinburgh, which had been a place of peculiarly laborious exercise, and one wherein the necessity of obeying the sacred injunction to 'watch,' was renewedly and deeply impressed, under the feeling that, although good seed may be sown in the field of the heart, yet, while men sleep, the enemy industriously improves the unguarded season, and sows his tares, endeavouring to defeat the Lord's gracious design and prevent intended produce.

"We arrived at Perth on third-day evening, and after trying at six inns to gain admittance, we obtained accommodations at a small one, where the people were very civil and gave us a dry bed; the town being thronged on account of some local circumstance, occasioned the difficulty in procuring lodging. A few persons who are thought to be in some measure convinced of our principles, residing in this place, we appointed ten o'clock next morning to meet with them at our inn; seven came, and I hope this opportunity was not void of instruction to them or us, nor what was communicated such as would do harm. There seems a work begun in their minds, though still in a state of infancy, but considering how they are situated, it is wonderful that even so much fruit of a divine visitation is to be traced as is really the case; and

knowing that He who hath visited is able to complete the work, I trust something may in due season spring up to His praise.

"We felt nothing further to bind us at Perth, than the visit to this little plantation; and having for sometime past been sensible of somewhat like a cloud intercepting the remaining meetings of Friends in this nation from my view, and now a ray of light shining on the way towards Portpatrick, I believed it safest to follow this, and after a solemn season at parting with dear I. and J. J. and A. T. they pursued their course towards Aberdeen, and we sat out for Glasgow, travelling over some of the roughest road I ever encountered, through Dunblane, Stirling, &c. Being detained the whole of seventh-day for want of a carriage, (extremely heavy rain rendered it unfit to use our chaise,) we did not reach our place of destination till first-day afternoon.

"We had heard of two persons who met together, before the meeting house belonging to Friends at Glasgow was sold, and on inquiring for these, discovered two more, with all of whom we had a season of religious retirement, which proved one of memorable instruction to my tried mind, and I hope of some profit to those present. Although in degree relieved, a weight remained on me which prevented my feeling at liberty to move forward; but on second-day morning, those we had sat with all came to take leave of us, and I then understoood the occasion of this pressure; and after communicating what I considered to be my duty towards them, felt clear to proceed. We got on twenty-one miles to Kilmarnock that evening, next day to Girvan, and on fourth-day the 14th, to a place called Stranraer, six miles from Portpatrick.

"Being informed that the packet was to sail at three o'clock on fifth-day, we went forward about noon, but on arriving found no one was inclined to venture out, as the wind blew almost tempestuously, and the sea looked terrific. We got pretty well accommodated at this village, and the wind lowering, we were told in the morning that a vessel was about to sail that afternoon, we therefore got ready, feeling easy to embark, though with the prospect of a tossing passage: but going home rendered this less formidable, and hitherto, every step towards Ireland has felt peaceful, which is indeed cause of humble admiration at the dealings of divine goodness. When this prospect opened some weeks ago, it was attended with such feelings as I still believe had not their origin in natural affection; which, without something deeper, might prove fallacious; but were of that mercy which beholding it enough, graciously released from this embassy and permitted a return to different, though perhaps not less, exercise in the land of my residence.

"Though greatly tossed and very sick, we had what may be termed a favourable passage, of three hours and twenty minutes, for which I trust we were humbly thankful; we could not obtain lodging at the inn, the whole house being engaged; therefore, though very unfit to take such a ride, and much in want of rest, we proceeded ten miles to Milecross, where we arrived about seven o'clock, and met a cordial reception from Thomas Bradshaw and his family.

"We attended their usual meeting on first-day, and having felt what I judged it would be wrong wholly to suppress towards the inhabitants of Newtown, one mile distant, I mentioned it to our Friends here, and on third-day T. B. with a Friend from Lisburn, went to Newtown, and obtained the use of the Assembly-room; but deemed it best not to circulate notice till the next morning, and it was well they formed this conclusion, as on fourth-day there was such a violent storm of wind and rain, as rendered it very improbable that many would come out; and though I very reluctantly yielded to the detention, I had reason to be more than reconciled to the disappointment, by the usual week-day meeting at Milecross being a season of solemnity and favour to myself; and, I hope, a time of profit to some others. So that there is cause still to trust in the Lord, and endeavour to do what little we can, the promise being from time to time graciously accomplished, 'verily thou shalt be fed,' with such a portion of peace as a wise Master sees meet to support the mind, and excite a willingness to endure further conflict.

"On fifth-day, at eleven o'clock, the meeting was held at Newtown, and attended by a large number who behaved in a remarkably solid manner; indeed such a solemnity prevailed as is seldom known in meetings of this sort, so that it proved what may be thankfully denominated a favoured season; tending to the relief of our minds, and I hope the instruction of others, and was a compensation for much previous suffering and exercise. This seems like another woe being past, for such prospects try my poor frame and mind, beyond what I could easily set forth; and the fear lest the holy, precious cause, should suffer rather than be promoted, is awfully felt by one who has indeed occasion to marvel why so weak a creature should be thus led.

"We had a solid time of religious retirement that evening in T. B.'s family, and next morning he accompanied us to Lambeg, where we lodged. Seventh-day proceeded to John Conran's; Sarah Harrison and Sarah Benton also

arriving there soon after. We all went to Ballinderry meeting next day, after which I became so much indisposed as to think it proper to give up to take some little care of myself, which I was favourably situated for doing; dear Louisa Conran acting like a kind sister, and ministering to my wants every way in her power.

"Fifth-day, 29th. We attended meeting at Lisburn, which proved a truly exercising season, I believe, to every feeling mind; no voice was heard but that of dear S. Harrison, who expressed a few sentences in a close line near the conclusion.

"Seventh-day we went to Lurgan, where we found our dear friend James Christy confined to his bed, and suffering from acute pain, the nature of which is not clearly ascertained; but his mind is sweetly composed and resigned, indeed wonderfully supported, for which he expressed himself grateful, though sensible of being unworthy.

"The Quarterly Select Meeting was held that afternoon; the usual one on first-day morning was one of close exercise, and wholly silent: in the evening some liberty was experienced, and more of a consoling hope, that although so much death prevails, life is not entirely lost in our Israel, nor the prospect of its increase altogether withdrawn.

"In this meeting I was satisfied at our detention, but know not whether others were; however, if a little peace be obtained, it is enough, and I do desire to take this feeling home with me after an embassy, which has, on various accounts, been peculiarly exercising.

"The meetings for discipline occupied the whole of second-day, and on third, one for worship was solemn and satisfactory. In the evening we were favoured at our lodgings with being refreshed together in the fellowship of the gospel, and on the following morning set forward, accompanied by four Friends of Ulster province, besides five from Dublin, who had come to attend the Quarterly Meeting. As we advanced towards Dundalk, which was the place of our resting for the night, I felt a weight on my mind, under the apprehended discovery that there was something here to be visited, and on entering the town believed it would be my lot to appoint a meeting.

"I did not reveal this fresh and unexpected exercise to any one, until the morning; when after endeavouring in solitude to acquiesce in this unfolding, and desiring resignation to do the day's work in the day time, I mentioned the subject to my ten friends, and they encouraging me to faithfulness, a place was sought for; and the Sessions-house being procured, a considerable number assembled at eleven o'clock, and we were so favoured with the overshadowing of the holy wing, that I trust the minds of many were gathered into a state fitted to receive the counsel given to impart; and for this renewed manifestation of unmerited love and mercy, my spirit was bowed in reverent gratitude to our Almighty and unfailing Helper."

This being the last meeting of which there is any account in connection with the present journey, it is presumed that she went on without further detention, reaching Dublin on seventh-day, the 8th of twelfth month, where she met her husband, and returning with him to their own habitation, obtained the rest and care which her exhausted frame was greatly in need of. My dear mother travelled in this engagement about two thousand miles by land, and crossed the sea six times.

CHAPTER VIII.

Visit to North and South Wales, Bristol and some parts of Lancashire. 1793.

Soon after getting home, my dear mother was cheered by having the society of her highly esteemed friend Samuel Emlen under her own roof, who, in the course of a religious visit to Ireland, was at Clonmel about the end of the year 1792. In the second or third month following she also met with this beloved friend in Cork, whither she felt her mind attracted, and they were mutually comforted by the opportunity of uniting together in the attendance of meetings, and visiting some of the families of Friends, in that city. But it was not long before a more extensive prospect opened to the view of this diligent and devoted handmaid; and she laid before her Monthly and Quarterly Meetings a concern to visit Friends, and appoint public meetings in North and South Wales, and some parts of England contiguous to the principality.

In returning from Youghal, where the Quarterly Meeting was held, and her certificate endorsed, she met with a dangerous accident by the oversetting of the chaise in which she and her husband travelled; and though no fracture occurred, the injury was such as to produce considerable suffering, and render several weeks confinement to her chamber necessary; and indeed she was in a very delicate state of health upon leaving home in the eighth month.

Sarah Shackleton was again her affectionate companion in this journey, and her friend and relative John Grubb, kindly offering his services as an attendant, she deemed herself favourably provided for. They sailed from Waterford to Milford, landing after a good passage, on the evening of the 10th of eighth month, 1793. The following account of this mission is extracted from my dear mother's letters.

"On First-day, the 11th, we sat down with most of the little colony here, (Milford,) which consists of seven families, and hope the season proved measurably a meeting of worship, and that under solemn preparation some of their minds were a little encouraged, and gospel fellowship experienced.

"On Second-day we went to Robinson-hall, where several families of Friends reside; and after seeing the whole of these new settlers, I should have gladly felt liberty to proceed; but from the time of landing at Huberston, I had felt about the people there, and every other movement looked clouded till this was out of the way. I informed my friends of the prospect, and a large school-room at the Packet-house being readily granted for the purpose, a meeting was appointed there for six o'clock on third-day evening, and very largely attended; so that many could not be accommodated with seats and were obliged to stand about the door. The greater number appeared solid and attentive, and a covering of solemnity, which through mercy was early spread over us, so increased, as to incite humble thankfulness to Him who continues to be a helper in the needful time.

"From the attendant feelings, I rather hoped that there were those present to whom the gospel might be preached, and whose hearts assented to the purity of its doctrines; though perhaps the terms whereon its glorious privileges are to be obtained might appear hard. For such as these a secret travail was felt, and oh! that it may be availingly raised in themselves, until that which opposeth the sway of pure truth is removed, and by a submission to the discoveries of heavenly light, the superiority and excellency thereof may not only be discovered, but a willingness wrought to sell all in order to purchase a possession herein. The landlady of the inn behaved with great kindness to us, provided a nice supper and good beds for us, and several others who remained, and in the morning refused to take any payment for the accommodation, expressing her satisfaction with the meeting and our company.

"Fifth-day. We sat the usual meeting with Friends, which I hope was, to some, a season of instruction, though little was communicated in words. Next morning we had a meeting appointed at Robinson-hall, and notice having been given, several not in profession attended, besides most of the Friends from Milford. This season was memorably owned by gracious regard, nothing being felt to oppose that liberty which the gospel spirit produced; and I think this sitting was the crown to the present little visit, and left us in possession of that peace wherein we could comfortably proceed on our way.

"Several Friends from Milford accompanied us to Haverfordwest that afternoon, where we were kindly received by Jane Lewis; and at six o'clock sat down with the few Friends in the town, some others also joining us; it was a low silent meeting: but a season long to be remembered ensued after supper, at the sorrowful widow's, who seems to come under the description the Apostle Paul gives of that state, I hope in the whole of it, 'she that is a widow indeed and desolate, trusteth in God,' &c. Near sympathy was felt with this dear Friend, and I trust her tried mind was a little comforted and encouraged.

"On Seventh-day morning heavy rain opposed our departure, and perhaps this reconciled to standing still in a deeper sense, resigned to further discoveries of duty: towards evening it cleared, but it was only outwardly, the cloud remaining on the tabernacle, so that journeying forward would not have been safe.

"The meeting on First-day morning was attended by persons of different denominations, and proved a truly solemn one, being sensible of rather unusual liberty, such as confirmed the belief that in most places there are inquiring minds, to whom the gospel may be preached, though a willingness to come under its pure government is not effected in them. We had the afternoon meeting deferred to six o'clock, and notice circulated among the inhabitants, a large number of whom were present, and an appearance of general solidity prevailed, though the season was for a long time laborious, which was felt to be occasioned by ignorance of spiritual worship; but I hope the veil was a little rent from some minds before we separated, and the way no longer deemed heresy wherein we worship.

"I often think it is a great favour when life is felt to increase in these assemblies; for while I apprehend this very arduous line is that of my duty, earnest is my desire to be kept from doing harm, or through mistaken zeal for its prosperity, injuring the precious cause. There seems a double guard requisite on such occasions, lest, from the thirst prevalent in the minds of the people, any thing not divinely consecrated should be administered; as on the other hand there is danger that the smallness of the provision, in its first appearance, should prevent resignation to go forth with it, and so the designed portion be withheld: but if we are mercifully kept watchful, how does the pointing of the Master's hand clearly direct the track, so that in humble admiration, and a sense of His gracious help, it may be reverently acknowledged, that although He leads the blind by a way that they knew not, He continueth to make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. The Moravian bishop, Henry Sulger,

was at this meeting, and he and his wife called on us in the evening and manifested affectionate kindness towards us: his brother had been our very kind friend and interpreter in Switzerland, of which I told him.

"Second-day morning, after some preparation for departure, we were favoured with a solemn season at our friend J. L.'s, and under a renewed sense of divine mercy, parted with several who had been made dear in the covenant of love and life, and arrived at a place called St. Clear's to lodge. Here I passed a thoughtful night, feeling my mind drawn to Llangharn, a little town three miles distant, where there is a meeting-house belonging to Friends, but none resident. However, on going there the people seemed pleased with the prospect, and cheerfully circulated notice of a meeting to be held at four o'clock.

"The house, which is capable of accommodating about two hundred, gradually filled, and many collected about the door: the solidity which prevailed during nearly an hour's silence was extraordinary; and when liberty to speak was experienced, the feeling was very different from what is witnessed when the thirst is for words only; for the minds of many felt like ground drinking in rain, so that entrance was sensibly administered to the truths of the gospel, according to the ability communicated to preach it. When meeting concluded the people seemed unwilling to withdraw, and were so kindly affectionate in their manner as to seem like old acquaintance.

"We proceeded on Fourth-day morning to Carmarthen, where we held a meeting with an unsettled sort of people, to whom true godliness was indeed a mystery, and likely so to remain until the veil of prejudice be taken away. On reaching Llandilo fifth-day to dinner, we heard of an old Friend residing about half a mile distant, and went in rain to see her; she was named Bowen, upwards of an hundred years of age, and with her son, an elderly man that had married from among Friends, lived in a little farm-house. The poor old Friend seemed pleased to see us, but was so deaf that it appeared useless to attempt expression; we therefore left a note, conveying what had been our feelings while in her chamber.

"We arrived at Swansea on Sixth-day evening, where a friendly, solid looking young woman soon came to us, and requested us to go with her to tea: we found her mother and sister very kindly disposed, though neither of them profess as we do. This young person went to meetings here from a secret attraction in her own mind, and though sometimes quite alone, has continued to do so about three years: she appears rightly convinced, and is, I believe, desirous to abide under the converting power of Truth.

"Feeling inclined to sit with the few Friends in this place, we had a meeting on seventh-day morning, which proved satisfactory, though the doctrine opened in a close line to the mere professors of pure truth, of which class it seemed to us, most present were. The young woman before mentioned felt near to us, and I hope she was a little encouraged by this visit.

"We went forward to Pyle, aiming at Cardiff for first-day; but not getting on as fast as we had expected, we did not reach it until the afternoon. My companions going in search of the few in profession with us, found a valuable old Friend, Elizabeth Edwards, who, though very infirm, came to the inn, rejoiced to see Friends, and with her and our own little band we had a sweetly refreshing season in the evening.

"Though not clearly in prospect upon leaving Clonmel, I could now see no way but going to Bristol, the place of my nativity, where some of my bitterest draughts were administered, and I hope not altogether unprofitably taken; this felt much in the cross, and I came, not knowing what shall befal me, save that bonds and afflictions assuredly await.

"We crossed the New-passage on third-day, the 27th of eighth month, and on landing found G. H. and G. W., the latter employed by Thomas Rutter to conduct us to his house, where we met a cordial reception.

"Fifth-day evening we attended the meeting which was formerly held on sixth-day morning; it was silent, and proved to me the beginning of sorrows here, giving some little preception of the oppressed state of the seed in this great city. First-day was deeply trying throughout; in the morning I obtained but little relief: the meeting in the afternoon was heavy and silent, that in the evening large, exercising, and laborious; the people seemed full, and are, I believe, often filled; however, it felt to me that medicine rather than cordials was necessary, and I found it no easy matter to administer what was given in commission; but deem it an abundant mercy to feel the sacrifice graciously accepted. Oh! may we never turn back in the day of battle, though giants may be in the land, but trust in Him who proves the bow and battle-axe to His poor little ones; and while all the qualification, and strength to use spiritual weapons come from Him, graciously encourages to future combat by incomes of heart-settling peace.

"I should have rejoiced could we have left things thus, and proceeded on second-day, but light did not spring up. We attended meeting again on third-day, and next morning went to Frenchay, where notice had been previously

sent: the meeting there proved solemn and instructive, and though the line of duty was close, I hope some were renewedly encouraged to trust and not be afraid.

"The usual meeting in Bristol on fifth-day evening was memorably relieving, though laborious exercise was my portion; it felt a thorough clearing out so far as respected Friends, but a pressure which I had at times been under since getting here, so increased, that I ventured to have a public meeting appointed for the next afternoon. This was largely attended; many serious persons, and among them a great number of Methodists, were present, and the season was early owned with a covering of solemnity gathering into solid attention, under which the labour felt easier than on some similar occasions; and the hope was excited, that, whether much or any good effect was produced by this sacrifice of the will or not, the precious cause of Truth was not injured: a cause which is indeed worthy the surrender of the natural life, if this were called for. After meeting many of my old acquaintance kindly waited to speak to me. By the appearance of some, it is evident that the world has not lost its attraction; this is sorrowfully the case with those, under every denomination, in whom the seed of the kingdom does not take root for want of depth of earth; but there are some among the different names to religion, who, I hope, will become fruitful, if after having inquired what is truth? they are prevailed upon to wait for such an answer as will settle their minds in the right path. My spirit nearly saluted some of this description, and secretly travailed for their help; but alas! the cross remains a stumbling block to many visited minds, and the simplicity of truth foolishness.

"Being now sensible of release, and favoured with that peace which is the gift of divine compassion, leaving this place felt pleasant, and Olveston meeting presenting for first-day, we left the city on seventh-day afternoon the 7th of ninth month; and lodged at the house of Daniel and Joan Holbrow, the latter being an old and long beloved friend of mine, it was mutually pleasant to meet, and once more enjoy a little of each other's company.* Several Friends from Bristol joined us at Olveston, and many not in profession with us also attended the meeting, which proved a solemn one. Two who appear rightly convinced of our principles were present, and I trust a little instruction was profitably sealed upon their minds.

"Second-day was the Monthly Meeting, held at Thornbury, to which we felt bound, and it was throughout an exercising season; but help being mercifully afforded we had cause for thankfulness, and as we met many Friends from the different particular meetings, it was a relieving opportunity. We returned to Tockington to lodge, and on third-day morning set out, accompanied by nine or ten Friends for the New-passage; John Lury and another Friend crossed the water with us; and when we got over, one of our band went forward about five miles, to Shire Newton, to appoint a meeting for three o'clock. There are only three Friends belong to it, but the meeting was attended by many others, of the poorer class as to this world, but to whom it felt that the gospel could be preached.

"There being no suitable lodging here, we judged it better to return to the Passage-house, where we were well accommodated, and hoped to proceed on fourth-day to the next meeting, Pontypool; but as I had felt about Cardiff, when there in our way to Bristol, though without any clear opening to appoint a meeting, and the pressure reviving in such a manner that all other movements became clouded, we concluded to go thither, though at the cost of about twenty-four miles of extra riding.

"We arrived at Cardiff on fourth-day evening, and finding a large room suitable for the purpose, had notice circulated of a meeting for ten o'clock on fifth-day morning; when a solid company collected with us, among which was the minister of the parish, and many Methodists. Through gracious condescension, the season was memorably owned, to the thankful admiration of our hearts; the people seemed to hear the truth in the love of it; but oh! what can be hoped for, when that which will let remains untaken away: however, if even one poor mind is a little instructed, may He who is forever worthy have all the praise. We had afterwards a solemn season with three of our fellow professors, and felt much sympathy with one who is, I believe, convinced in her judgment, loves Friends, and confesses this so far as to sit with the few in their little meetings here, but she stumbles at the cross.

"We proceeded on sixth-day to Pontypool, and at six o'clock that evening sat with the few Friends resident there. It was a trying time on account of the lowness of the pure life; but a solemn season after supper at our lodging seemed as a refreshing brook to our weary spirits. Feeling easy with respect to this place, and the small meeting of Llanelthy about ten miles distant, by a road nearly impassible for a carriage, we left Pontypool on seventh-day got to Monmouth to lodge, and concluded to have a meeting at our inn next morning.

"Hearing of a young woman, a Methodist,

* This was the Friend to whom the letters in the early part of this volume were addressed. She joined our religious Society on the ground of convincement a few years after my dear mother, and was a steady and valuable character to advanced life.

whom Job Scott had seen and conversed with, we inclined to have some of her company, and on telling her our intention she appeared well pleased, and we retired to a quiet chamber, where I think we were favoured with that sacred unction which unites all the living, and throws down the barriers of outward distinction. This young woman appears solid, and acquainted with the influence of good, but not sufficiently emptied of self, to receive the kingdom as a little child; but an openness being felt towards her, I hope no harm was done in communicating what arose, and we parted in that love which it is refreshing to feel.

"We spent the remainder of the day at my brother's, and on Second-day morning the 16th, parted from our dear attentive friend John Lury, he being bound to Bristol Quarterly Meeting which began next day, and we to pursue our journey; so without any guide or companion, we proceeded to Hereford, arrived there to dinner, and were a little puzzled which way to steer afterwards, but we were favoured to reach Leominster in safety; and not knowing any Friend there, went to the inn which was recommended to us. Cousin J. G. walking out after tea, found some kindly disposed to entertain strangers, and we were affectionately received and hospitably cared for, by three children of dear Thomas Waring, who entered his everlasting rest about four months since. A meeting was appointed for third-day, to which, I believe, most Friends came, and after a time of deep exercise, it was graciously owned by the renewings of holy help, to the humbling and relief of our minds. As our journey was not likely to be much advanced by proceeding this evening, and the weather became wet, we abode with these dear Friends the remainder of the day, feeling the sympathy of their spirits like a pleasant stream in a land of drought.

"We have been in our travels through some parts, much like poor pilgrims, Friends being so thinly scattered in Wales, that except when our kind friend J. Lury was with us, we have had to provide for ourselves in every sense. We set forward fourth-day morning for the Pales meeting, and travelled over a very indifferent road, where we were in great danger of being overset, but mercifully escaped any injury. We arrived late in the evening, and found Rees and Joan Bowen kindly disposed to do what they could to accommodate us, and though much in the simplicity, it was truly pleasant to rest after hard labour. My frame sensibly feels such constant exertion, but I am through divine assistance sustained, my general health is better than on leaving home, and I have not yet laid by one day from travelling or meeting.

"In consequence of a fair at Kineton, it was not practicable to hold a meeting fifth-day; the next being their usual time, we had notice sent to Friends residing in different directions, and also among the inhabitants generally; and though a time of close exercise, this meeting proved solemn and relieving to our minds. The number of Friends in these parts is small, and that of deeply exercised members is only as one of a family and two of a tribe; but these are worth visiting; and among those of other denominations there are also such as deserve notice, several of whom were at this meeting, and I believe felt a little strengthened. We resumed our journey about four o'clock, and reached a comfortable little inn in Radnorshire twelve miles distant, to lodge.

"Seventh-day we encountered what is called thirteen miles, of some of the worst road I ever travelled, being five hours in arriving at our place of destination; but still we have to acknowledge the extension of protecting care, so that ourselves, chaise and horses, were all sound on getting to Llanidloes in Montgomeryshire. We lodged at an inn, very few Friends residing in the town. The meeting here on first-day morning was, through gracious condescension, a remarkably invigorating season, feeling like the participation of such meat as the prophet went in the strength of, many days.

"The meeting here is held in a school-room, (no house for the purpose being built,) which was closely filled by those of different religious professions, several of whom were very solid; and the few Friends belonging to it are mostly of a description to whom, as the Lord's poor, the gospel freely flowed. The afternoon meeting was silent, but one of instruction. There are two men Friends in this small congregation in the ministry. We spent the whole day at the school, which is kept for the benefit of the principality, and I apprehend supported by subscription, though such as can afford it pay for their children. A Friend and his wife from Lancashire, Robert and Mary Whitaker, are settled there; they are a steady valuable couple, but feel discouragingly the difference between their present and former situation; we felt love and sympathy towards them.

"Second-day morning, 23rd. We left Llanidloes with peaceful minds, accompanied by two choice Friends; Richard Brown, a minister, and his sister Mary Hunt, an elder, both going to the Quarterly Meeting at Shrewsbury, to which we felt attracted, and where we were favoured to arrive in safety a little before the time for Select meeting on third-day evening. We were kindly received by dear John Young, and his daughters Jane and Hannah, and comforted by the sight of several old and beloved Friends; among these was Ann Summerland, who at that sitting, and in the Quarterly Meeting next day, stood forth in the exercise of her beautiful

gift, a striking example of verdure in the winter of eighty-five. The little business of this Quarterly Meeting being over, about two o'clock, I ventured to disclose a prospect which nearly from entering Shrewsbury had impressed my mind, that of inviting the inhabitants to a meeting in the evening; and I think it may be thankfully acknowledged that this season also was mercifully owned, by divine power rising into dominion; and a hope attended, that this feeble effort to promote the precious cause of truth and righteousness, would not prove wholly unavailing.

"We sat the usual meeting with Friends on fifth-day to our comfort, and afterwards proceeded to Coalbrook Dale, whither my mind felt strongly attracted. We reached the hospitable mansion of Abiah Darby to tea, and found many dear Friends who staid the evening; she is very infirm and mostly confined to one room, but joined us at supper, and in a season of retirement after, was engaged in solemn supplication and praise.

"We had previously requested a meeting might be appointed at New Dale, for sixth-day morning, and many from the Old Dale accompanying us, it seemed like visiting both meetings; and through the extension of merciful regard, proved a memorable time: the continued willingness of the great Master being evident even to bring back those who have halted, and such as have been driven out by the enemy of all good. Some of this description being present, earnest travail on their account was afresh excited, and a few friendly calls afterwards tended to additional relief.

"We proceeded that afternoon to Newport in Shropshire, and on seventh-day rode twenty-five miles to Namptwich, where we attended meeting on first-day morning; a laborious, heavy season, but towards the last a little liberty was experienced. Feeling in haste to get to Liverpool, we were easy to proceed on our way, and arrived there the following evening. It had for several days appeared to me as if we were going to the funeral of dear Elizabeth Rathbone, and finding at Warrington a letter from my beloved friend S. Benson, informing me that her precious sister's release from suffering seemed near, it was no surprise to me to hear, on stopping at R. Benson's door, that she had been some hours sweetly dismissed from this conflicting state. We went to the house undetermined as to staying, having received a kind invitation from William Rathbone to lodge; but the affectionate solicitude of R. and S. B. induced us to take up our residence in this house of mourning, after being assured by dear S. B. that she would not anxiously think about us, but let us consider ourselves at home.

"Our dear departed friend was many months ill, but preserved in sweet resignation and quietness of mind, saying a short time before her departure, 'My work is done and I am ready.'

"Third-day was the Monthly Meeting, which was largely attended, and a solemn, favoured time; as was also the Quarterly Meeting for this county, held on the succeeding day, wherein gospel liberty was experienced, and the current of life so flowed that I trust the ever blessed name of our Redeemer was exalted. After supper at R. Benson's there was a season of religious retirement, in which I believe, some minds felt renewedly strengthened under the sense of all-sufficient help; our dear friend R. Benson spoke instructively.

"Fifth-day was the interment, which was largely attended; the pause at the grave side, and a meeting held subsequently, were times of solemnity and favour; so that this beloved exemplary young woman was owned in death, as well as approved in life. John Thorpe was well engaged on this occasion; his ministry is uncommonly lively, sensible, and as dear Samuel Emlen says, with 'holy pertinence' to the subject in view. A large company returned to the house, and after partaking of the bounties of heaven in a temporal sense, a season of divine refreshment succeeded, wherein some young persons present were reminded of the precious counsel which the deceased had often given them.*

"Having had a view before I came here, and being since confirmed in the belief, that something was due from me to the families of this meeting, I ventured to mention, after being altogether closed from public labours on first-day, that I believed it best to move in this matter: and finding there were some other minds under preparation for this service, the performance of it was considerably lightened by the sympathy and united exercise of several dear friends. Robert Benson kept closely with us, and his valuable wife and S. Hadwin occasionally joined. We broke off in order to attend the Monthly Meeting held at Manchester the 15th of tenth month, which proved a time of deep and painful feeling; but through the renewed extension of Holy aid, one of some relief, which I consider an abundant favour; though in thus endeavouring to fill up the allotted measure of suffering, no mighty works may be done. The efforts of some are indeed very feeble, but if these are only so preserved as at last to obtain that testimony, 'she hath done what she could,' it will be enough; yea, under such a prospect, the often tossed and weary spirit may even repose: while in deep self-abasement the acknowledgment of being

* For an account of E. Rathbone, see "Piety Promoted," Part 10th.

an unprofitable servant is renewedly made. But oh! that unto Him who is able to make up all deficiencies, praise may be ascribed both here and everlastingly!"

After the family visit, my dear mother held a public meeting at Liverpool, which is stated to have been large and favoured; another at Prescot, for which the use of the Sessions House was obtained; and on the 25th of tenth month was at Warrington, where, after holding a public meeting, she had a solemn and relieving opportunity with her fellow professors.

She returned to Ireland in time to attend the Half Year's Meeting in the eleventh month; after which she was favoured to reach her own habitation in better health than she had left it, having accomplished an exercising journey of above three months.

CHAPTER IX.

Visit to Leinster Province, particularly the County of Wexford, also Public Meetings in the County of Cork, and Letter to the French Prisoners at Kinsale. 1794.

During the ensuing winter, my beloved mother was mostly occupied in religious service within the bounds of her own quarterly Meeting, and early in the spring she obtained a certificate for visiting Leinster Province, expressing that in this concern her view was much towards holding meetings with those of other religious denominations. Soon after avowing this prospect she was taken very ill, and confined for many weeks to her chamber, so that she did not enter upon the engagement until after the National Meeting in Dublin. While attending that solemnity, she felt her mind impressed to have a public meeting in the city, respecting which, and subsequent religious service, she writes as follows:

——"I have frequently since coming here, feared what is now come upon me, but waited for the conclusion of the meeting to have the matter matured. First-day was a time of arduous labour indeed, one wherein I was once more helped to feel a little for the state of the church, and relievingly to cast off some of the burden under which I had been oppressed. Third-day sat the usual meeting at Meath-street, and my view being to the inhabitants of that neighbourhood, notice was circulated for a meeting at six o'clock in the evening; the house was entirely full, and such remarkable solidity prevailed, that I am willing to trust the blessed cause of Truth was not dishonoured by this feeble attempt to advocate it, though my mind was affected with many fears, and earnest were my desires that the Lord's power might so arise as to keep down all of an opposing nature, which was in good measure the case. M. Ridgway was at the meeting, and though silent, the sympathy of her spirit felt strengthening.

"I proceeded on Fourth-day morning to Ballitore, attended meeting there on fifth-day, and next morning accompanied Friends from thence to the Monthly Meeting held at Athy, where, notwithstanding I got wet in going, I am glad to have been, feeling my mind so relieved that I hope that place may be off the list in my impending journey. Returning to Ballitore, I remained there over meeting on first-day morning, and had cause to be humbly thankful in doing so; for while very much indisposed from the effects of a cold, I was so helped to discharge my duty as to be left in possession of quiet poverty. I rode to Carlow in the afternoon, and feeling inclined to visit the widow and children of our friend John Watson, went on second-day to Ballydarton. Mary Watson and several other Friends dined there with me, after which a season of solemn stillness ensued, which was attended with feelings that proved a sufficient recompense for this little turn.

"I believed it best to appoint a meeting at Kilconnor for the following day, and also requested that the invitation should extend to those not in profession with Friends. A considerable number assembled at ten o'clock on third-day morning, over whom a solid covering soon spread to the comfortable settling in outward quiet, under which an unusual liberty for gospel labour was experienced; and it proved, like many other seasons, one wherein that language might be gratefully adopted, 'Hitherto the Lord hath helped.' At the conclusion, Friends were requested to remain, and on them, I hope, honest labour was, in received ability, bestowed: after which, feeling liberated for the present, I deemed it best to turn homewards, first attending the usual meeting at Carlow, on fourth-day, the 14th of fifth month."

Her continuance at home was but short, for early in the sixth month she set out, accompanied by her beloved friend Margaret Grubb, for the county of Wexford; they spent several days in Waterford, attending meetings there on first and third days, and making calls on Friends who were confined by illness. They went from thence to Ross, and on the 17th of sixth month my dear mother thus writes from Enniscorthy.

——"Though my bodily strength as thou knowest, is not great, I have cause to be thankful that the tabernacle is so supported as that the work of the day is, I humbly trust, advancing, wherein I have peace so far in the present embassy. The lines fall not in pleasant places, our heritage is not goodly, and if we visit the seed it must be in the prison house, where it too

enerally lies. We attended Forest meeting a first-day, which was large and remarkably tercising to us, but through merciful assistnce our minds obtained relief: we had a season religious retirement in the evening in Jacob off's family, at whose hospitable mansion we dged and were affectionately entertained.

"Feeling about the inhabitants of Taghmon, little town through which we passed, but where o room sufficiently large was to be found, they ere invited to our meeting house, about half mile distant; and on second-day forenoon we ssembled with a considerable number of the ilitary, and others of different descriptions, ho conducted themselves with solid attention, nd through divine mercy it proved a memoable time. There was sensible liberty in delaring, and willingness to receive, the tesmony of truth. At the conclusion some books ere distributed, with which the people seemed o pleased that we saw several reclining on the rass as we passed by the fields, employed in eading them. Oh! that my heart may thankilly remember this favour, added to many thers, and be engaged resignedly to pay those ows made in the day of trouble; for long ineed have I seen that sacrifices of this nature ould be required at my hands.

"We proceeded to Lambstown, made a few alls on Friends, and had an appointed meeting t Cooladine, which proved a low trying time. at with Friends here at their usual meeting on fth-day, wherein my dear M. G. was engaged minister, but I was silent; and believing it et for us to go into the few families resident this place, we began with the work, by havg two visits that afternoon, and at six o'clock the evening had a meeting for the inhabitants, hich was largely attended and mercifully wned. Many books were distributed, and ore were afterwards applied for, which encouged the hope that favourable impressions had en made on some minds."

Before leaving Enniscorthy, my dear mother ddressed the following letter to a man who had tracted her notice after a public meeting at oss, which, with a few extracts from one he rote to her in reply, it is thought may prove th acceptable and instructive to some readers.

"Dear Friend,—Strange as it may appear r one who has no acquaintance with thee, to ddress thee in this manner, I feel persuaded at it will not be altogether unacceptible to thee, hen I tell thee it proceeds from an apprehenion that it may conduce to my peace; and eems pointed out as the best means to throw off ome of the feelings which have attended my ind when thou hast been presented to my iew. It was, I conceive, the drawing cords of ospel love that influenced my heart to pay the present visit to these parts; and not satisfied with coming to see how my brethren fared, I have been sensible, since entering into the field of labour herein, of the extension of the heavenly Father's love to His family universally; and have been engaged, with my beloved companion, to appoint meetings of a more general kind than such as are usually held when our Society is the only object. It was one of this nature at which thou, with many others, wast present on this day week at Ross. I knew not, by information or otherwise, who, or of what description any then assembled were; but I did at that season believe that there were present, one, or more, in whom the deeply important query had been raised, 'What is truth?' and for such a travail was excited in my heart, that they might patiently wait for, and be indisputably favoured with such an answer from Him who can administer it, as might fully settle and establish them in the way of righteousness and peace. In the class already described I heard after meeting thy name; and passing by thee on second-day morning on the quay, I was so sensible of the extendings of gospel love towards thee, that I thought I should have liked just to tell thee so much, and admonish to faithfulness to the monitions of pure truth inwardly revealed. I have this evening been so sensible of the renewing of this, I trust rightly inspired solicitude, that while nature covets rest after a day of toil, I am seeking refreshment to my spirit in thus saluting thee. And believing it to be of the utmost consequence that we should singly attend to, and obediently follow, the light which maketh manifest, it is in my heart to say unto thee, dear friend, stand open to its unerring discoveries, and believe in its infallible teachings; for as this disposition prevails in us, we shall be instructed in all things appertaining to life and salvation. Yea, if no inferior medium conveyed any thing fully satisfactory, or sufficient to obviate the difficulties presenting to our view, I am persuaded from a degree of certain experience, that in this school of inward attention, greater proficiency may be made in true and saving knowledge, than will be the case in a far longer space whilst our views are outward; as by ever so great exertion of the mental powers, things viewed in the light and eye of reason only, may be decided in a very erroneous manner. Man, however enabled to write or speak on the most important points, can only help to convince the judgment and inform the understanding, but the divine principle wherewith we are mercifully favoured, operates in a far more powerful manner; it not only speaks in us the intelligible language of conviction, but, whilst it discovers the reality, puts us in possession of it, and conveys such soul satisfying virtue that it allays the thirst for every

inferior stream. Here that water being partaken of which Christ the indwelling fountain administers, we go not thither to draw—namely, to that spot whence we derived something, but not fully adequate to the desire or thirst excited; because we feel, that whosoever drinketh of this unmixed spring, it is in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life.

"Now, dear friend, what my mind feels deeply solicitous for is, that this may be thy favoured experience; that the substantial part of true religion may be richly inherited by thee; that being a witness of the inward and spiritual baptism, as the door of initiation into the church, the mystical body of Christ, thou mayest become thereby a partaker, at the spiritual table, of the soul sustaining 'bread of life,' and be nourished with the wine of the heavenly kingdom, comprehending the communion of saints, and being through the power of Truth, sanctified throughout, body, soul and spirit, participate everlastingly of the treasures of the Lord's house;—so desireth the heart of thy truly well-wishing friend,

MARY DUDLEY."

"Respected Friend,—for so I must call you, your very unexpected and highly welcome letter was delivered to me last Saturday evening. Just before I received it my mind was engaged on divine subjects, and on some particulars relative to which your letter seemed as a message from heaven: as such indeed I received it, and have been greatly affected by it; and from the altar of my heart I return praise and thanksgiving to that adorable Being who has, in numerous instances, shown his kind, providential care of my poor soul. And you, my much esteemed friend in the gospel, as an ambassadress of Christ, and a messenger of the Lord to me for good, I salute with my heartfelt and grateful acknowledgments.

"Through your ministry I received of the baptizing power of Christ; it quickened my soul, it reached, melted, and tendered my heart, and refreshed me as with the dew of heaven. Those feelings we cannot bring upon ourselves; it is the Lord only, either by himself immediately, or His agent or agents sent with power from on high, that can effect such things. The earnest solicitude raised in you to write to me, the refreshment and comfort I received from your letter, my state pointed out in your sermon, the effect it had on my dear children and myself, all declare unto me the finger of the Lord in this matter, and that you have come unto us 'in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.' May we keep close to that light which maketh all things manifest, until it shine more and more unto the brightness and clearness of the perfect day, and so living in the light, we shall have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ will cleanse us from all sin: all the blessed merits of His death, and all the life-giving influences of His Spirit, are to be had by being joined to this light, and walking in it; in Him was life, and the life was the light of men.

"Whatever others may do, as for me, my dear wife and children, may we serve the Lord with our whole hearts, and be engrafted into the true vine. To hear of our progress in true religion, will, I am very certain, be highly pleasing to you. And now, my respected friend, I commend you to God and to the word of His grace! go on in the baptizing power of the Lord. May we, every one of us, hold out unto the end and be saved, that so in the day when the Lord shall make up his jewels we may unitedly partake of the boundless ocean of everlasting glory and bliss. These are the fervent desires of your much obliged and sincere well wisher."

From Enniscorthy she went to Ballinclay, whence she writes as follows:—

——— "We arrived here on seventh-day afternoon, and met a truly cordial reception at John and Abigail Wright's. The meeting on first-day was, I believe, attended by all the members of it, and in the evening we had a season of religious retirement in the family. After this, Wicklow so forcibly attracted my mind, that I saw no light on any other direction, and my true yoke-fellow M. G. having adopted the resolution, 'whither thou goest I will go,' we sent forward to have a meeting appointed there for third-day; this, through gracious condescension, proved one concerning which it may be said that Truth rose into dominion. There was not so large a number as on some similar occasions, but the company was of the higher class, and their solid attentive demeanour such as left no room to doubt that, at that season, their minds were measurably awakened to serious consideration, whether any further fruit be brought forth or not. After dining with some Friends in the town, we returned to Ballikane, and had a meeting appointed for Friends there on fourth-day morning, which proved relieving to our minds, although a deeply exercising time.

"Having felt respecting the inhabitants of Gorey, we turned thither sixteen miles, and on arriving there found that John Wright had procured the use of the assembly room, which being properly fitted up, a large number were accommodated at a meeting held on fifth-day morning. The company was not very promising, to look at, but a solid covering soon spread, and mercifully so prevailed as to keep in subjection the light chaffy nature; so that not only

solemn prayer could be offered, but the testimony of Truth go forth with gospel liberty; and there was a consoling hope in our hearts that this day's labour would not be altogether in vain. Several appeared very desirous of having books explanatory of our principles, and expressed their satisfaction with the meeting. I find there had not been any meeting held there in the remembrance of some elderly Friends, except one many years ago, and another by John Pemberton."

After this they went again to Enniscorthy, where the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province was held the last three days of the sixth month, respecting which, and their subsequent engagements, she thus writes:

——"This season was on several accounts one of great conflict and exercise; there was not an abundance of preaching, indeed I thought what there was might be termed labouring, and that in ground unbroken by the plough of divine power; however, as ability was mercifully afforded to maintain the exercise and obtain relief, this ought to be thankfully acknowledged. We remained over the usual meeting on fourth-day, which was a time of honestly clearing out, and consequently relieving. We got that evening to Joseph Smithson's, at Ballintore, and at five o'clock on fifth-day afternoon held a public meeting at Ferns, which proved a time memorable for the extension of gracious help, and liberty for the precious testimony of Truth, which I trust was, by its own power, exalted over all opposition. The company was as large as the house could well contain; among the number were two clergymen, one of whom was very cordial afterwards, coming into Benjamin Smithson's, and introducing his children to us.

"Feeling an impression to visit the families of Cooladine Meeting, we entered upon that service, and were closely occupied during four days, having many miles to ride in going from house to house, and great part of it over very bad roads. In the meeting at Cooladine, on first-day, although no capacity to minister was afforded, it felt a favour that the oppressed seed could be prayed for: it was their Preparative Meeting, and we also sat with a family who came to be visited, before dinner, and immediately after with another, who, to save us eight miles riding, had kindly remained. In the evening another sitting ensued, and so ended this exercising day.

"Third-day was their Monthly Meeting, held at Ballintore, and largely attended; the first sitting by several not in profession with us, among these one of the clergymen who was at the public meeting at Ferns; my dear M. G. sweetly ministered, and we paid a visit to the men when separated. A large company dined with us at B. Smithson's, and in a season of retirement afterwards, a consoling persuasion was raised, that some present, with many more in these parts, would be not only gathered under, but everlastingly sheltered by the heavenly wing; this precious influence felt as a seal to our release, and we parted from many under the cementing virtue of divine love. We lodged as before at J. Smithson's, and after a solemn season there on fourth-day morning, left this field of labour, and reached Ballykealy to dinner on our way towards Roscrea."

After visiting Friends at Birr and Roscrea, my dear mother and her companion got to their own Quarterly Meeting, which was held in Limerick about the middle of the seventh month, and afterwards sat in most, if not all the families constituting that particular meeting. Near the close of this service, she was confined with a severe attack of indisposition, which tended greatly to reduce her already exhausted frame; so that she returned home in a very weakly condition, and was for some time unequal to much exertion. Early in the ninth month, however, she believed it required of her to enter again upon religious service, and was engaged in holding public meetings in several places within the compass of her own Monthly Meeting, as well as attending some meetings for worship and discipline in Cork; and near the close of the year she set out with a prospect of more extensive labour in that county, having S. L. for a companion, as also her nephew J. G., he being again kindly disposed to act the part of a care-taker to his dedicated relative.

During about four weeks which this journey occupied, she was closely engaged in an arduous line of service, both among Friends and others, visiting families in Youghal, and holding nine or ten public meetings; most of these in places where none of our Society resided, and where the principles we profess were but little known. Of this description was Kinsale, and a number of French prisoners being confined there, she felt her mind brought under concern on their account, and in consequence wrote the following letter, which being translated into their language, was soon after her return home, conveyed to them. Near the conclusion of this engagement she writes:

——"The present journey has indeed been memorable on several accounts,—in prospect, the line of labour, and for the extension of holy help; so that there is cause for continued trust in the arm of divine sufficiency."

AN ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH PRISONERS AT KINSALE.

"The love of the gospel having lately engaged me to pay a religious visit to Kinsale,

where by the sorrowful effects of that spirit which causeth wars in the earth, you have been cast into prison, I found my mind drawn towards you, my dear brethren.

"Your situation claims the sympathy and attention of those who, as they feel the influence of divine love, are enabled to administer spiritual encouragement to others. Your present circumstances are extremely affecting; you are detained from your friends, and your native land; amongst strangers, and exposed to many difficulties.

"Yet when we consider the kindness of that good Providence, without whose sacred permission not a hair of our head falleth to the ground; when we recollect that He is omnipresent, watching continually over his creature man in every situation in life, there is surely encouragement for each of us to trust in Him, as a very present help in every time of need, as well as a refuge and strength in the day of trouble.

"My dear brethren, you may find Him in the prison as readily as if you were at liberty. He is with the poor as well as the rich; for His abode is with the children of men. His temple is the human heart, and it is therein that the only altar is placed on which acceptable sacrifice is offered to Him.

"No outward obstruction need hinder us from finding him an unfailing helper; and as we turn the attention of our minds immediately to Him, He proves Himself all-sufficient for us. Oh! how do I wish that every one of you may happily experience this to be the case. A few years since, I paid a religious visit to some parts of France, and I have comfort in believing there are many in that country who are in search of that which alone is permanently good: and being convinced that all the teachings and doctrines of men fall short of procuring it for them, they have inquired, as some formerly did of the Messiah, 'Where dwellest thou?' May all such wait for and accept the gracious answer, 'Come and see.'

"Be assured, dear prisoners, that as this invitation is followed, it will lead into liberty and enlargement from that state of thraldom wherein the human mind is bound with oppressive chains. By submitting to the Lord's call, we are converted from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God. He causes us to feel that it is sin and corruption which separate us from Him; and if we faithfully attend to the guidance of His Holy Spirit, we come to experience the bonds thereof to be broken in us, and know an introduction into the glorious liberty of His children.

"Here is a privilege attainable even in your outward prison, where you may sing to the Lord a new song, because He doth marvellous things in and for you. The great enemy uses every means to hinder this work, and to chain the mind in the dungeon of transgression, and plunge it deeper into sin and sorrow. He tempts the unwary, especially in situations like yours, to seek a temporary relief in things which divert from inward reflection: the tossed mind flies to one false refuge after another, which does not afford the rest it seeks; but leads gradually into a captivity that is, at length, lamentably confirmed, and the enemy gets full possession of the fortress of the heart. Whereas, had there been attention given to the captain of the soul's salvation, and obedience yielded to His commands, the subtle adversary would have been repelled in all his attacks, and prevented from obtaining the dominion. Ah! my dear friends, I want you to be enlisted under the glorious banner of Christ Jesus. I want you to be well disciplined in the use of those weapons which are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.

"Under the impressions of divine love, a current of which I feel to flow towards you, I invite you to Him who reveals Himself in the secret of the heart—to His light—by which, alone, you can discover the need you have of Him, as the Saviour and Redeemer of your souls. What a mercy it is, that in this glorious gospel day, none need say, 'who shall ascend into heaven to bring Christ down from above, or who shall descend into the deep to bring up Christ again from the dead; for the word is nigh thee;' the eternal Word of life and power, inwardly manifested as a reprover for sin and a teacher in the way of righteousness. He knows what instruction our several states require, and dispenses it accordingly; affording sufficient strength to obey Him, and to follow His sure direction. Now, how superior is this to all that man can do! How ineffectual are those remedies which human wisdom proposes, for the relief of the truly awakened mind! How inadequate to the radical cure of that disease, which a departure from the divine law has occasioned: thereby sin entered into the world, and death by sin. The divine life in Adam was lost by transgression, and his posterity brought under the dominion of an evil seed, or enemy, from which we all have need of redemption as well as he had, 'for as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive;' all, who through faith in His holy power, experience the blessed effects of His coming, by suffering Him to accomplish in their minds the great work of transformation. His name was called Jesus, because He should save His

people from their sins, not in them; so that, notwithstanding all that Christ Jesus has done and suffered for us, and that His love is offered to us universally, we really know him not, as a Saviour and Redeemer, but in proportion as we are saved by Him from that evil seed which leads into transgression. As we submit to the operation of that power which effects the one spiritual baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, the floor of the heart is thoroughly cleansed, our lives and conversation become such as bring glory to Him who created man for this very purpose. May the convincing voice of Truth speak intelligibly to, and engrave these most important subjects upon your hearts: for surely the Lord is at work by His judgments, as well as mercies; and it is high time for the people to learn His righteous law, that so His glorious promises may be accomplished, and the 'earth be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'

"May the peaceable spirit of Christ Jesus and His pure government increase and spread, and the day hasten when, all being gathered to His holy standard, 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' Oh! let none of us obstruct this gracious design, by hardening our hearts against Him; but let us submit to His holy government, that we may experience an end put to sin, and righteousness established in the place thereof. Thus we shall, individually, know that Christ Jesus is indeed come, not only as a Saviour universally, but as a Saviour and Redeemer in our hearts, and that He is executing His powerful office there, in order that He may proclaim everlasting victory over death, hell and the grave.

"I am, in the love and sympathy of the gospel, your friend,

MARY DUDLEY.

CHAPTER X.

Visit to the Provinces of Ulster and Connaught —Illness and consequent Journey to the Hotwells—Family Visit at Waterford, from Second Month 1795, to Twelfth Month 1796.

SHE was not long at home, before the call of duty again summoned her to prepare for giving fresh evidence of love and allegiance to her divine Master; and although very delicate in health, from the effects of a cold taken when last travelling, she set out about the middle of the second month 1795, on a religious visit to Ulster and Connaught; S. L. being united in the engagement. They arrived in Dublin in time to attend a Monthly meeting there, on third-day the 24th of second month, after which my dear mother gives the following account of this exercising journey.

——— "Life was low, and although several testimonies were borne, if any 'mighty works' were done I was insensible thereof. I remember it is said, that in some cities this could not be the case 'because of unbelief.' We left Dublin on fourth-day, and got to Stramore sixth-day evening.

"Seventh-day, the Quarterly Meeting held at Moyallen for this province commenced, by that for Ministers and Elders being held. The meetings on first-day were largely attended, as were those for discipline on second, and the concluding meeting on third-day; but through all, sadness was the covering of my spirit, and I do not remember any season when more exercising labour fell to my lot; but being mercifully relieved, though not refreshed, I was thankful in renewedly experiencing the arm of holy help fully equal to support. Even close doctrine is, with the people, preferable to silence; the communion with their own hearts is closer work, therefore preaching, preaching is still desired; but this is vain, and will ever be so, if Christ be not raised.

"Having felt my mind attracted in gospel love towards the inhabitants of Loughbrickland, a little town about five miles from Lisburn, we went there on fourth-day morning; and finding no place suitable for a meeting but the public worship-house, which the clergyman in a kind manner offered, we felt no objection to accept it. A considerable number of Friends, and a very large company of other religious denominations assembled, about eleven o'clock; a precious covering of solemnity was soon mercifully spread, and we had occasion deeply to bow in prostrate gratitude for the extension of divine assistance, which was, indeed, memorably granted; and a hope was excited, that all the bread that day distributed will not be lost.

"Fifth-day we attended the usual meeting at Moyallen, to our relief; and on sixth-day had a public meeting at Lisburn, which was large and graciously owned by Him who I trust prepared and called for the sacrifice. An archdeacon and several others of the clergy attended, besides many persons high in the estimation of this world. I felt my bodily strength much exhausted, but was favoured with a quiet, easy mind; and in the afternoon paid a visit to the Provincial School, to my refreshment.

"First-day morning, the 8th of third month, we went to Lurgan meeting, which proved a closely exercising season, and left such feelings as made the prospect of another meeting appointed for four o'clock in the afternoon, discouraging; the poor body seeming to have had enough. However, we set forward to Portadown, a place where no Friends reside, and

found a great number of people waiting about the door of a large room at an inn, which had been previously seated, and was soon much crowded, many also standing without: yet there was a remarkable quietness, and more liberty in proclaiming the gospel than is usually felt in this day among the members of our own Society. I was so weak and indisposed as to be unable to move forward, as designed, next morning; but being better for a little rest, we set out on third-day, and on fourth-day attended the meeting at Grange, wherein deep anguish of spirit was my portion; for although my heart and lips were engaged in prayer: though I believed it the Master's will that the children of the heavenly family should be visited, yet such were my feelings, and so little way for relief appeared, that I scarcely ever remember being so awfully and painfully instructed. I was led to meditate on the great image composed of various metals, the efficacy of the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands, &c. Some of these visions were opened, some sealed; but after all my mind was so clothed with sadness, that after meeting I hardly knew which way to turn.

"However, as I had been previously exercised about Dungannon, and the weather promised favourably, several Friends rode on, and procured the Presbyterian meeting house, where dear Job Scott held a meeting a few months before his death, and at six o'clock we assembled, and many hundreds with us. In general the people were solid and attentive while the doctrines of the gospel were, in received ability, a little opened, and I trust some instruction was sealed. There seemed to me the piercing sense of a predestinarian spirit, that which limits the pure principle, [the Spirit of Truth] therefore the life; and so proportionate darkness covered the earth, to penetrate which required proportionate help; and it may be thankfully acknowledged this was mercifully afforded.

"Several Friends kindly accompanied us on fifth-day afternoon from Berna, whence we travelled over some very hilly road and through snow, seventy miles to Sligo, which we reached on seventh-day evening. First-day abode there at a good quiet inn, and as a practice I have felt best satisfied with when not near a meeting house, our little band had a season of retirement, which through favour proved refreshing. Finding a removal hence clouded, and the attraction to a meeting with the inhabitants increase, our men Friends went to make inquiry respecting a place: from different causes none could be procured that evening; nine o'clock next morning was therefore concluded on, and the Presbyterian minister readily gave the use of his meeting house. A large number of solid people attended, who seemed disposed to receive the doctrines of Truth; indeed I trust some bowed under its precious influence.

"The labour in this meeting was of a truly arduous kind, having to encounter that spirit which would limit divine grace, and destroy the free agency of man. The Lord was, however, mercifully near, bringing to remembrance much that is written in opposition to this dangerous doctrine, and confirming to the universal agency of the Spirit of Truth: though in unfolding some of the blessed effects of this pure principle, a belief attended that there were those present who marvelled, even like Nicodemus, while taking upon them to be teachers, without knowing the regenerating virtue of divine grace. This principle offereth salvation to all, and really bringeth it to every mind which is obedient to the heavenly vision, as Paul was, who by his own declaration, did not confer with flesh and blood, clearly implying that he could have done so.

"Near the close of the meeting, the gospel seemed to flow freely to some seeking souls, in the inviting language of our blessed Saviour, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink;' and in receiving the books which were afterwards distributed, many evinced their desire to know more of what this overflowing fountain is, and where to be found. Several clergymen and dissenting ministers were present, and a very sensible presbyterian or seceder came to our inn, and invited us to his house; he dined with us, and we had some free conversation, wherein I trust no injury was done to the precious cause we are endeavouring to promote: he told us that he took no money for preaching. Several others called to see us, manifesting cordial regard, and inviting us to their houses, indeed I have scarcely seen the like in these nations; it reminded me of the disposition evinced in some foreign parts, where the ground was measurably prepared for the seed, and but few rightly qualified to sow it. Oh! that for such the great Husbandman may arise in His own power and do the work.

"We had intended proceeding that afternoon, but found no suitable lodging place could be reached timely and felt fully satisfied with our detention, as if we had gone forward, the company of several who called on us would have been lost, and perhaps part of the design of this visit defeated. I think it was nine o'clock when the last application for books was made. My very soul cleaved to some of the inhabitants of Sligo, and the remembrance of having been there is precious; whether any fruit may ever appear or not. We left it on third-day morning, purposing to proceed in a direct course to Roscommon, but hearing on the way that the assizes were then holding, and consequently accommodations at an inn not likely to be obtained, we

were obliged to change our plan, and went to Carrick on Shannon, where, with much difficulty, we procured lodging.

"I passed a night of very deep exercise, and little sleep, so great a weight of darkness and distress covered my mind as I could not account for; and very earnestly did my spirit crave that preservation might be vouchsafed. In the morning I saw not which way to turn, the track which had presented being of necessity diverged from, and when, on examining the different directions of the roads, one was pointed out as the nearest way to Moate, all seemed dark thereon, though I knew not why; but when another, the least eligible as to appearance, was mentioned, I felt satisfied to proceed on that.

"As we went on I became less oppressed, until drawing near a town, when the previous baptism to a bitter cup so affected my spirit, that, by the time we arrived at the inn, I was not left in ignorance respecting the line of duty which awaited me here; and finding a very large room, and the landlord kindly disposed to accommodate us, our men Friends soon went to work, and had a laborious task in circulating the invitation, nor did much encouragement appear respecting the attendance. A very large company, however, assembled, which it was difficult to get even into outward stillness, so that although the burden of the word rested, it could not be cast off without frequent interruption, owing to the unsettlement of the people; which I suppose arose from the novelty of the circumstance, as we cannot trace that a meeting was ever held there before by Friends. Yet notwithstanding the difficulty of stepping on such untrodden ground, and the awfulness of the labour, Truth was mercifully raised over all, so as to chain down the rebellious nature, and afford strength to discharge apprehended duty. I trust there were some who assented to the importance of that work which all their own creaturely willings and runnings could never effect; so that if no more good was done than a little ploughing up the fallow ground of Strokestown, even that may prepare the way for some other labourers more readily and availingly to enter into the field. Though nearly all the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, yet many applied for books after some had been distributed.

"We passed through several other places with only secret travail of spirit, and reached Moate fifth-day night, where we remained over first-day, which was one of laborious exercise. In the forenoon we sat with Friends, and had a large public meeting in the evening, but through the renewings of holy help relief of mind was obtained.

"Second-day we proceeded to Athlone, and procured the use of a Methodist meeting house, wherein a large number of the inhabitants assembled at six o'clock, and though from the number, and various descriptions of persons, there was, as might be expected, a difference in conduct, I think it may be thankfully acknowledged that Truth was in dominion; and we felt a hope that all the labour would not be lost, but to some, instruction be profitably sealed.

"We went the following day to Roscommon, where the use of the Sessions-house being obtained, we had notice circulated and a large attendance that evening. The minds of many seemed like ground never broken up, and for a while the unsettlement and confusion were trying; but considering the ignorance and bigotry of the major part of the audience, there was as much quiet as we could look for, and great cause for thankfulness that a cup bitter in prospect and possession, was mercifully sweetened by the feeling of relief.

"In our way from Roscommon we stopt at Lanesborough, where being sensible of inward exercise, and no clearness in proceeding, we made inquiry for a place to hold a meeting, but we were informed that no large room could be had, which, with finding the inhabitants were mostly Roman Catholics, tended to discourage us. However, as the pressure continued, we had a parlour at the inn prepared, and notice spread, and in a short time had the room, passage, &c. crowded; and I think there was in this poor place, among a people who are kept in darkness by those who profess to be their guides, as much liberty to declare the way of life and salvation, as in many places where light seems to have more apparently made its way. Many were solid, and I doubt not sensible of good impressions; for which favour our spirits bowed in humble commemoration of divine goodness.

"We reached Ballymahon that night, where the clergyman of the parish readily gave the use of the worship-house for a meeting. This town is mostly inhabited by Roman Catholics, so that it was not expected many would attend; but a large company of that description came, as well as most of the Protestants, and among them the minister who gave us the house. An arduous line of labour fell to my lot; it was truly like going forth with the gospel sword, if I was ever intrusted with it, against those structures not reared by divine power. Although the extreme ignorance of the people caused the work to feel heavy, it may indeed be gratefully acknowledged, with that praise which belongs to the glorious Author of all good, that help was mercifully proportioned; and even while the enmity was evidently raised, the Lord continued near to support and strengthen for the discharge of apprehended duty.

"I hoped after this meeting that I might be excused from any further service in poor Connaught, and felt satisfied to turn towards the Quarterly Meeting at Mount Mellick. I was much indisposed and in want of rest, but struggled to keep up during first and second-days, which caused me to have more suffering afterwards, and I was unable to attend the concluding meeting on third-day, the 31st of third month, being wholly confined to bed. A few days nursing and kind care tended to recruit me, so that by the end of the week I was able to go out among my friends, and on first-day attended both meetings. In these close exercise and labour fell to my lot, under the oppressive sense, that the lamenting language of the great Master is painfully applicable in the present day, 'Oh! Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not.' Deeply did my spirit feel with our honourable friend M. Ridgway, who having long laboured in this part of the vineyard, yet reaps little in an outward sense but sorrow; her everlasting reward, however, is sure, and she seems so low and sunk in strength, that I should not be surprised if this soon awaited her.

"We left Mount Mellick on second-day morning, and had a meeting in the Assembly-room at Tullamore that evening, and one in the Sessions-house at Maryborough on fourth, proceeding to Durrow on fifth-day evening. I felt attracted to Ballinakill, about three miles distant, whither we went on sixth-day morning, and an invitation being circulated, the few Friends residing there, and a quiet company of other denominations, assembled with us about twelve o'clock. These meetings were all satisfactory, and attended with a consoling hope that some would retain the impressions they were favoured to receive; many manifested great cordiality towards us, and the applications for books were numerous. The number belonging to our Society is small, but among these some feeling was evident, and good near, to stir up the pure mind, even in such as had too much rested in the name, without striving to experience the nature of vital Christianity. From Durrow I should have gladly proceeded home some other way than through Kilkenny, a place I have long felt about, and the prospect of which is now renewedly exercising, but I believe it would be unsafe under present pressure not to attempt having a meeting there."

The meeting in prospect was held on first-day, and proved a solemn relieving opportunity; after which my dear mother felt easy to retreat from this engagement, wherein she had been diligently occupied for about eight weeks, and with her husband and several friends who met her at Kilkenny, returned to Clonmel on second-day, the 13th of fourth month, peaceful in mind, but with diminished strength of body. The following was written under a review of this journey.

———"As to any little effort of mine to promote the glorious cause of Truth, and the advancement of the spiritual kingdom of life and peace, it is not worth entering upon. Yet as the object is considered abstractedly, as the power, not the instrument, is kept in view, I hope that in all humility the thankful acknowledgment may be made, that although the line of service recently allotted has been very trying, humiliating, and awful, He who putteth forth has fulfilled His own promise, and mercifully proportioned strength to the conflicts of the day; superadding to the support immediately extended, the encouraging belief that His gathering arm is reached, and reaching forth to the workmanship of His holy hand; and if the labour of the poor instruments go no further than the mission of John, and prepare the way for greater breakings forth of light, let us be therewith content, and faithfully do our part, leaving the issue to divine wisdom. I have never been in any part of these nations where the ground seemed so unbroken, as in some of the places lately visited, especially in Connaught, nor have I been more sensibly convinced than during this engagement, that light will break forth, and the darkness which now covers the earth disperse by its glorious arising."

Notwithstanding her having a hard cough, and evident symptoms of pulmonary affection, she went from home again in about two weeks to attend the Yearly Meeting in Dublin, and as usual, took an active part in the concerns of that interesting season; she also attended a few meetings in her return, though struggling with an increase of indisposition from repeated colds, and on arriving at her own house was so unwell as to render close confinement necessary. This, however, and skilful medical attention, failed to produce the desired effect, and in a few weeks she was advised to try the Mallow waters, as a substitute for those of the Hotwells, being unwilling to undertake so long a journey unless deemed absolutely needful. After spending a month at the former place, her complaints assumed so alarming an appearance, and the reduction of strength was so rapid, that her affectionate husband was not satisfied longer to delay resorting to those means which in earlier life had proved beneficial to his beloved companion. To herself, and many of her friends, it appeared scarcely warrantable for her to undertake such a journey, nor did she anticipate the result so fondly desired by her near connexions; rather looking to the disease which then affected her, as one designed to bring down

ie poor earthly tabernacle, and centre her im-
iortal spirit in everlasting rest; and the entire
uietness of mind with which she was favoured,
ended to encourage this prospect.

Still she did not oppose the wishes of her
usband, and early in the eighth month she set
ut with him and her two eldest daughters.
They sailed from Waterford to Milford, and
fterwards travelled slowly to Bristol; the
lear invalid bearing the voyage and journey
even beyond what they had dared to expect;
nd after spending six weeks at the Hot-wells,
he improvement in her health was such as to
fford strong hopes of ultimate recovery. Her
ative air and the waters were so salutary to
er lungs, that the cough gradually abated, and
er strength was renewed. When the time for
emaining at the wells was expired, she passed
ome weeks at the house of her beloved friends
ohn and Margaret Waring, attending meet-
ngs in the city and neighbourhood of Bristol,
nd enjoying the society of some old and inti-
mate friends; and although not from home on
he ground of religious concern, there is reason
o believe that her company and ministerial la-
bours were productive of spiritual benefit to
many, both in and out of our Society, amongst
whom her lot was cast at that time.

Near the end of the year she returned to Ireland, so far restored in health as to give expectation of her being strengthened for continued usefulness in the church. Nor was it long before her dedication to the best of causes was again evinced, for in the second month 1796, she applied to her Monthly Meeting for a certificate to visit the families of Friends in Waterford and Ross, expressing her belief that some more public service would also be required of her in those places. After being awhile closely occupied at Waterford, she wrote as follows:—

——— "The work is truly a laborious one, I think more so than any of the same nature heretofore has proved. Life is, in the general, low, and yet such a renewed visitation is sensibly extended, even to 'strengthen the things which remain,' lest they utterly die, and the exercise so expands in families, that we have sometimes to divide, and take the different parts separately. After some visits, my poor frame is so sunk that I thought I should be scarcely able to continue throughout the engagement, though bound in spirit to the service. I am indulged with a truly dear and very suitable companion in Margaret Hoyland, who is evidently fitted for the work, and employed in it, in what I believe the fulness of time.

"The line does not seem circumscribed to those in membership, and I continue to feel my mind attracted to several who attend our meetings with honest inquiries, 'what shall we do?' &c. Among these are a family, respecting whom I had no knowledge or information; but while in meeting the day after I came here, my heart was drawn into such a feeling of secret sympathy with two genteel looking women, who sat solidly opposite the gallery, that I was ready to marvel, not knowing by their appearance whether they had any connexion with Friends or not. At length I became so exercised, that the work in them might be carried forward, and the new creation perfected, that vocal supplication was offered, and inquiring after meeting respecting them, I found they were a widow Ussher and her daughter, and that they had constantly attended meetings for several months past. I spoke to them on going out of the meeting house, and they cordially to me; since then we have seen more of each other; they are indeed a wonderful family, and the more I know of them, the more my heart is attached to them."*

After she and her companion had visited the few families in Ross, she thus relates a circumstance which occurred there.

——— "I sat the meeting under unutterable exercise; dear M. H. was engaged to minister to a state, for which I then believed I was going through such a baptism as I have seldom experienced, and feeling, (as I apprehend,) a clear direction how to act, when the meeting terminated, I requested that two men who had sat solidly, but were total strangers to me, might be invited to our lodging; they willingly came, and a time long to be remembered ensued. One was the same person for whom I felt in my last visit to this place, but whose countenance I did not know: they are both evidently under the care of the great Shepherd, but much tried on different accounts. We sat and parted under such feelings as I have no language to describe, and for this season alone I could bear to be separated from my nearest connexions; but we have reason thankfully to believe, that so far, our steppings have been right; may future preservation be mercifully vouchsafed."

An account of a public meeting held at Waterford was thus given by a Friend who had been her companion in part of this engagement, and kindly wrote to her husband when she was prevented doing so by indisposition.

——— "The house was nearly full, and those assembled behaved with becoming solidity; the covering of good was soon felt, and after dear Mary had appeared in supplication, she was largely engaged in the exercise of her precious gift;—on the propriety of women's preaching,—against an hireling ministry,—and

* This Friend, Elizabeth Ussher, was afterwards well known as an acceptable minister in our Society, she and three daughters having joined it by convincement.—See "Ussher's Letters," printed in Dublin, 1812.

in describing the universality of the grace of God. It was a solemn, open season, and though as thou mayest suppose, she was much exhausted, yet the sweet incomes of that peace she goes through so much to obtain, were not withheld, but sweetly partaken of, the Lord rewarding liberally for such acts of dedication, and afresh inciting to confidence and trust in Him. In the family retirement at our lodging in the evening, she was again drawn forth to address some individuals in a very particular manner; it was a time of sweet refreshment in which most present were tendered, and I hope the sense of heavenly regard which then prevailed will not soon be forgotten by some of us."

Near the close of this service my dear mother wrote as follows:

——— "I feel unable to do as much in this line as I once could, nor am I even qualified to keep any little sketch of what I go through from day to day, as if all that is once passed was gone from my remembrance, by fresh exercise continually occurring; so that the poor vessel is kept in a state of quiet emptiness, except when any thing is put into it for others, which for a season refreshes and sweetens. As to the earthen vessel, it is sensibly weakened, yet I expect it will hold a while together, till not only this, but what may still remain is done; and truly my mind is humbled under a sense of unmerited regard, and my own utter inability to move in the line of gracious acceptance, without deep preparatory baptisms and renewed help, and this having been almost marvellously extended, I again feel stripped and unclothed of any strength. If these are some of the mysteries, attendant on the awful office which some apprehend they are appointed to, then may the hope be safely cherished that, however hidden their life, it is with Him who in his own time will again and everlastingly arise, and they also partake of his glory."

She returned home in time to attend the Quarterly Meeting held at Clonmel, in the fourth month, and early in the sixth month, she again left her own habitation, to fulfil some prospects which had not been accomplished in her late journey; among these were public meetings at Dunmore, Enniscorthy, and Ross, respecting which she observes, that though deeply exercising from the ignorance of spiritual worship and want of true settlement, which were generally obvious, yet 'faith being mercifully granted, and holy assistance renewed, ability was afforded to preach the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ, as the way, the truth and the life." She also atended the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster Province, and several meetings for worship and discipline in the county of Wexford. In some of these services she had the acceptable company of her dear friend M. Watson, and after being laid up some days at Waterford with a distressing complaint in her head and face, returned home with a relieved and peaceful mind, a short time before her own Quarterly Meeting held at Limerick; where after attending that solemnity, she felt bound to sit in the families of Friends, and in a letter written to her husband while thus engaged, makes the succeeding remarks:

——— "I can afresh say it is well to follow the pointings of duty and stand in resignation, for although the poor body is considerably exhausted, my mind is mercifully relieved beyond what is usually the case with me; so that I have reason to commemorate the unmerited regard of Him who leads about, graciously instructs and encourages to confide in His holy sustaining arm."

After returning from this visit, she was mostly at home during the remainder of this year; the latter part of which was signalized by some very afflictive circumstances, under which her body and mind were at times brought very low; yet being supported by Him who had long proved her refuge and strength, she was enabled instructively to manifest that those who trust in the Lord are not confounded, but in the permitted, as well as appointed, trials of their day, find His grace sufficient for them, and the spirit of humble resignation equal to counteract the effects of human weakness.

CHAPTER XI.

Attendance of Yearly Meeting in London—Dangerous illness of her Husband—Visit to the County of Cork, &c. 1797.

In the spring of 1797, my beloved mother believed it best for her to attend the Yearly Meeting in London, which she did to the relief and comfort of her mind, spending a little time in Bristol on her return. While absent on this journey she writes as follows:

——— "Though not professedly out in the service of Truth, I think it may be truly said I am not spending idle time; every day seems to bring its work with it, and some meetings, and more private seasons of retirement have been peculiarly marked by the covering of solemnity and the cementing influence of divine regard; so that while I feel myself a poor creature, I have renewed cause, thankfully to acknowledge gracious help, and depend upon the leadings of an ever worthy Master, who does not forsake in the needful time."

Soon after she returned home, her affectionate feelings were called into painful exercise by her husband's having a dangerous fall from his

horse, which occasioned an illness that for some time threatened his life; and the anxiety and fatigue which she underwent at that season produced an indisposition of the bilious and gouty kind, the effects whereof greatly tried her constitution for several months. She had, however, the comfort of seeing her beloved partner gradually restored to health, and they were both benefited by spending some time at the sea-side, first at Tramore and then in Youghal. At both these places David Sands of America was a good deal with them, and towards the end of the year my dear mother united with this Friend in some religious service in the city and county of Cork, being also accompanied by her niece, Hannah Grubb, who during this journey first appeared as a minister. The following extracts from her letters contain an account of the engagement.

——— "Fifth-day was the Monthly Meeting here; until the previous one for worship, D. S. had been a silent travailer in every meeting, but in that he was exercised in a close line, comparing the people to sheep who had been richly fed, and walked in good pasture, but had not become strong, nay, were sick, and some even in danger of dying; but yet he felt a few were alive, to whom he ministered encouragement. I felt inclined to take my little certificate to the men's meeting, and had it read while there, which opened my way among my brethren to my own relief.

"First-day evening we appointed a public meeting which was largely attended. I had to revive the gracious invitation of the Saviour of the world, 'If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink,' and doubt not the love of Israel's Shepherd was then afresh extended, for the gathering of the people from the shadows to the substance of religion. D. S. was engaged in the unity of feeling, and though we have no report of mighty works being done, I trust that profit was sealed upon some minds.

"I had a view of going to Kinsale while in these borders, but being very much indisposed it seemed unlikely I should be able to unite with D. S. who was going on fourth-day night; yet feeling inclined, H. G. and I went next morning in a close carriage, and reached Kinsale time enough for the meeting, which was appointed for eleven o'clock, but the people coming in irregularly the house was not filled for nearly an hour. Several appeared very light, conversing, &c., but after deep, laborious exercise, there was more settlement and some relief obtained. D. Sands was enlarged in testimony and supplication, and in endeavouring to do my part of the business, I found to my humbling admiration, the truth of that assurance, 'as thy day so shall thy strength be,' even as to the body, which was made equal to required exertion. Another meeting was appointed for the evening, which I had almost given up the prospect of attending, but, being recruited by a little rest, went again; the house filled, and some solid people were among the multitude, to whom David was largely opened, in a manner teaching to their states. A portion of labour also fell to my lot, and I trust the precious cause was rather magnified than hurt, by these opportunities, and some minds measurably gathered to a state of true waiting. But oh! the labour that is requisite to have even so much of the way of the Lord prepared; and how few comparatively are in a state of fitness to receive even the messengers in the previous mission, or baptism, for the Master's appearance, the revelation of his power and spirit. Darkness seems to cover the earth, and gross darkness the minds of the people, so that every step is like working with the plough to gain an entrance for the seed of spiritual doctrine; but, if the labourers perform their assigned part, all afterwards ought to be resolved into the hand and further operation of the great and powerful Husbandman, in faith and patience.

"I hope I have done with anxiety on this head; I neither look for much, if any, fruit from my little exercises, nor conclude I am right or wrong from the voice of the people. Oh! how unavailing are all voices but that of gracious acceptance, and when this is through unmerited mercy afforded, what a stay is it found amidst the fluctuating spirit or language of the world, yea, of those who are in degree, but not altogether, gathered out of a worldly spirit.

"This last meeting held above three hours, so thou mayest conclude our bodies wanted rest, which we obtained at a good inn. In the morning I found D. S. inclined for Milltown, which I felt easy to turn from, but before leaving Kinsale had a memorable season with the landlady and three single daughters. Their minds were remarkably tendered, and so opened in love to us that they constrained us to accept some refreshment, after which we left them and the place in peaceful poverty.

"After dinner at a Friend's, where was a pretty large company, and several young people, a precious and remarkably solemn covering was mercifully spread as a canopy over us, and rather singular enlargement experienced in the line of close communication to different individuals. The settling power of Truth prevailed in no small degree, leaving a savour that remained during the evening, which I spent in their company. Yesterday I joined in a visit paid by appointment to two young women received into membership, which was a solemn, relieving time to my mind: as I have thank-

fully to acknowledge several have proved, so as to leave no room to question that my being here has been, and I hope continues to be, in providential direction, though my body feels greatly reduced with exercise.

"After we had sat awhile in meeting on first-day, William Savery unexpectedly came in, and near the close said, that he felt as he often did when in meetings with his brethren and sisters, not having much to say, except that he wished them well, and that if they were not admitted to the communion table, the supper of the Lamb, it was not because they were not the bidden guests, but because they were in the same state as those formerly bidden, not ready, being full of, or employed too much about, things lawful in themselves, but pursued to the hindering their acceptance. On concluding, he desired a meeting with the inhabitants in the evening, which proved a very large assemblage of most ranks, who behaved with quiet attention. W. Savery was largely opened on the past and present state of the visibly gathered churches, describing where the departure from genuine religion had crept in, and through what means it must be restored to its primitive state, &c. D. S. also stood some time. The following day we went together to the Foundling Hospital, where there were about two hundred children collected, to whom, with their masters, we all three felt and expressed a salutation of love, and the season was one of divine favour, as was another more select sitting in a Friend's family after tea.

"Yesterday the week-day meeting was unusually large, and proved, to my tried mind, the most relieving of any since my coming here; though the labour was of a truly close and exercising nature, which if I apprehend rightly, was what the states of the people called for. Dear William Savery followed in harmonious supplication, and the meeting terminated under a solemn covering. In the evening another public meeting was held, which was large and pretty quiet, though some of the company appeared thoughtless and unconcerned, and perhaps from a longer silence than before, in degree impatient; but while W. S. was engaged in speaking they were attentive, and he was enabled excellently to comment on the superior nature of divine wisdom. His openings were not only clear, but attended with religious authority; so that I do hope it was a season of instruction to some, though after the closing of this weighty communication an unsettlement succeeded and many withdrew.

"I am to day sadly indisposed from fresh cold, and can hardly stoop to write, though mercifully supported in the path of duty; but as William Savery intends being at Clonmel by first-day, and seems particularly to wish me to meet him, I at present purpose endeavouring to do so, and hope to reach home some time on seventh-day."

This prospect she was enabled to fulfil, arriving at her own house a few hours before this valuable fellow-labourer W. S., whom she was glad to receive and entertain, as he was to be in the company of one whom he esteemed a mother in the truth. She accompanied him in his public service within those borders, and after being together at a meeting in Carrick, they separated; he proceeding to Waterford, and she returning home, whence she pretty soon went again to Cork, and after attending the Quarterly Meeting held there in the first month, had public meetings in several places which she had felt about when there before, viz. Blarney, Passage, Glanmire, and Milltown, also one appointed for the inhabitants of a particular district in the city. All these meetings appear to have been satisfactory and relieving, as may be inferred from the following observations written at the close of this journey.

——— "Through the mercy of Him who hath never failed in the needful time to supply every want, ability was administered to proclaim the doctrines of the gospel, for the reception of which I believe some were prepared; and it is a renewed encouragement to trust in the arm of holy help, that at intervals the power of Truth preciously prevailed, so as to still the minds of the people, for which my spirit bows in thankfulness. I begin very sensibly to feel the effects of such exercise, and am at present quite hoarse; but I expect shall be relieved, if there be occasion for so poor a creature to be employed, in vocally advocating a cause, the promotion of which is, if I know my own heart, dearer to me than my natural life."

CHAPTER XII.

Illness and temporary residence in Bristol—Religious service there, and in some places adjacent—Return home, and visit to the Families of her own Monthly Meeting—Letter to a Friend. From 1798 *to* 1801.

An affection of the lungs, under which my beloved mother had suffered for several months, became in the spring increasingly serious; and her cough, with other alarming symptoms, brought her so low as to cause much apprehension in the minds of her family and friends, and induce her medical attendants to recommend a sea voyage and short residence at Bristol Hot-wells. It was with peculiar reluctance she yielded to this advice, as the awfully disturbed state of Ireland in the year 1798 precluded her affectionate husband from accompa-

nying her; but in this trial of faith and patience she was mercifully supported, under the belief that it was her duty to use every means for the restoration of her health. She was in so weak a state on leaving home, that some friends who assisted her on board the packet expressed it as their opinion that she was then leaving Ireland never to return: such, however, was not the will of Him who had repeatedly brought her up as from the gates of death, and graciously designed again to qualify her for His service.

She embarked at Waterford with her eldest son and four daughters; landed at Milford, and after passing some weeks in that neighbourhood, she was so far recovered as to proceed to Bristol by sea. Her dear friend George Fisher met her at Pill harbour and conducted her to his own house. He had recently lost his valuable wife, between whom and my dear mother a strong friendship had subsisted, and her visit at that juncture seemed not only grateful to his affectionate feelings, but her religious sympathy soothing and helpful to his mind. She staid much longer under his hospitable roof than was contemplated upon first going to Bristol; her native air and the waters of the Hot-wells proving, as heretofore, beneficial to her health; though her amendment was very slow and interrupted by such frequent attacks of indisposition, as caused her physician to entertain little or no hope of ultimate recovery: she was not able to attend meetings till near the end of the year, about which time she writes as follows.

——— "I have gone three times to the Fryers meeting-house; it tried my frame sensibly, but afresh convinced me who was, and continues to be, strength in weakness; having been assisted beyond what I could have looked for, so that, although I scarcely expect an establishment in even usual health will ever be my experience, I have latterly conceived that my continuance in time might be lengthened out, and feel desirous that every portion of strength intrusted, may be occupied with, according to the will of the gracious Giver. Some unfoldings of duty have been recently afforded, and whether or not I may be drawn to visit a few families, or attend any meetings in adjacent places, I do believe I ought to stand resigned to move as bodily strength is furnished, in order that the remainder of my stay here may be filled up to the relief and peace of my mind."

In accordance with these views she applied to her Monthly Meeting for a certificate, in the following address.

"My dear Friends,

"Notwithstanding my leaving home was under different prospects than the probability of any religious engagement, nor does the degree of bodily strength yet experienced, warrant an expectation of much of this nature being required; yet being sensible of increasing exercise, and desirous to have the time spent on this side the water, as well as the portion of health afforded, used as consistently with best direction as I may be favoured to discover; I feel resigned to mention, that an apprehension exists in my mind that something is due from me, in this city, and to parts adjacent, in which I request liberty of the Monthly Meeting to move as Truth may point out. I believe there are those among my dear friends in Clonmel, who will feel with me in this exercise, and as soon as clearness is felt transmit me their decision. After spreading this prospect I may just add, that though separate in person, under the pressure of various infirmities and hidden conflicts, my spirit has often saluted, and renewedly does salute you, my dear friends, wishing with my own, your preservation and establishment on the rock of immutable support; that whatever our individual allotments may be, we may experience that 'we have a strong city,' and know salvation to be 'appointed for walls and bulwarks.'

"I am, in gospel and affectionate love, your friend, M. DUDLEY.

"Bristol, Eleventh month, 22nd, 1798."

After receiving the concurrence of her friends, which was readily granted, the first step she believed it right to take in the line of religious duty, was to visit some of the larger families belonging to the Monthly Meeting of Bristol, and she paid, while in a weak state of health, upwards of thirty visits. During this engagement, and respecting some further service, she remarks as follows:—

——— "In the procedure so far, frequent and closely exercising have been my conflicts in and out of meetings, though in some of these merciful help has been vouchsafed, so that relief has been measurably obtained. Being sensible of a weighty concern respecting the inhabitants of Temple Parish, I ventured to appoint a meeting at that meeting-house on the evening of the 24th of second month, which was large and solemnly favoured. Through the extension of divine assistance, not only a door of utterance was granted, but comfortable persuasion that one of entrance was also opened; so that renewed cause was administered to follow in the path of manifested duty; and the subsequent feeling of unmerited peace was truly precious. When this service was accomplished, I felt increasingly drawn towards some little places in the north division of this county, and on the 3rd of the third month proceeded to Sidcot, where I sat an exercising meeting with

Friends, under a deep sense of the want of life, and prevalence of an indolent unconcerned spirit, whereby the burden of the sensible feeling part was abundantly increased. After a time of silent travail, strength being communicated, a little relief was obtained, and clearness of feeling in appointing a meeting for the next morning, of a more general kind. Similar views having presented respecting Congersbury, we went to our friend Joseph Naish's, whose house being thought suitable, a meeting was appointed for the evening, and a very large number came. A covering of solemnity early spread, and liberty in stating the preparation for performing spiritual worship ensued, under which the minds of the people seemed solidly impressed and gospel love arose sweetly, so that help was witnessed to minister to some states, I hope with profitable instruction; and the season closed under a thankful sense of gracious regard and the feeling of quiet poverty. This I deem a rich inheritance, and far more than any surrender of my will, or feeble attempt to advocate the cause of pure truth, has any claim to, but all of abundant mercy from Him to whom praise assuredly belongs.

"Second-day, 4th, attended the appointed meeting at Sidcot, which was large and quiet; supplication early went forth, and He who raiseth and answereth prayer graciously drew near, sensibly qualifying for the portion of labour allotted, and spreading the canopy of pure love, under which names and distinctions seem lost, and that spirit which breathes peace on earth and good will to men happily prevails. We dined at the school, and had a solemn season before we left it, several precious young people being present: returned to Congersbury to lodge, and passing a thoughtful night I opened to my affectionate sympathizing friends Joseph Naish and George Fisher, my feelings about Longford, a place adjacent, to which we took a ride and found that way presented for a meeting by a room being offered at the inn. We spent a few pleasant and solid hours at Winthill, with John Thomas, and Sarah Squire, and returned to our quarters to tea, where a quiet night refreshed a feeble body and mind.

"Fourth-day, 6th. We attended Claverham meeting in course, which was a season of very deep exercise, my poor mind being unusually plunged into a state where faith was at so low an ebb that very little prospect of relief opened, though a necessity for moving seemed felt. To my humbling admiration, help was so extended, that from one of the lowest it became a time of considerable relief, through honest plain dealing with the indifferent and lukewarm, while encouragement was sweetly felt to an exercised and deeply tried remnant, hidden but precious in the Lord's sight. In the afternoon went to Longford, where at the hour appointed, a considerable number came. A solemn covering spread, and though among a people to whom such a meeting was wholly new, it not being remembered that any of this kind had ever been held there, He, whom winds and waves obey, graciously calmed by His own power, and to much outward stillness vouchsafed a quietude scarcely to be expected. This so increased, that during the previous travail and succeeding vocal engagement, the waters gradually rose, and the conclusion of the season was memorably owned; a time wherein all that was feeling within me, and I believe other fellow travellers united in gospel fellowship, bowed in thankful acknowledgment of continued merciful regard.

"We separated under a solid feeling, the people departing in much commendable quietness; which I esteemed a peculiar favour, as our being at an inn had caused me to fear unsettlement after the meeting. Several beloved Friends continued with us that night, and accompanied me next morning to Bristol. I felt symptoms of cold and fatigue requiring rest, but undeserved peacefulness of mind."

When a little recruited she went to the neighbourhood of Olveston, and had many meetings with Friends and others in that and some adjacent districts, being wonderfully strengthened for the service to which she was thus renewedly called. Her views extending, as ability of body increased, she travelled a good deal during the summer of 1799, in the counties of Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, and Hereford; visiting the families of Friends in some places, and holding above thirty public meetings, among which were three at Bath, and one in the Town-hall, at Wells. At the latter place she had been accustomed to enjoy much worldly pleasure in early life, and was still remembered by some of the more respectable inhabitants. Many of these manifested an affectionate recollection and esteem for her character, when thus among them as a minister of the gospel; several about her own age acknowledging, that there was more solid satisfaction in the path she had wisely chosen than could ever result from self-gratification, though the pursuit of this, still occupied and was allowed to engross their minds.

In these journies, Robert Lovell was my dear mother's kind attendant and helper, and in some of her public services in the neighbourhood of her native city, she was accompanied by her friend and fellow minister Samuel Dyer.

While in Bristol she visited three men who were under sentence of death in Newgate, and continuing much exercised on their account, wrote the following letter, which was conveyed

them a few days before their execution, and peared to be both seasonable and comforting. ne of the men requested a religious person no attended them to the last, to express his nse of the kindness, and tell the Friend who d manifested such concern for them, that her ords were fulfilled in his experience, for his ison had indeed become as a palace, and in e immediate prospect of death, he would not ange situations with the king on his throne.

My dear Brethren,

" For so I can call you in that love and deep licitude which allows no distinction of names religion. I feel with and for you in the flowgs of gospel love, and under this influence uld spend hours with you in your solitary id awful situation. But I fear your even beolding the persons of any, unless those who e of necessity about you, lest your minds ould be drawn to any thing inferior to the eat object, which you ought every moment to ave in view. I therefore adopt this method beseeching you, to endeavour to draw near to e spring of living help, which is mercifully ith and in you, as an infallible means of openg to you, not only all your wants, but the orious remedy provided for their supply. This, y friends, is ' Christ in you,' the promised reover for transgression, and comforter of the ontrite, penitent soul, which leans upon him. h! let your attention be inward and deep, our eye singly turned to His all-convincing ving light. He is the good Samaritan, the archer and binder up of those wounds that n has made, and can by His own power so pply the oil and the wine, as to restore the istressed, mournful traveller to soundness and ace. Oh! that this may be your individual perience; then will your prison be as a palace, nd your dismission out of this world, a door of ntrance into a state of liberty and endless rest. et nothing divert your minds from the essenal necessary state of inward retirement, and aiting upon the Lord: and may He who can nly preach spiritual deliverance to the captive, raciously do His own work, even cleanse from n, finish transgression, and make you, by His deeming, sanctifying power, meet for His ire and holy kingdom; thus in a manner not be fully described, prays your concerned and eply sympathizing friend. M. D.

"Bristol, Fourth month 29th, 1799."

In reviewing her late engagements, and alludg to the disturbed state of public affairs, she rites as follows:

——— " Truly the signs of the times are wful, and every thing enforces, with emphatic nguage, the necessity of dwelling near, or ithin that impregnable fortress, where these things cannot move us from the calming, consoling persuasion of divine sufficiency. May our minds be mercifully stayed in holy quiet, while the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth. Often does my spirit long that we, as a people, may gather more and more into this precious habitation, out of that spirit which produces tumult, or mingles with it; and thus exalt the pure peaceable principle, which through all, I cannot but steadily believe, is making its own way even gloriously in many minds, and will spread in the earth, until men beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks.

" Never did a more convincing evidence attend my mind than of later times, that a great work is on the wheel of Almighty power in this favoured nation; where there are truly many righteous, whose fervent intercessions are no doubt availing, and many others evidently inquiring the way to the kingdom of inward settlement. To these the gospel message is joyful, and precious is the liberty felt in proclaiming it; under the sense whereof, in seasons of close but truly relieving labour, my soul has been bowed in awful admiration of what the Lord is doing for the honour of His own name, and the advancement of truth."

She returned with her family to Ireland early in the year 1800, and was not long at home before she manifested the renewal of gospel concern for the members of her own Monthly Meeting, by visiting them in their families: she also held some public meetings in Clonmel, and places adjacent.

The unsoundness of principle, which about this time was distressingly evinced by many who had filled conspicuous stations in our Society, was a source of deep heartfelt sorrow to this true and loyal subject to the King immortal, for the increase of whose dominion she had long ' laboured and not fainted.' The following letter will show, how earnestly she desired the preservation and help of her fellow professors, as well as the clearness and consistency of her own views, with respect to the fundamental truths of Christianity.

Suirville, near Clonmel, Eighth month 22nd, 1800.

" My dear Friend,—In returning the manuscript with which thou entrusted me, allow me to observe, that though the system therein laid down is, to the eye of reason, very plausible, it is one my understanding, or rather my best judgment, as sensibly revolts from, as that of the writer did at the contrary. It is not written in the lines of my experience; and having from the earliest opening of my understanding in spiritual things, endeavoured simply to receive, what in the light which maketh manifest might be revealed, I may add, that according hereto

I conceive it to be an erroneous system, formed more by the strength of the rational or natural faculty, than the clear unfolding of pure wisdom, in that spot where the creaturely judgment is taken away, and adopted by a part not yet fully subjected to the cross of Christ.

"My spirit will, if happily preserved, ever commemorate that mercy, which restrained from those speculative researches to which my nature strongly inclined, and which, as a temptation likely to prevail, in my first desires for certainty, closely beset me. Many a labyrinth might I have been involved in, in many a maze enveloped, had the various voices which are in the world, (the religious world,) been, in conjunction with these besetments, attended to. Were it needful I could tell thee much of the danger to which my best life has been exposed, but the standard at first erected being held steady in my view by divine power, even, (I speak it with humble gratitude,) I will know nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified, proved a barrier to those wanderings in speculative opinions, which I believe would have to me, and have to many mercifully enlightened minds, been the means of obstruction to a progress in the way of redemption; and introduced into that circuitous path, where the peaceful termination is not beheld.

"Why should we seek to explore, or reconcile to our understandings, the work or plan of redemption, formed and carried into effect by divine unerring wisdom and love? Can our creation, in the first instance or since, be fathomed by all the finite powers of man? And shall a more, (I was going to say,) stupendous work, that of redemption, be arraigned, approved or rejected by these powers, and the constituent parts of the wondrous edifice so shaken, that the whole is in danger of being levelled? Oh! that every attempt of this kind may be mercifully defeated.

"Wherein does our spiritual life consist? Is debate, speculation and reasoning the nourishment of the immortal part? Is it matured by food so inferior to its nature? Rather will it gradually weaken and come to decay, if not replenished from a source equal to its origin; the pure milk of the eternal Word.

"Mayest thou, my beloved friend, partake hereof and be sweetly satisfied: any thing contrary to this is dangerous food, strengthening only that part destined by sacred determination for subjection to that power which, if suffered to reign, will reduce into holy order, harmony, and love.

"From this state, in the rational and animal creation, there was a departure in the original fall or degeneracy of man; and in succession, as descendants from transgressing man, we partake of a nature or disposition to evil. Notwithstanding, as early as the fall, there was, and in perpetuity has been and is, a pure holy seed or principle to counteract the propensities so produced; and though no guilt attaches where there has not been a joining with the evil, yet, being possessed of a transgressing nature, we individually need redemption from it. Nor are we really so redeemed, and delivered from the bondage of corruption, until, through the sanctifying influence of that pure gift vouchsafed as a light, leader and restorer, we experience the crucifixion of the old man, (the first nature,) with his deeds, and in the gradual process of refinement, a putting 'on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.'

"I fully believe, that as soon as man was redeemed, after and out of transgression, it was through faith in the promised deliverer and submission to the divinely operative and efficient means, mercifully provided by matchless love. Yet it pleased the same love and inscrutable wisdom, in the fulness of time, to open the way more perfectly by the appearance or manifestation of this appointed Saviour in the flesh, therein to fill up that measure of suffering seen meet. It is not our business to inquire why this should be a part of the marvellous plan, but thankfully content with the remedy so graciously provided, and beholding what manner of love the Father has bestowed upon us, humbly to partake of the offered salvation, by receiving and walking in that light leading to immortality, through the glorious dispensation of the gospel or power of Christ; the pure eternal Word, 'whereby all things were made.' What a convincing testimony to the eternal Godhead of the Son, and thereby proving Him to be an omnipotent Saviour, as well as holy pattern of all excellence.

"Never was there a more full and plain system than that of the gospel; never can the strongest powers of the creature add to its clearness and beauty, though the plainest truths may be rendered doubtful, and the way complex, by subtle reasonings and eloquent disquisitions. I repeat, let us be content; we have not as a people followed a cunningly devised fable, and there are, I trust, those yet preserved who can go further, and say, 'it is truth and no lie;' having seen with their eyes, heard with their ears, and been permitted to taste of the word of life, and if required, could, through Almighty help, seal their testimony by the surrender of the natural life.

"Little did I expect to enlarge thus, and far is it from me to enter into controversy and debate, a poor employment for one apprehending a more solemn call; but my heart earnestly longs that the Lord's children may stand firm in this day of shaking and great trial. Let

one beguile any of their promised reward, hrough leading into reasonings and perplexing ncertainty. 'I am the way, the truth and the ife,' is a compendious lesson, a holy limit; and no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.'

"I quarrel with none about forms, or differng in non-essentials, but this is the one certain irection, the consecrated path to salvation, hrough the divine lawgiver; and if happily ttended to, all will be well here and forever!

"Thou and thine are dear to my best and ffectionate feelings; write to me freely if so nclined, I should be glad to hear from, and be emembered by thee, and am thy sincere friend,

MARY DUDLEY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Visit to some parts of England, subsequent domestic affliction, family visit in Waterford, and journey into Leinster province, from Fifth month 1802, *to Twelfth month* 1804.

BELIEVING it her duty to pay a religious visit to some of the eastern and southern parts of England, my dear mother obtained the concurrence of her own Monthly and Quarterly Meetings; and leaving home the 8th of the fifth month, reached London on the 16th.—She was favoured to attend all the sittings of the Yearly Meeting, and often qualified by her great Master for sharing in the active services of that solemnity.

She afterwards attended the Quarterly Meetings for Suffolk and Norfolk, as well as many of the particular meetings in those counties, and also in Essex; and held numerous public meetings, to the relief of her own mind and satisfaction of others. In these engagements she was accompanied by her friends Mary Savory and John Bevans, and occasionally by Samuel Alexander. She returned to London in time for the Quarterly Meeting there, and was afterwards closely engaged for several weeks in the city and neighbourhood, visiting particular and Monthly Meetings; the families belonging to that of Ratcliffe; and having a large number of public meetings, wherein as among her fellow professors, she was strengthened to exalt the testimony of pure truth, and powerfully to advocate the cause of her Redeemer. While thus employed she writes as follows:

——— "The line of my small engagements is no pleasant one, I assure thee, nor can it be so to the exercised traveller, in this day of treading down and of perplexity. Life seems low every where, and perhaps there has hardly been a time when the opposition to its arising, and consequent struggle before liberty can be obtained, were so sensibly felt: so that it is no wonder if through the prevalence of a wasting, separating spirit, the communication in the line of ministry should be of a more searching kind than has been needful in past times. Oh! how is the very life wounded by the Herod-like nature in the minds of many. It is indeed a favour to get to some quiet retreat, where an excuse from feelings of this sort is afforded, though only to partake of the fellowship of suffering with the mourners in Zion, who are greatly bowed down, because of the things which have happened and are happening. It is, however, a great mercy to find that under such exercises, a degree of holy certainty is vouchsafed, and the belief confirmed, that although unpleasant bread may be given to distribute, it is of the Lord's preparing, who having graciously helped, ought to be depended on through all. I hope I am endeavouring not to eat the bread of idleness, however small my ability for availing labour, or undeserving I feel of a crumb from the Master's table."

While in London my beloved mother was much tried with illness, and frequently confined, after any particular exertion, for many days together, so that as the season advanced she began to be anxious for a return home, and was thankful when she felt easy to set forward about the middle of the tenth month.

Relative to her engagements after leaving London, she seems only to have preserved the following brief observations.

——— "Fourth-day, the 14th of tenth month, 1802, we went to High Wycomb, where we were cordially received at the house of our dear friend, Adey Bellamy.

"Sixth-day evening had a meeting at Beaconsfield, about six miles distant; it was held in a room at an inn, and proved a solid satisfactory season. A. B. was well concerned in the line of ministry. The forenoon meeting at Wycomb on first-day, was very exercising. Information being circulated, a considerable number of the inhabitants collected with Friends at three o'clock, and we were favoured with a very relieving, solemn opportunity, though the labour was trying to my poor body. A time of retirement with our little company, in the evening, was productive of increasing peace, and proved a memorable parting with some beloved connections, including Joseph and Mary Savory, who had come from London to take leave of us.

"Second-day, the 19th. After another religious sitting in the family, we left Wycomb and got that night to Reading, where there was a fresh experience of conflicting exercise from some unseen cause; but in the morning of third-day, a town we had passed through sprang up to view, and we returned to Henley; attended the usual meeting there on fourth-day,

and though the number was small, there were among them such as felt of the wrestling seed, to whom encouragement flowed, and the recompense of peace was afforded for the return thither. Went again to Reading that afternoon, and attended meeting there on fifth-day, when such awful views were presented to my tried mind, that I did not marvel at the previous baptism as into the cloud. Ah! how various are the lets and hindrances to spiritual advancement! the world, the flesh, and the evil one, opposing the work which the Lord mercifully begins in meetings and individuals, and from one step to another introducing into darkness and death. On this account my soul mourned in this meeting, yet through honest labour I was favoured with relief, but not refreshment, a rare enjoyment in the present trying day.

"We reached Bath on seventh-day afternoon, where I was confined several days by severe indisposition, but through divine favour was enabled to attend meeting on fifth-day, notice of which had been given to some of the inhabitants, and though fewer came than was desirable, it proved a solid, relieving season.

"First-day, 21st, sat both meetings at Bristol in a state of suffering silence; attended the burial of an old and dear friend, Joan Holbrow, and paid a visit to some of the mourners in the afternoon.

"Second-day, sat the Monthly Meeting at Frenchay; fourth, had a public meeting at Thornbury, and went from thence to our friend John Lury's, where we spent a day or two. First-day attended the two meetings at Bristol, where, in the evening, a little ability was granted vocally to pray for the deliverance of such, as are oppressed by the darkness which is so prevalent in that meeting, and afterwards to express a few words of encouragement to an exercised and tried remnant. Second-day evening a portion of comfort was administered, in a solemn opportunity with a large company at the house of my beloved friend, George Fisher; and on third-day I was enabled by close exercise to gain some relief in the meeting at Bristol. It was a season laborious both to body and mind, but one that affords satisfaction in the retrospect; and indeed this little visit altogether has been particularly satisfactory; with some it has felt like a final parting, and the recollection of having once more met will, I believe, afford mutual comfort."

The apprehension just mentioned, proved correct, this being the last visit my dear mother paid to her native city, and several of her dear and long known friends were pretty soon afterwards removed by death.

From Bristol she crossed the New-passage into Wales, and attended meetings in the way to Milford, whence she sailed for Ireland; and was favoured to reach her own abode in safety near the end of the eleventh month, though in a very broken state of health, and under considerable depression of mind, from a settled belief that some heavy trials were impending. This view soon became painfully realized, and her affectionate feelings were keenly wounded by the death of several near relatives occurring in quick succession, so that the first few months of 1803 were signally marked by sorrow and bereavements.

The summer was chiefly passed under the pressure of bodily suffering, which was at times so severe as to induce the apprehension that the season of full deliverance was at hand; while at others, her mind was still so exercised for the advancement of truth and righteousness, that it felt as though further labour would be allotted her: and in the depths of affliction she was given not only to behold 'fields white unto harvest,' but afresh to surrender herself, when the Lord might utter His command, to enter into these and work; being favoured with resignation to the will of her divine Master, whether as to life or death.

In the second month, 1804, she went to Waterford, in order to perform some religious service, which she had long had a prospect of, both among Friends and others within those borders. The following extracts from her letters contain an account of this visit.

——— "I have cause to be humbly thankful for the meeting yesterday; the covering of solemnity was sensibly prevalent over the assembly, and there were many serious seeking minds present, who I trust were not discouraged; while relief was afforded to my exercised spirit, though I believe its struggles respecting this service are not at an end; for I apprehended from the first feeling about coming here, that the line of my duty would be as much towards others, as the members of our own Society; and my view respecting families is rather confined to those lately married, new settlers, and young people in large families.

"The meeting this day was exercising but solemn; several who attended yesterday were there: a late fashionable but now thoughtfully concerned person, and her daughter like minded, who are rich in this world, were at both meetings, and called at my lodgings after. For those who may be termed 'other sheep,' I feel deeply, and am sensible of life being raised by the addition of such panting souls to our assemblies: these, whether of us, or under whatever name, will be cared for; they will be led to rivers of refreshing water, and nourished up unto everlasting life.

"This has been, like the others, a laborious week; but I desire to take every step manifested as the line of duty, and though run down in

strength am wonderfully supported: memorable is the Lord's goodness to my exercised mind. I never remember a more proving season to me in this line of service, nor is the labour attended with much hope, save that an increase of peace is humbly hoped for, and perhaps a little addition of strength to sustain future trials may be mercifully bestowed."

After an interruption of the engagement by a heavy cold, which confined her some days, she writes:

——— "My late indisposition has impeded the work, but being in the will of Him who knows what is best, I ought to be content, and I am very tenderly cared for, many ways. I attended the Monthly Meeting to-day; the first sitting was a season of some labour, and a visit to the men's meeting not less trying to body and mind; but these exercises feel a part of the allotted burden in this place, where in a spiritual sense, small indeed are my portions of pleasant bread.

"The labours of the last week have sensibly exhausted me, yet I got to meeting yesterday, and was mercifully strengthened to clear out in such a way that I trust much more is not likely to be called for in this line, while here. I hope I shall long gratefully remember the meeting last evening; one so large and quiet had scarcely been known here; and I think the covering of solemnity increased to the last. In both instances gracious help and relief of mind were afforded, to the bowing of my soul in reverent thankfulness: and only for the Monthly Meeting to-morrow, and wishing to see an individual or two lately come home, I believe I might have comfortably left Waterford."

She had opportunities with the individuals alluded to, and was enabled to perform some other religious service to her additional relief and satisfaction, besides attending the Monthly Meeting, and returned home the latter end of the third month with feelings of peaceful poverty; which she often spoke of as a sufficient recompense for any labour she might be engaged in.

Before leaving home to attend the Yearly Meeting in Dublin this year, my dear mother obtained the concurrence of her friends for some religious service to which she apprehended herself called in the province of Leinster; and while in the metropolis she wrote as follows:

——— "Sadness and silent mourning have been mostly my lot, and the labour assigned is of a close and arduous kind. According to my feelings things are sorrowfully low, and in the various sittings life has been sensibly oppressed; yet a sense of continued mercy has sustained, and in knowing that we, as a people, still have a gracious and long suffering Father to do with, faith in His love is renewed, and the hope of a revival amongst us at times consoles.

"The afternoon meeting on first-day was deferred till six o'clock, and notice circulated among those not in profession with Friends. At the hour appointed a large number assembled, and an evident covering of solidity prevailed in time of silence, to which I was strengthened to bear testimony; being made consolingly sensible that there were present, seeking, upright minds, to whom was held forth the nature of a worship, unmixed and acceptable in the sight of divine purity. I have reason to acknowledge that so far the Lord hath helped, to His name alone be the praise!

"The meeting on third-day was a truly exercising season, yet one which left me considerably relieved, and free to depart; which I esteem a favour, whether any fruits of the labour be seen or not. It was altogether a day of solemnity, other seasons occurring which were owned by feelings not at our command, and which ought to produce thankfulness."

On leaving Dublin the 10th of fifth month, she was accompanied by Susanna Hill, a dear friend and fellow minister who felt inclined to join her, and proved not only a kind and affectionate helper, but a valuable associate in the labour that succeeded; respecting which the following account is taken from my dear mother's letters.

——— "The Monthly Meeting at Carlow on sixth-day was tolerably attended by such as have not given up the practice, and was a suffering time. S. Hill exercised her acceptable gift in a short testimony, and the first sitting closed with supplication. I was soon attracted to the men's meeting, and there as well as among my sisters was relieved by communicating what oppressed me, notwithstanding life was low. Friends in these parts who are concerned for the cause of Truth, and take any share in maintaining the discipline, are greatly to be felt for.

"We went to meeting at Kilconnor on first-day morning; I believe the members generally got out, and there were also some others of different professions. It was a season of trying exercise, as might be expected among such as have evidently joined with the spirit, customs and fashions of this world, in appearance, I think to an uncommon degree; but I was mercifully relieved of a burden very heavy to bear, and for this I desire to be thankful. We returned to Carlow, where I had requested the afternoon meeting might be postponed, and an invitation given to the inhabitants. At half-past five, many not in profession with us, as well as most who attend meetings, assembled;

and this also proved a time of labour, so that I felt weary enough in body, though supported to my admiration.

"There are very few of our name at Athy, but several solid persons attended the usual week-day meeting, which was a solemn season; yet my mind was not relieved without having one of a more public kind appointed for the next morning. This may be acknowledged as a very favoured time. A large number of serious persons were present from among the Methodists, and Evangelical Society; one of their preachers, and a clergyman with his wife, &c. I trust the precious cause was not injured, while ability was renewedly given to proclaim the doctrines of the unchangeable gospel, and my mind felt so relieved that I could have left the place; but we had reason to be satisfied with that evening's detention. The preacher of the Evangelical Society already mentioned, came to our lodgings, with whom I was very unexpectedly led to enter upon some points of doctrine held by that sect. I do not remember when a conversation of such sort left me more satisfied, or in the retrospect afforded greater confirmation to the belief, that however the Christian world is separated into various forms, there is, when impartially inquired into, less real difference than we are aware of. This man seems on ground becoming a professor of the one faith, and breathing a spirit which would not exclude any, but longs for all to be gathered to the teachings of the true Shepherd. I was uncommonly thoughtful about him next morning, and felt desirous for another interview, but supposed he had gone off early: on coming down I found he had so designed, but inclining to call in at T. Chandlee's missed the boat. We breakfasted together, and a season to be thankfully commemorated succeeded, under which covering we took leave of one who had been made dear to our best feelings; he saying that he was 'thankful to that adorable providence which had cast his lot there that week, and brought us to be acquainted.'

"We reached Roscrea seventh-day afternoon; the meeting on first-day morning was a trying one; the world is a cloud to our assemblies, and the concerns of it a bar to the growth of vital religion. A public meeting in the evening was largely attended, but the people being evidently under the feeling of expectation, and not gathered in mind, caused the labour to be proportionally arduous. At length, however, a precious covering was spread, and the meeting closed under a thankful sense of divine goodness.

"We were detained on second-day by very heavy rain, but had some seasons of religious retirement in the families of our friends; and on third-day after a solemn and relieving opportunity in the house of our cousin E. D., set out with a kind friend W. N., who had accompanied and staid with us; reached Colerain, his place of residence, to tea, and on fourth-day attended the Monthly Meeting at Mountrath. The first sitting was low and exercising, a silent and painful travail of spirit being our portion. In the women's meeting we endeavoured honestly to discharge what we conceived our duty; and though great dismay seems almost to overspread many rightly concerned minds, yet I think there was a sweet solemn influence to be felt, and the business was conducted in a solid manner. We visited our brethren, and with them had a time of close exercise, but relieving to both of us."

After this meeting, an illness under which my dear mother had been suffering for several days became so oppressive, that she was compelled to lie by for a day or two, and not getting better deemed it most prudent to return home. She accordingly left Mountrath on second-day, and travelling slowly reached her own house the following evening, 29th of fifth month, greatly indisposed; but with thankfulness of mind for the favour of being restored to her husband and children, and a peaceful retrospect of having pursued the path of manifested duty as far as health was afforded. She continued very unwell for many weeks, her complaint proving something of a slow bilious fever, which she thought was in a great measure induced by sleeping in a room that had been newly painted.

In the twelfth month she passed a few weeks in Cork, visiting Friends, and some of other denominations, in what appeared to her the line of religious duty, and having two public meetings, besides several for different classes in our own Society. The service, though of an exercising kind, proved peculiarly relieving, so that she felt thankful for having been enabled to use the small portion of faith wherein she had entered upon this 'work and labour of love.'

CHAPTER XIV.

Religious Visit to some parts of Leinster and Munster—Illness in the family, and death of her Husband and Son. From Second month, 1805, to Twelfth month, 1807.

In the second month, 1805, she obtained liberty from the Monthly Meeting for the performance of some religious service within the limits of her own Quarterly Meeting, and at Ross, in the county of Wexford; respecting which the following particulars are extracted from her letters and memoranda.

"Youghal, Second month 9th, 1805.

——— "The meeting here on fourth-day was a solemn, relieving season, rather unusually so. Several not in profession with us were there, and I ventured to appoint a public meeting for next day, which was a very favoured time. Those present behaved solidly, and were of a description towards whom much liberty was felt in preaching the gospel, and for whom I trust prayer was acceptably made. I was more than satisfied, as I have had cause to be, through gracious unmerited regard, at different seasons, since coming here. A solid young man who has attended meetings for a year past, was with us last evening, to my comfort, and I hope his also.

——— "Yesterday, the 18th, was fully occupied with two laborious meetings in Cork, the first unusually so. Many of different religious denominations were present at the second meeting, but I felt excused from appointing one of a more public kind, which I esteem a favour; the time was altered an hour, as the morning meeting held long. This day the meeting at Castle Martyr was held at twelve o'clock, in a room over the market-house. I was relieved by this opportunity with the people, though the veil which seems indeed thick over the minds of many, causes the labour to be hard, and at times attended with but little hope. Yet if the line of duty so open, it ought to be simply followed, and the help mercifully vouchsafed is enough to stimulate to steady obedience.

"The meetings at Glanmire and Middleton were satisfactory, and as the inhabitants of Riverstown were invited when that at Glanmire was held, relief of mind respecting that place also was obtained; and visits to some public institutions in the neighbourhood were also productive of peace.

"Third month 7th, left home for Waterford, and on the 8th attended the usual meeting there, a very low season to the travailing seed. 10th. A suffering meeting, but through an acceptable testimony life was a little raised, and supplication poured forth. Several solid persons came to the afternoon meeting, which was a time of some relief, but the views being too much outward, tended to check the rising of the pure spring.

"On the 11th, went to Ross, sat in the families of Friends there, and on fifth-day had notice circulated of a public meeting at eleven o'clock, to which an apparently serious company of the genteeler class came. It was a memorable season indeed; a preciously solemn influence being prevalent, and much liberty felt in proclaiming the way of life and salvation. At the conclusion of the meeting, Friends were desired to remain, and a time of relief ensued with them collectively.

"This long impending visit to Ross was comfortably accomplished, and I left the place peacefully, under the consoling belief that the Lord is raising the standard of His power in many minds, by bowing to which some who were not a people are become His, and bringing forth fruits acceptable in His holy sight.

"Returned to Waterford on the 16th, and next day sat a low suffering meeting again with Friends there. Oh! the want of that spiritual exercise which would bring down the blessing, not only upon the head of Aaron, but every class of the people. In the afternoon meeting, the remembrance of Elijah's sufferings was awful, yet encouraging to the partakers of his spirit; and liberty was felt in saluting this description of the people, under a view of what the ministry, the state of eldership, yea, of all called to active service in the church, should, and might be. Close doctrine also flowed to the worldly-minded, the supine and unwatchful in spirit; but with how little hope does the poor servant sometimes labour, having as it were to plough up as he goes over the ground, instead of finding it in a softened, prepared state. Faith was, however, renewed, and the reaching forth of a love precious to feel, led to the appointment of a public meeting for the following evening. This was largely attended by persons of various professions, and ability mercifully extended to proclaim the doctrine of free and universal redemption through Christ Jesus. Somewhat of a different spirit was to be felt, even a degree of that which leads to a judging and reasoning down the simplicity of the pure unchangeable gospel. But while the mysteries of the everlasting kingdom are hidden from the wise and prudent, they are still revealed unto babes, the humble and the contrite; a precious remnant of whom could be saluted in the prevalence of love and life, and at the conclusion praise waited in Zion and thanksgiving was poured forth in the congregation. May the vessel, (altogether unworthy such refreshing influence,) be preserved by Him who can only keep it in sanctification and fitness to receive renewed fillings, or bear resignedly the emptyings which Infinite Wisdom may appoint, that the Lord may be all in all for evermore. Amen and amen!

"Third month, 21st. Left Waterford for Pilltown, where a meeting was held at twelve o'clock. It was attended by a considerable number of serious Protestants, and a few Roman Catholics, and proved a time of remarkable solemnity. The people appeared to be measurably acquainted with the nature of spiritual worship, so that way readily opened for the gospel message, which through the renewings of holy help was proclaimed to some happily alive to its power.

"The succeeding day there was a meeting in the village of Portlaw, with a large company of very quiet orderly people; many having left their ploughs and other employments to come at the invitation of Friends. This season was also memorably owned by the spreading of the holy wing, and my spirit, with that of others present, bowed in thankfulness to the author of all good. A clergyman who was at the meeting came afterwards to see us, and expressed satisfaction at having been there; making observations which affected me greatly, as evidencing an increase of that glorious light which is opening the spirituality of religion, where education and long habit had strengthened prejudice against it.

"I returned home next day, the 23rd of third month, and was favoured to find all well, which I had been helped to leave under the great Shepherd's care, to whom be the praise of His own works, and conducting, preserving goodness, now and for ever!"

Soon after her return home, my dear mother became indisposed with an affection of the lungs, and was wholly confined for several months, during which time she was brought very low both in body and mind; several afflicting circumstances in her family, and the circle of her friends, combining to mark the remainder of this year, and nearly the whole of the following, as a period of peculiar trial. For many months her own habitation presented a scene of sickness and sorrow, she and her daughter Hannah being ill at the same time, and confined in separate chambers, unable to see each other, and for a while with but little prospect of either being restored.

In the sixth month 1806, a bitter cup was administered in the decease of my dear brother Robert, who had resided for some time at a distance from his near connexions; and being removed after only a few hours illness, the stroke was indeed heavy, and as such keenly felt.

He was the last of five sons whom she had taken the charge of on her marriage, and being the first who addressed her by the endearing appellation of mother, and very affectionate in his behaviour, he had always been peculiarly near to her; though her love and tender care were uniformly manifested towards each of them; while, on their part, an attentive and respectful demeanour has frequently induced her to observe, with grateful emotion, that she never desired more affectionate or dutiful conduct from her own children, than what she received from some of her adopted sons.

When she had herself become a parent, she was so circumspect in preventing any discernible difference, that it was not until after the death of several of the former family, the younger part had any idea that such a distinction existed. She found one of her husband's sons far gone in a consumption, who died the year after her marriage at about the age of thirteen years; and another sweet youth was taken off before he attained that of twenty. The eldest, a valuable religious character, married agreeably, and seemed likely to possess length of days, but being attacked with rheumatic fever, his constitution rapidly sunk, and exactly fourteen weeks from the day of his marriage his remains were consigned to the grave. These three she had the satisfaction of attending to the last, as they all died under the parental roof, and bore ample testimony to the tenderness and unremitting care of their anxious mother.

Nor was this less the case with one who lived many years longer, and experienced her kind and efficient help under a suffering and tedious illness, which at length terminated in his death in the year 1801, at Clifton. When informed that his little children were taken charge of, in order to set his wife at liberty to visit and stay with him, he spoke of this last act of his dear mother's as crowning her invariable kindness, and calling forth from him lively feelings of gratitude.

In the third month 1807, she spent a week or two in Cork, feeling bound to sit a few meetings with Friends there, and also to encourage some who were appointed to perform a family visit by joining in a few of the first sittings. She afterwards obtained from her own Monthly Meeting a certificate for some religious service among Friends, as well as those of other professions in Leinster and Munster, and after attending the National Yearly Meeting in Dublin, had a public meeting in that city, and thence proceeded to Mount Mellick. Her friend Jane Jacob was united with her in this engagement, of which the following account is transcribed from my dear mother's letters.

——— "In the meeting at Mount Mellick on first-day morning, a lively offering was the means of raising life, and opening the way for my relief in a considerable degree. The afternoon meeting was not so large as it might have been if Friends had a little more faith; but fearing the people could not be accommodated they were too confined in the notice they circulated, so that although a solid time, it was not so fully relieving as I wished.

"The meeting at Portarlington on second-day was one worthy of being remembered with gratitude; and one at Maryborough, held in the Sessions-house, on fourth-day evening, was uncommonly large, quiet, and mercifully owned by the precious influence of good. A large portion of vocal exercise fell to my lot, and the attention evinced while the doctrines of the gospel were unfolded, encouraged the belief that

in many hearts the ground is preparing for the reception of the heavenly seed. The season terminated with humble acknowledgment of the Lord's continued favour; many looked at and spoke to us so kindly, that it was manifest they received us in love.

"The usual meeting at Mountrath was deferred to twelve o'clock on fifth-day, and an invitation circulated among the inhabitants; many solid persons attended, and He who prepareth the heart, and from whom is the answer of the tongue, strengthened for the work which He required. At the conclusion, such as were in profession with us were requested to remain, and a time of labour succeeded which proved relieving to my mind.

"Sixth-day we went to Rosenallis, where a barn had been nicely fitted up, and a meeting appointed for the evening. It was nearly filled, principally with those of the labouring classes, while some few of a different description were present; and though it is not remembered by any Friends here that a meeting has been held in this place before, yet the manner of the people sitting, was like those who were well acquainted with silent waiting. Their minds felt in such a prepared state, that it was no wonder a gracious provider should see meet to afford something for their refreshment, which I trust was the case; and the labour was attended with a hope that it would not be all in vain. The manner of their withdrawing from the meeting was solemn, and I heard no word spoken, nor saw any one even whispering: a good lesson for us after solid meetings, to keep in quiet and digest what hath been given.

"The morning meeting at Mount Mellick on first-day, the 17th of fifth month, was exercising as to what appeared my duty in it. I had hoped that the meeting, though thinly attended the week before, would have relieved me without a second attempt; but at the close of the morning meeting I found otherwise, and therefore had notice given of one for six in the evening, which with one held in a Methodist meeting-house at Monastereven, was large, and both proved solemn and relieving seasons. Feeling my heart attracted to a small place called Castletown, where many genteel people reside, a few Friends went to try for a place; but no suitable one presenting, I felt desirous of information being circulated in the town that a meeting would be held in our meeting-house at Mountrath. This answered the purpose, and we were favoured with a very precious opportunity indeed, many coming from Castletown a mile and a half distant, and some from a mile or two beyond it; and I believe the gospel message was thankfully received, under which feeling, and after solemn thanksgiving, we parted."

On her way home she had a meeting at Kilkenny, which tended to her further relief; and in the sixth month she again set out with the same companion for Limerick, joining her beloved friends Deborah Darby and Rebecca Byrd, in a public meeting at Caher, and another at Tipperary, on the way. In Limerick she felt bound to visit the families of Friends, respecting which service and other religious engagements, she thus writes:

——— "The path of public meetings is trying, but family visiting is the hardest by far. Ah! it is lamentable to feel how the precious seed is oppressed almost every where, while many who have not our privileges would thankfully partake of even the least of them.

"The meeting on first-day evening was largely attended by the upper class of inhabitants, several clergymen, the mayor, recorder, &c. being present. It was mercifully owned by the sweet influence of divine regard, under which ability was graciously vouchsafed for the appointed work; and a sustaining hope attended, that the precious cause of Truth and righteousness was not injured by the humble advocate, and that the efforts to promote it would not be altogether lost.

"In the meeting on first-day morning we passed through much close exercise. There is a variety of ground on which labour is to be bestowed; and truly there is a very hard soil in the minds of many professors of the pure truth; but it felt like getting through the work, the sense whereof was thankfully accepted.

"Having felt much respecting Adair, a village eight miles from Limerick, I was not satisfied to defer the visit there longer than first-day afternoon: we therefore went soon after meeting, and I. M. H. having written to a serious clergyman on the subject, we found a large room preparing and the meeting appointed for five o'clock. He came to see us a little before the time, and some interesting conversation occurred; but the season was too limited for all he appeared anxious to know or say, and we went to meeting, where a large number of solid people assembled. The stillness was remarkable, and the doctrines of the gospel seemed to have ready entrance into prepared minds, as Truth qualified for declaring them. My soul was bowed in thankful acknowledgment of divine mercy, and we separated from this simple, religiously disposed company, under the impression of much love. They are called Palatines, being mostly descendants of Germans; they are generally farmers, who live in a neat and comfortable manner.

"Fourth-day at twelve o'clock, a meeting was held at Castleconnell; it was, to my feelings, an awful season. The room was crowded with different descriptions, some giddy and thoughtless, many disposed to be solid, two

clergymen, and several of a superior class of the inhabitants; but a large number of such as know little beyond getting within sound of the voice, unsettled and at times disturbing to others; but gracious help was near, and we had reason to be thankful, whether the labour prove availing or not."

Before leaving Limerick, she addressed the following letter to the clergyman at Adair.

"Limerick, Sixth month 22nd, 1807.

"Dear Friend,

"I regretted that we were so limited for time, yesterday, as to prevent our further acquaintance with each other's sentiments in the line of free communication, to which thou appeared inclined; and wherein as far as I might be enabled and at liberty, I should have willingly met thee, believing it is consistent with the duty we owe one to another, to 'be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear.' I believe when this is done in the spirit of love, which is that of the gospel, it will not have a tendency to raise a wall of separation; but even when we do not think exactly alike on some points, draw us nearer to that source of light and life, wherein the one blessed state of Christian unity is attained, and the acknowledgment produced that to such as believe, to the saving of the soul, there is but 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism.' I doubt not thou earnestly desires that this precious experience may be that of thousands, and tens of thousands, yea, that 'the earth may be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.' I can fully unite herein, and believe assuredly that the God of universal love and mercy, is bringing many to the knowledge of that salvation so freely and fully offered; and also preparing many instruments who, in His holy hand, will be used in forwarding the great work which is evidently on the wheel of divine power. When led to contemplate this, I frequently consider that in order to be made as polished shafts in His quiver, such must abide in patient submission to His preparing, qualifying power, and wisely learn the times and seasons, which being in the heavenly Father's hand, are in His wisdom, measured out, and prove, by His blessing, times of refreshing from His holy presence.

"These remarks I had not a view of making when I took up my pen, just to say I sincerely wished thee well, and the Lord's cause well, in that and every part of His habitable earth; but having moved in the liberty which I trust the truth warrants, I hope it may not be unacceptable to thee, from whom in the same, I should be well pleased to hear at any time, shouldst thou feel inclined to write to me. I herewith send, and request thy kind acceptance of two little tracts, which I consider instructively explanatory of the religious principles professed by us as a Society: and with sentiments of esteem and gospel love, I am thy sincerely well wishing friend. MARY DUDLEY."

A visit to the families in Youghal succeeded her engagements at Limerick, and she also held several public meetings there, and in the city of Cork; respecting these services she observes.

——— "I have struggled on under a weight of bodily oppression, but faith is, at times, mercifully victorious over the weakness of the flesh and spirit. So doth our gracious helper fulfil His own promise, and evince His power in the needed time.

"My conflicts have not been small for right direction, and I wish for the clothing of resignation, though my own will may be more and more crucified. Some seasons were in a very particular manner owned by the diffusion of solemn influence; and while I have a humble hope that the precious cause of Truth has not suffered, I do gratefully accept the feeling of release from this part of the vineyard."

My beloved mother returned home from this journey early in the eighth month, with a relieved and peaceful mind; but under such a sense of impending affliction as made her frequently sad, and induced the expression of a settled belief that something peculiarly trying to her nature was at hand. It was not long before her habitation became the scene of awful calamity; her beloved husband, the only son who was at home, and her eldest daughter, being attacked at almost the same instant with symptoms of fever. The latter, and another who subsequently caught the disease, were pretty soon restored, but to the two former, it pleased Divine Providence to make this illness the means of translation to another state of being.

She was wonderfully supported during the long season of anxiety and fatigue which fell to her lot; her bodily and mental powers seeming to be renewed day by day, as she watched the declining strength, and ministered to the wants of her affectionate and tenderly beloved husband, who survived his son three weeks, and was favoured to make a happy and peaceful close on the 14th of the twelfth month, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Although his bodily sufferings were at times great, yet he was preserved in remarkable patience, and enabled to contemplate his departure from the world with resignation and composure; whilst he frequently testified, that his faith and hope were founded on the mercy and merits of his Redeemer. He derived much comfort from the holy Scriptures, and the 12th chapter of the Epistle

to the Hebrews afforded him such peculiar encouragement, that during the last few days of his life, he repeatedly desired it might be read to him, dwelling in an especial manner upon the following verses: 'But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.' This gracious declaration he was favoured to feel so applied to his own soul, that death was disarmed of its sting; and he several times said, that through the rich mercy of God in Christ Jesus, the king of terrors was not such to him.

The fruits of Christian faith and resignation were instructively manifested under this afflictive bereavement; for while the loss was deeply wounding to her affectionate feelings, and after a union of thirty years, my beloved mother found herself, 'a widow indeed, and desolate,' she was mercifully enabled to trust in God; and so to supplicate for His saving help, that instead of sinking into gloomy sorrow she was qualified to comfort her children, and set them an animating example of humble acquiescence with the divine will, and diligent attention to the performance of social and religious duties.

CHAPTER XV.

Family Visit at Clonmel—Death of her daughter—Removal to London—Visit to Friends of Southwark Monthly Meeting—Journey into Dorset and Hants—Religious service within the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex. From Twelfth month 1807, to the end of 1814.

My dear mother had for several years believed that her measure of gospel labour in Ireland was nearly filled up, and her husband uniting in the desire of a removal to England, they had for a considerable time contemplated this change, and were arranging for its accomplishment when he was attacked with the disease which terminated in his death. This awful event rather tended to confirm her feelings; and the sense of release from that part of the vineyard was accompanied by a belief, that she should be called to labour in different parts of her native country, while she clearly saw that the place of her future abode ought to be within the limits of the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex.

During the last two years of her residence in Clonmel, she frequently mentioned feeling herself but as a sojourner, and waiting for the season of departure. In the meantime she paid a religious visit to the families of her own Monthly Meeting, wherein she was joined by her dear niece and child in the gospel, Hannah Grubb, who lived but a few years afterwards.

The necessary preparations for so important a removal occupied more time than was anticipated; and before these were completed, it pleased Infinite Wisdom again to diminish the family circle, and keenly try the tender feelings of this affectionate mother, by depriving her of a much beloved daughter; one who at the age of twenty-five, and with qualities rendered increasingly valuable by being submitted to the regulating influence of religion, was an endeared companion and friend, as well as an attentive and dutiful child.

She had long suffered from ill health, but was so much benefited by spending the summer of 1809 in the neighbourhood of a chalybeate spring, that the impending voyage and journey were looked to as a probable means of completely restoring her. Such, however, was not the will of Him who only knows what is best for His creatures; and to the praise of His great name it may be recorded, that under this deeply proving affliction the Lord granted adequate support. To this the bereaved parent was strengthened to testify at the grave of her precious child; and near the spot where the remains of her husband and son had been recently laid, poured forth the humble acknowledgment of her soul to Him who had been her refuge in many troubles, and was then sustaining in holy confidence, and granting resignation to His will.

The attendance of the Quarterly Meeting, held at Waterford in the tenth month 1810, was the concluding service of my beloved mother in the nation of Ireland, where she had resided thirty-three years, and left a great number of dear and valuable friends. The separation from these was sensibly felt on both sides, but the bond of Christian union which had been experienced with some, was such as neither time nor distance could destroy; and to the end of her days, she was frequently animated with the feeling of this gospel fellowship, while many in that land have testified that to them her memory is precious.

She arrived in London with her family, early in the eleventh month; and took up her abode within the compass of Southwark Monthly Meeting, to which she was soon after recommended by certificate.

The first religious service for which my dear mother obtained the concurrence of this Monthly Meeting, was a visit to the families compos-

ing it. In this extensive and important work she was joined by her friend and fellow member, J. H. and neither of them being able to move on rapidly, it was a considerable time going forward; but through merciful assistance was ultimately accomplished to their relief and peace.

She also held public meetings in various parts of the city and neighbourhood, feeling her heart enlarged in gospel love, and some of the prospects under which she had been long exercised so matured, that it felt as though her time and strength were to be wholly devoted to the service of her Lord.

In the summer of 1812 she was much tried with illness, and but partially recovered when she laid before her Monthly meeting a concern to visit Friends and others, in Dorsetshire and Hampshire. She left home the 18th of the eighth month, and returned the 5th of the tenth, having travelled above four hundred and sixty miles, and held twenty public meetings, besides attending all belonging to Friends in those counties, and paying family visits in most of the places visited.

For these various services my beloved mother was strengthened beyond her expectation, and the following is transcribed from a short account of the whole.

——— "In retracing the merciful dealings of the Almighty throughout this journey, it may be thankfully acknowledged, that although many close exercises, and deeply proving baptisms, have been experienced, yet holy help has been so graciously vouchsafed, as to produce the tribute of gratitude to Him, who has indeed been strength in weakness."

In the eleventh month she performed a visit to the families of Longford Monthly Meeting, and held public meetings in several places, within and near its limits, in which service D. C. was her companion. The following account is taken from her letters, and some short memoranda.

——— "Eleventh month 15th. The meeting at Staines was large for the number of members, and a time of exercise; but there was a door of entrance, and through honest labour life was measurably in dominion, for which thankfulness could be acknowledged; and I trust also access was mercifully vouchsafed to the throne of grace.

"17th. An appointed meeting at Chertsey, held in a dissenting meeting house, proved a season of rather remarkable favour and relief; the pastor was truly kind in his attentions, sitting with us in one of the pews, and at the conclusion evincing much unity and feeling.

"In the evening, a large, solid, and favoured public meeting at Staines, proved a season wherein Truth was mercifully in dominion, for which thanksgiving was I trust, acceptably poured forth.

"First-day, 22nd. Last night we concluded the visit at Staines; it has been an arduous labour of thirty-one sittings. I sometimes feel nearly run down; and at other precious moments, when mercy reigns triumphant, willing to be spent in a cause beyond all things valuable. This day at Brentford there was a large meeting of Friends, and many truly solid persons; whether accidentally coming or not, their company was strengthening, and it was a good and relieving season, attended with peaceful feelings.

"25th. Commenced a family visit at Uxbridge; and on the 27th went to Iver, to an appointed meeting in a room at an inn; many assembled, who were quiet and attentive, but of a less serious class than are sometimes to be met with. I trust no harm was done to the precious cause, which, however feebly advocated, it is the desire of our hearts may be advanced, and the Lord's name exalted.

"29th. A very large meeting of Friends and others who accepted the invitation to join us, and it may be truly said that it proved a day of holy solemnity, a time to be thankfully remembered to the praise of Him who is forever worthy. A renewed favour was granted at the time of the evening sacrifice, with a large company of Friends at our lodgings, which we accepted as a token for good in the retreat from this field of labour, and a parting blessing before leaving some, to whom near and precious sympathy had bound in a feeling beyond the power of expression.

"A meeting at Ripley is fixed for to-morrow; it is heavy in prospect, but surely we may trust a good and gracious Master who has never withheld His assistance, and whose promise remains immutable. 'I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.' Ah! if to the end, in mercy and in love, of what small importance will the conflicts be, should these even reach to this period. 'The Lord sitteth upon the flood, yea, the Lord sitteth King for ever.'

"If we only had a little more faith, what a blessed soaring would there be above the troubles of time; how would the spirit rise into the treasures of eternity, the rich 'inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.' To receive a little renewed capacity to cast a look here, is a great favour; but though it is good, when in the divine will, to be thus helped, the descendings must also be borne; and perhaps we are never so fitted to arise as when we have afresh partaken of a state, where, as at 'the bottom of the mountains, earth with her bars' has been about us, and the head wrapped as with weeds.

Twelfth month 1st. Attended the proposed

eeting at Ripley, which was held in a dissent-
g chapel; it was a solemn relieving time,
nong a people willingly receiving the import-
ıt doctrines of the gospel, as ability for pro-
aiming them was afforded; the pastor, a solid
oking young man cordially shook hands with
s, and desired that the blessing of heavenly
oodness might be ours. What a day of open-
ess and Christian unity is the present!"

The concluding service in this embassy was public meeting at Windsor, which had cost ıy beloved parent much thoughtfulness, and as appointed under a deep sense of its import-nce, and her own insufficiency for any good ord or work. Almighty assistance was, how-ver, proportioned to the occasion, and she thus ılates the fulfilment of what had been a heavy rospect.

——— "To the praise of divine mercy it ay be thankfully acknowledged, that by the ll-sufficient help of a gracious Master, this ng borne burden is removed: this has been a olemn day, a season of renewed goodness, and ne which afresh encourages the hope of con-nued aid, in every remaining step that Infinite Visdom may appoint."

Early in the year 1813, my dear mother btained the necessary concurrence of her riends, for such religious service within the Quarterly meeting of London and Middlesex s she might apprehend herself called to, and e favoured with strength to perform.

Her first engagement was a visit to the fa-nilies which composed the Monthly meeting of Barking, wherein she was accompanied by E. J. F. During this service, she felt her mind ttracted to several places both in the neigh-ourhood of Friends, and where the principles ve profess were but little known, and held nu-nerous public meetings to the relief and com-ort of her exercised spirit, and there is good ground to believe to the help and instruction of thers.

In briefly noticing some of these seasons, he makes the following remarks:

——— "Held a public meeting this evening, n a barn, for the inhabitants of East-Ham, the irst which I have ever ventured to appoint in ı place where opposition was threatened. This vas the case by a magistrate in that parish, ut either from fear, or conviction of being vrong, he was restrained, and the meeting was, hrough divine favour, satisfactory and solemn, eing also largely attended.

"A sweet and precious feeling accompanies he belief, that in some of these little villages here is a people under the gracious care of Is-ael's Shepherd, and whom He is gathering by His almighty arm nigh unto Himself."

After this she was similarly engaged within he precincts of Kingston Monthly meeting, at the termination of which service she writes as follows:

——— "We concluded this work and la-bour of gospel love, by a visit to a family, which completes the fiftieth sitting. I hope that where the seed has been honestly sown, all will not be lost; but that, through the heavenly blessing, some increase may appear; yet, whe-ther this is the case or not, the servant is to re-ceive and follow the word of holy command, and leave the issue to Him who hath all power.

"It has been a field of labour indeed, and also a time of entering into near sympathy with some, who appeared to want strengthening and encouragement, in order that they might mani-fest increasing attachment to the cause of right-eousness, and experience qualification to advo-cate it, according to the purposes of Infinite Wisdom and to their own peace. That no stratagem of the adversary may defeat the Lord's work in any of these, is the earnest de-sire of my spirit."

A visit to the various schools conducted by Friends, in the vicinity of London, constituted part of the present service; and in conjunction with her dear friend Stephen Grellet, she also visited many of the public institutions in the metropolis. She was religiously concerned that the inmates of such charitable asylums, should duly estimate and improve their great advan-tages of leisure, and incitement to gratitude; a feeling which my beloved mother was accus-tomed to represent as worthy of being cherish-ed by young and old, and peculiarly acceptable in the sight of Him from whom every mercy is received.

The annexed letter will not, it is believed, be unsuitably introduced here.

"Camberwell, Sixth month 18th, 1813.

"*To Louis Majolier, and other Friends of the Meetings in the South of France, visited in* 1788.

"I MAY truly say, that although so many years have passed over, and various have been your and my conflicts, beloved friends, many waters have not quenched love; but that this sweetly banding influence, being from time to time renewed, hath made, and still keeps you, as epistles written in my heart; and while there has been no communication with the tongue or pen, desires, yea, fervent prayers have often ascended, that the God of all grace might pre-serve, strengthen and settle you, in the faith of His unchangeable and glorious gospel. This remains the power of God unto salvation to all who happily obey it, though patience, as well as faith, may be closely and painfully proved.

"Trials were part of the legacy which our dear Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, bequeathed to His humble followers. 'In the world ye shall have tribulation;' but ah! my beloved brethren and sisters, in Him the light, life and power, is the treasure of peace, the pearl of great price. In possessing Him as the way, the truth, and the life, in the soul, all is rightly estimated; every sublunary good, or what may be termed evil or afflictive, are kept in their proper subordinate places, and through all and in all, He is the one source of solid hope, the spring of all our help.

"May you grow, then, my dear brethren and sisters, in the root of life, and may this lie so deep, and spread so widely, that the branches may be lively and the fruit abundant, to the Lord's praise.

"I sit up in bed, where illness has kept me some days, just to tell those in that dear nation whom I have seen, and so long loved, that they are truly dear to my heart; as were those who have gone from your little church to that of the first-born in heaven. This feeble but sincere salutation is designed to be handed you by a brother dearly beloved and your countryman, S. G., whose heart the Lord has so enlarged as to make him willing at this time of trial to visit you, and such others as he may be turned towards in the pure disinterested love of the gospel. You will doubtless receive him with gladness, and may you be mutually refreshed and comforted, if it be the will of Him who is thus remembering his flock and family, scattered up and down on the habitable earth. These the Lord is graciously regarding, not only by calling His devoted messengers to run to and fro, and declare His counsel in the ability received, but causing many to know Him by blessed experience, as the everlasting Shepherd, ready to lead beside the still waters, and in the green pastures of spiritual life.

"Such will not want, as they humbly and resignedly follow Him in the paths of righteousness; but through His abundant mercy, when walking through the valley and shadow of death, be preserved from the fear of evil, and feel His rod and staff to support to, and at, the end of all danger, conflict and pain. This is the rich inheritance, my dear brethren and sisters, which I pray we may each of us diligently seek, and happily obtain; then in due season we shall meet where parting can be no more, and unite in the one song of harmonious praise through eternal duration.

"I feel the extension of Christian love to the various classes among you, and with all my heart say farewell in the Lord! Your poor feeble, but affectionate sister,

"MARY DUDLEY."

At the time of the autumn Quarterly meeting, she felt her mind so exercised on account of the young people belonging to it, as to have a meeting appointed specially for them, respecting which she made the following short memorandum.

——— "Ninth month 29th, 1813. A large and truly solemn season with those constituting the class from children to youth, and advancing to maturity. The pins of my enfeebled tabernacle seemed sensibly loosening at that time, yet gracious help was vouchsafed, so that some good relief of mind was obtained, and thankfulness felt for the renewed favour experienced. Strong is the attraction which I feel to this beloved class of the people."

In the Twelfth month she entered upon a visit to some of the families belonging to Devonshire-house meeting, not feeling bound to the whole, nor expecting that bodily strength would admit of extended procedure.

She had been only a few weeks engaged in the service, when a heavy and alarming attack of illness occasioned an interruption, which continued for several months; during which time she was brought very low indeed, and in her own apprehension, and that of most who saw her, not likely to be again equal to much active service. But it pleased Him with whom is all power, to raise her from this state of weakness, and afresh qualify her to advocate His cause.

When sufficiently recovered, the visit already mentioned was resumed, and after having sat in above thirty families, she felt her mind released from the exercise, and adds the following remark to her notice of the last family she visited.

——— "A truly solemn season, confirming in the trust that this warfare was not engaged in at our own cost; but through unmerited mercy, that all things requisite have been vouchsafed, and the blessed experience given in some seasons of refreshing influence, that such as water are watered themselves." In this service she was accompanied by R. C.

While confined by illness from one of our Quarterly meetings about this time, she wrote as follows:

——— "After parting with two of my beloved children this morning, whom I would gladly have accompanied as to a solemn assembly, I was sensible of a degree of overshadowing goodness, under the calming influence whereof I seemed drawn to consider, how at such seasons there might be a profitable mingling in spirit, even under external separation; whereby united prayers might ascend, that the return of these convocations should be holy, like the solemn feasts or fasts divinely appointed, and consecrated to the Lord.

"It appears clear to my best feelings, that if those gathered, and such as are in right ordering personally absent, were first to feel after the renewings of inward strength, bringing their spirits into a state of humble waiting, resignation would be their peaceful covering as individuals, and in proportion to the degree of spiritual life attained to, concern felt that the assemblies might be crowned by the presence of the King Immortal; or if he proved a God hiding himself, that His devoted children might continue the acceptable exercise of faith and patience, until he was pleased to command 'light to shine out of obscurity, and their darkness to be as the noon day.' Yea, such would be encouraged to put up a prayer for the remnant that is left, whether in vocal or mental aspiration, till the Lord turn the captivity of the people generally, and cause a glorious breaking forth as on the right hand and on the left.

"Universal as this desire may be, extending from sea to sea, and from shore to shore, I have been and am now afresh sensible, that there are desires peculiarly earnest for the people among whom we dwell, and bonds of spiritual unity with those of our brethren, who in a measure of pure life, we feel as bone of our bone. While for these the desire is renewedly raised, that each may stand faithfully in their lot, willing to do or suffer according to the divine will; fervent also is the solicitude, that such as have not stept further than the outer court, may be brought under the awakening power of Him who sitteth between the cherubims, and whose name is holy!

"I am thankful to feel, in my secluded state, and while tried with pain hard to nature, but I hope not murmured at, the prevalence of that love which drew me hither; where, as in my home, I feel settled in concern for a Quarterly meeting, large and important, as composed of various members, each designed to fill some place in the militant, and be fitted to join the triumphant, church, when to them time shall be no longer.

"I pray that the harmonizing power of divine love may be so known, as for the great design to be fully answered, and that none may rest in a name, without an experience of the nature of true religion.

"I have viewed mentally an assembly such as our Quarterly meeting, collected under the solemn profession of being spiritual worshippers, sitting in outward silence before the Lord, and apparently waiting only upon Him. Oh, the awfulness wherewith I have often beheld these meetings, while my eye has affected my heart, and the language forcibly arisen, let us be as we appear, let us gather to the Source of unfailing help; fully believing that if all were properly engaged in feeling their wants, and the only way of having them supplied, the united breathing would ascend as pure incense, and the lifting up of the heart be an acceptable sacrifice.

"The Lord is powerfully at work in the earth, operating through various means to effect his unsearchable purposes. Oh! that the respective ranks in a society holding in profession the standard of Truth, the sufficiency of divine light, the necessity of redeeming, sanctifying grace, may not only see, but duly consider, their high and holy calling.

"It is religious consideration which all have need increasingly to dwell under, and were the mind sufficiently withdrawn from sublunary objects, to the contemplation of those which are alone pure and permanent, many would assuredly be prepared in a spiritual sense, to unite in the testimony which was borne on a very inferior occasion, by one coming from far, the one half was not told me. Nay, verily! for had the Lord's messengers 'the tongue of the learned,' or could they utter with angelic power the sensations they may, at times, be favoured with, all would fall short in describing the beauty of Zion, the safety of her inhabitants, and those transcendent pleasures which are at God's right hand. Let the Lord then work in your hearts, beloved young friends, convincing how true substantial rest is to be found, and through converting goodness entered into.

"The choice is left to us all, none will be forced into the path of happiness; but as the awakening attractive influence of divine love is yielded to, and the light which maketh manifest obediently followed, the work of transformation will gradually advance; 'the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness,' will strengthen and mature, until there is a reaching to the fulness of the stature mercifully designed."

After my beloved mother got out to meetings, and was again engaged in active service, she wrote the succeeding observations.

——— "Wonderful have been the dealings of unerring wisdom; marvellously hath the Lord preserved, sustained, and even consoled me, in and through innumerable conflicts of body and mind, and under inexpressibly proving privations. Yea, He hath, to my humbling admiration, made the clouds His chariots, and the sorest afflictions ministers of His will; having in some small proportion to multiplied advantages in the line of suffering, effected submission, and I reverently trust, produced increasing desire to love and serve Him. Yet is my sole reliance placed upon His abundant goodness: here I depend for the gracious acceptance of my feeble efforts to promote His ever

worthy cause, and forgiveness of all omissions and commissions against the pure revealed will of my divine Master.

"Unprofitable servant, is a language I can unequivocally adopt, and if I could sound through the whole earth what is my heartfelt belief, it would be in unison with apostolic declaration, 'Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost.'

"Mercy, mercy is the sum and substance of my hope. The unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus, for the remission of sins, and perfecting the work of preparation for admittance into eternal settlement.

"It is now between forty and fifty years since this ever to be extolled mercy called me from darkness into light, in a spiritual sense, and the Lord was pleased to open the doctrines of the gospel with clearness to my view. I trust I am safe in saying, that since that time I have not dared to call in question the ways of His working, nor to doubt the appointed means of salvation, as revealed when my awakened soul in deep prostration understood the language, and uttered it, A Saviour or I die, a Redeemer or I perish.

"Here conviction and repentance were known to be produced by the efficacious working of the promised gift, and nothing was left to depend upon, but the purchased redemption through the great Sacrifice without, and the sanctifying influence within.

"What God hath thus joined together, none can, without derogating from his power and wisdom, put asunder. I wish to leave the expression of my unshaken faith in the stupendous plan of divine love, as manifested in the incarnation, sufferings, crucifixion, and resurrection of the ever blessed Redeemer. His all-sufficient atonement for the guilt of sin, and continued intercession for poor fallen man; until in the gradual process of regeneration, the dominion over all evil is happily effected, and the great design in man's formation mercifully accomplished, by his experience of full redemption, through the operation of the pure and purifying spirit of Christ.

"As this influence is submitted to, there is a progressive advancement in the divine life, from the state of childhood to that of maturity, and a growing capacity to comprehend 'the deep things of God.' These are internally revealed through communion with Him, the spring and source of all good, when the mind is abstracted from every inferior feeling or consolation, and knows the various streams of comfort to be as it were swallowed up and lost in the ocean of ineffable love.

"Surely the Christian believer is invited to experience redemption, not only from the pollution of sin, the love of the world and its spirit, the false ways and worship of man's ordaining; but from all mixture of creaturely choice, wisdom, or willing. And the heart which unreservedly yields to the refining process, does witness redemption from self-seeking, so as not to be moved by the praise or censure of men, but in humble resignation uniformly breathes the acceptable language, 'Thy will be done.'"

CHAPTER XVI.

Visit to Kent, Surrey and Sussex—Religious service within the Quarterly Meeting of London and Middlesex—Journey into Essex, and Family visit in the meetings of Peel and Westminster—Visit to some parts of Yorkshire—Family visit in Southwark, &c. From Fourth month, 1815, to Twelfth month, 1822.

In the spring of 1815, my beloved mother obtained the necessary concurrence of her own Monthly meeting, for religious service among Friends and those of other denominations, within the bounds of the Quarterly meeting of London and Middlesex, and in the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex.

Although considerably indisposed at the time of entering upon this engagement, she was enabled to perform it without much interruption, and greatly to the relief of her own mind.

In the course of it she travelled upwards of six hundred miles—held about thirty public meetings, many of them in places where none of our Society reside; besides visiting all the meetings of Friends, and most of the families which constitute them, in Kent, Surrey and Sussex.

In some of the public meetings in the vicinity of London, she was joined by her dear friend W. F., whose company and gospel labours were acceptable to her; and it may be safely said, that in her ministerial engagements she always evinced a tender care for the feelings of others, rejoiced in the dedication of her brethren and sisters, and endeavoured to make way for their obtaining relief of mind, in meetings which were appointed at her request.

In the summer of 1816, she paid a religious visit to Friends in Berks and Oxfordshire, holding public meetings in many parts of those counties, and some places in Buckinghamshire. During the following year, she had a large number of public meetings in the city and neighbourhood of London; among these one at the west end of the town, which was held in the Argyle Rooms, and attended by many of the nobility and higher class of society. For

this description of persons my dear mother's mind had been long exercised; but although several meetings had been appointed, with a view to having their company at our own meeting house, no attempt had succeeded so as to relieve her of the burden. Friends of Westminster entered very feelingly into the concern, and many Friends attending from other meetings also, their joint sympathy proved strengthening under the prospect and performance of what she considered an awfully important service; while her spirit bowed in thankful acknowledgment of Almighty help, and the peace which resulted from this sacrifice.

In returning the certificate of her Monthly meeting she wrote as follows:

"*To Friends of the Monthly meeting of Southwark.*

"Dear Friends,—Feeling unequal to the personal attendance of our Monthly meeting, I adopt this method of returning the minute which was kindly issued a long time since, leaving me at liberty to move, in fulfilment of the avowed prospect, as Truth might direct, and health permit. While the latter was favourably afforded, I hope there was attention given to the apprehended discoveries of duty, by appointing many meetings in the city and its vicinity; finding in the general not only a willingness to lend suitable places for such to be held in, but much openness to receive these visits of gospel love, to my humbling relief. I may thankfully acknowledge, that with respect to this engagement a peaceful retrospect is vouchsafed; and as it seems unlikely I should be enabled to avail myself of the liberty given, by attempting further service of this sort at present, I resign the minute; and conclude beloved friends, your very affectionate interested friend, Mary Dudley.

"14th of Twelfth month 1817."

Towards the conclusion of the year she was much confined to the house by illness, and while thus circumstanced wrote some observations relative to the state of her mind, from which the following have been extracted.

——— "When I contemplate the years of deeply trying probation through which I have been sustained, the bereavements dispensed, the anguish experienced, whilst links most tenderly binding to the natural part, and in some instances sweetly cementing to the best feelings, have been severed; what waves have rolled, and billows followed in succession; I may well query where had a stay and support been found but in Him, who under the early visitation of His love was graciously pleased to seal the sacred promise, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.' To the Lord's adorable mercy be it ascribed that He has not left, or I had uttered the reprehensible language, 'what doest thou?' under His dealings with me a poor feeble and naturally erring creature; disposed to 'cleave unto the dust,' and centre in the gifts of divine love.

"The hand of inexplicable wisdom has been laid, in the line of judgment, upon the very closest ties, so that nearly through my pilgrimage thus far, that which clung the nearest has been called for, or crucified, by death passing upon even apparently allowable possessions. The life has been so shaken in desirable things, that 'I am consumed by the blow of thy hand,' has been a language well understood in the line of my experience.

"Oh the depth of that repugnance to the heart-cleansing work of religion which is hid in the human mind: in mine how has it impeded a growing fitness to join in the consecrated anthem of redeemed spirits, 'Thy will be done.' I reverently acknowledge my unshaken belief in the loss which mankind has sustained by the fall, and the need of a Mediator to reconcile a degenerate world to a pure and holy Being.

"I dare not hope for acceptance on any inferior ground than that opened by Him, who is 'the way, the truth and the life.' My foundation for that hope, which through abundant mercy is at seasons felt to enter within the veil, rests on the great propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and the operation of His divine spirit as a deliverer from sin.

"Here, with all my short comings, my errings, strayings, commissions and omissions, a God in Christ can be humbly confided in, for continued support through the remaining steps of the wilderness journey, and sustaining goodness at the end. This end may be yet more distant than my weak sight has a view of, the pins having been allowed to hold the feeble structure far longer than could have been expected; and the Lord only knows the need there yet is for trials and afflictions, in order that the work of preparation may be happily effected.

"Oh the immeasurable distance which is at times contemplated, between uncreated good and the mixed state of a finite being, surrounded with the encumbering load of frail mortality!

"If others more subdued, more zealous, and more active in the line of duty, are carried above these discouraging sensations, or not called upon to take the abasing views, which some of the Lord's feeble ministers feel to be their lot, I wish not to judge or shake their faith and obedience. While in traversing the solemn path of preparation, and for many years feeling the humble desire to be so strengthened as to fill up the allotted ministry, there feels to me nothing but divine mercy to look to. Therefore,

from my very heart I must renounce all hope, even for the acceptance of any feeble effort towards promoting the glorious cause of truth and righteousness, but what is founded on the one blessed advocate, my God and Saviour! He only has filled, He has a right to empty; and never does my soul more enrichingly rejoice, than when every view of righteous, and unrighteous self, is absorbed in the calm, silent, and utter reliance on unmerited and everlasting love; my hope in time, my only anticipated joy in eternity."

In the Second month 1818, my beloved parent began a visit to the families belonging to Gracechurch-street Monthly meeting, her certificate leaving her also at liberty for other religious service; and during the engagement she appointed many public meetings in the city, and some country places adjacent. Among these was one at Woolwich, which was remarkable for the numbers by which it was attended, the general solidity that prevailed, and the freedom felt in declaring the way of salvation.

In the Ninth month she obtained a certificate for religious service in Essex, and was diligently occupied in that county for above nine weeks. She visited most of the families which composed Witham Monthly meeting, and held numerous public meetings to the relief and peace of her exercised mind, which was often enlarged in the feeling of that Christian love which embraces the highest interests of mankind universally.

She travelled in this journey above four hundred miles; returned home in a very broken state of health, and was for a considerable time, confined by illness, her body and mind suffering under a combination of afflictive circumstances. She was, however, mercifully sustained; and in the summer of 1819, again felt herself called upon to manifest the continuance of gospel concern on behalf of her fellow professors, by applying for the requisite liberty to visit families within the compass of Peel and Westminster Monthly meetings. In the latter service Abigail Pim united, and it proved the last religious engagement of this dear friend, who, in the following year, was attacked with the illness which ultimately removed her from the militant church.

In the year 1820, my dear mother felt inclined to attend the General meeting at Ackworth, and informed the Friends of her own Monthly meeting, that she believed it her duty to stand resigned to such religious service as she might feel required of her while in Yorkshire, as well as in going and returning from thence.

This engagement occupied about four months, during which time my beloved mother was diligently employed in such service as from day to day opened to her view, being, notwithstanding the sensible increase of bodily infirmities, enabled to perform the labour assigned her both among Friends and others; for, besides attending two Quarterly, six Monthly and above sixty Particular meetings, she also held twenty-six appointed for those of other religious professions.

In going from a meeting of this description, held at Tadcaster, to another appointed at Ferrybridge, she sustained a very serious injury by the carriage in which she rode being overturned, which prevented her reaching the place until the people had been a considerable time assembled.

Through the display of that power to which all things are possible, she was wonderfully strengthened for the service that devolved upon her, and the refreshment of spirit which was felt in declaring the doctrines of the gospel, to persons who seemed prepared for receiving them, for awhile overcame the sense of bodily labour; but after the meeting this was acutely felt, and she was so ill as to excite much apprehension for the consequences.

She proceeded at once to Doncaster, and was there confined above two week at the house of her dear friends W. and M. Smith, who, when she was able to move forward, continued their kind care by accompanying her as far as Hitchin, where she spent a few days with her long loved friend E. J. Wheeler. Upon a review of this journey, wherein she had travelled upwards of nine hundred miles, my dear mother wrote as follows, in the twelfth month, 1820.*

——— "Hitherto hath the Lord helped, may well be deeply inscribed on my heart, and acknowledged with my pen, in retrospect of innumerable unmerited mercies, preservations, and deliverances, through a long journey, and on many accounts, one of the most exercising of my life. I have to commemorate the goodness which veiled the prospect as to its nature and extent, and left us to depend on the fresh arisings of light to guide from day to day, and from place to place.

"After attending the General meeting, at Ackworth, where there was reason to believe we were in our right place, the field of labour enlarged before us, amongst those of our own profession, and many of various names and sects in that extensive county; while to the praise of Infinite Wisdom and love, a precious evidence was often felt that the Shepherd of Israel is sweetly gathering by His all-powerful arm, many who are not, and never may by

* The Editor thinks it may be best for her to state, that in this and several preceding journeys, as well as in all her subsequent religious service, she was her dear mother's companion, having certificates from the Monthly meeting for uniting in such engagements.

outward designation be, of the same name with us. The preparation frequently witnessed among such to receive the gospel message, the solemnity of the stillness spread over some uncommonly large assemblies, exceeded what we had before experienced, and encouraged to the full belief that the present is a deeply interesting period; one wherein the call is loudly proclaimed to us as a distinct and highly professing people, to 'stand continually upon the watch tower in the day time, and sit in our ward whole nights;' to place a double guard upon our words and actions, lest even one of the inquiring little ones be offended, or turned out of the way of steady advancement.

"Oh! how did my soul lament within our camp, the want of that holy discipline which, if submitted to, would prepare to be accoutred for service in the Lord's hand, and amongst the people. The lack of righteous zeal, of spiritual discernment, of heavenly skill in savouring the things that be of God, while those that be of man merely, can be nicely discriminated and understood.

"The faculties and reasoning powers of many are strong, their perceptions clear respecting that path wherein self can rejoice and is nourished; but oh the cross! to some I fear that even the preaching of it is as to the Jews and Greeks. There is an unwillingness to lose the life, in order that that which deserves the name may be found, while any substitute is readily adopted, rather than submission to the humbling, reducing state where, as little children, the kingdom is alone received.

"An endeavour to reconcile the world, and religion, seems the hindrance of a multitude; the strong assertion of our blessed Redeemer being too much overlooked, 'ye cannot serve God and mammon.' Thus the eye becomes dim, and the ear often deafened, so that imparting what is seen to be the whole counsel to such is like breaking down a fenced wall; the healing power of a physician to those who are whole, needless tidings, an unwelcome message. How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom? Various are the possessions wherein there is a resting; many have their good things in this life. Oh! that the abundance might be passed through, and temporal blessings not centered in, so as to cloud the view of the things that are eternal.

"I often think inherited or obtained treasures have blinded the spiritual eye of many, who are descended from those sons of the morning, as it respects our little community, to whom great things would have been burdensome; and earnest are my desires that worldly prosperity may not be allowed to settle in a state of dangerous ease, lest the language formerly uttered in the Lord's name should be applicable, 'They that depart from me shall be written in the earth.'"

Early in the year 1821, my dear mother again felt her mind drawn to the performance of some religious service within the limits of her own Quarterly meeting; in the prospect of which she wrote as follows:

——— "Amidst the sense of feebleness and trial, I find no rest but in what I believe to be the divine will. I therefore informed my brethren and sisters, in a joint conference to-day, that I believed resignation on my part was called for, to pay a visit of gospel love to the Monthly meetings constituting this Quarterly meeting; accompanied with a view of appointing some meetings among Friends and others of a more public kind, besides visiting the families belonging to Southwark Monthly meeting, awful as it is to contemplate such a large number.

"I feel relieved by having thus acknowledged the exercise, but as to procedure, it is likely in my enfeebled state to be slow, and if never accomplished by me, I wish to leave all to unerring wisdom and love, with an humble hope that in the sacrifice of the will acceptance may be mercifully granted.

"In seasons of abstractedness from visible things, and precious preparation for communion with Him who is invisible, the capacity is strengthened to comprehend that redeeming influence, whereby knowing that we are not our own, fervent desires are raised to 'glorify God in our bodies and in our spirits which are His.'

"The lapse of time offers matter for solemn consideration; the end of it when viewed in connection with an entrance upon that state which admits of no change, feels truly awful; and a sense of the purity which must clothe disembodied, glorified spirits, contrasted with our own poor vestment of mortal infirmity, is felt almost appalling, even to the eye of feeble faith. Yet under the sustaining hope that 'the white linen' will be prepared, and when unclothed a being 'clothed upon' mercifully experienced, while in prostration of soul the term unworthy can be indeed adopted, there is ground whereon the end of time can be contemplated with a serenity which nothing inferior to such feelings can possibly produce.

"The mind, when raised in such holy contemplation, is ready to utter the language of good old Simeon, 'Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation;' but He who is infinite in wisdom only knows what is best for us, what is most calculated to effect in and through us, the appointed work, the measure of suffering, the degree of patience in it, needful to be proved, and the portion of active service He designs to prepare for.

"Under these views, the longer I sojourn on earth, the more I see the value and safety of endeavouring daily to learn this one lesson; leave all, attend to present duty, and in humility cast every care for the future on Him, who careth for, and will provide for, those who love and serve Him in time and through eternity."

T. L. joined in part of the visit to the families of Southwark, which was accomplished with as little interruption as could be expected, considering my beloved parent's age and infirmities; and she frequently mentioned feeling it as a farewell visit to the members of a meeting, where she had been long bound in peculiar interest and concern.

After this she was again engaged in public service, holding meetings in the different meeting houses belonging to Friends in London, and in many of the surrounding villages, much to the relief of her own mind, and there is reason to believe the satisfaction and help of others. Some of these seasons were attended with remarkable solemnity, and the clearness and liberty which were evident in her declaration of gospel truths, frequently excited the apprehension that her labours were drawing to a close; while she spoke of the sensible help afforded her, and the feelings of peace and comfort which succeeded these engagements, as greater than she had been accustomed to, adding, "I believe if I were to continue long in the body I should not have such feelings, nor be so filled with divine love as is sometimes the case."

One of the meetings just alluded to was at Hampstead, a place respecting which she had long felt her mind exercised, but where a meeting of Friends had not been held for many years. In a record of this season my dear mother says:

——— "Though heavy in prospect it has been relievingly held, and I humbly trust gracious help may be acknowledged to have been near: many who attended the meeting had never been present on such an occasion; yet the attention manifested during the communication of gospel truths was remarkable, and the solemnity which was early evident, and continued to increase, tended to renew the trust in Almighty aid and goodness."

Once upon retiring to bed in a very exhausted state after an evening meeting in the city, my dear mother said with much tenderness of spirit, "I long to be joined to the general assembly and church of the first-born, yet such is the love and concern I feel for the souls of the people, that my life seems of little consequence, and I could be satisfied to drop while declaring the mercy of God in Christ Jesus to a fallen race."

On another occasion of the same kind she observed, "What a favour to have a good bed, but what a still greater mercy to have 'a good hope through grace,' that after a few more fleeting days there will be a settlement in unmingled, everlasting rest. I am so weaned from anxiety that I seem to have nothing in the world to think of; there is, however, one thing which weighs heavily on my mind, and that is the prosperity of the blessed cause of truth and righteousness. To promote this in any way I could be willing to live a little longer; and the separation from all of you who are so dear to me will be keenly felt when it comes to the point."

After a meeting had been appointed at Dulwich, she wrote as follows:

——— "I feel this an awful occasion, for such prospects are becoming almost too heavy through infirmities abounding, and bodily ability sensibly decaying, yet I trust I may humbly adopt the resigned language,

> 'My life, while Thou preserv'st my life,
> Thy sacrifice shall be.'

Oh, that I may be enabled, through the continuance of sustaining faith, to add the subsequent expressions,

> 'And death, when death shall be my doom,
> Shall join my soul to thee.'

For when the eternal union is formed, conflict will have finally ceased."

On returning from this meeting she remarked, that under the consolation vouchsafed her, she seemed insensible to pain or weakness, and felt as if healed in body and mind; strongly expressing her thankfulness for the covering of good whereby that evening sacrifice had been owned by her gracious Master.

CHAPTER XVII.

Visit to the families belonging to Devonshire Monthly meeting.—Illness and death. From Twelfth month 1822, *to Ninth month* 1823.

In the twelfth month, 1822, my beloved mother informed her friends of a fresh prospect of religious duty, and obtained a certificate for visiting the families belonging to Devonshire-house meeting, as well as some more public service as strength might be afforded.

One of her first engagements was, the appointment of a meeting for the young people belonging to the Quarterly meeting of London and Middlesex. This proved a time of solemnity and relief, and she afterwards expressed her satisfaction in reflecting on the opportunity, as well as her belief that it would be the last she should have of that kind.

The family visit in Devonshire-house meeting was commenced early in the first month, 1823; and although the weather was extremely cold, my dear parent was strengthened to pursue the service in a manner wonderful to herself, as well as to those who witnessed it.

Sometimes, at the conclusion of a day wherein she had sat in five or six families, she would remark that the haste she felt was such as made her scarcely sensible to bodily fatigue.

After paying above one hundred and thirty visits, with much less interruption than had frequently attended such engagements in younger life, she wound up this service amongst her fellow professors, in which M. S. had been united, by having a meeting appointed for the heads of families, and another for the young people constituting that particular meeting.

On one of these occasions, when closely expostulating with some for whom deep religious concern had been felt, my dear mother said with peculiar emphasis, "Bear with me, my friends, I have not long to speak."

On first-day, the 16th of third month, she was largely exercised in the forenoon meeting at Devonshire-house, and in the evening had an appointed meeting for the inhabitants of that neighbourhood, wherein she was wonderfully strengthened to proclaim the important doctrines of the gospel, in which she so surely believed. Whilst inviting those present to the consideration of their latter end, she mentioned how surprisingly her own life had been extended, and that having completed more than the threescore and ten years, she could then look back upon her existence as but a point in comparison with eternity.

The solemnity which prevailed at that season was remarked by many who attended it, and upon returning home in a very exhausted state of body, my beloved mother expressed the peace and satisfaction with which her mind was clothed. In the morning she also observed, that whenever she had awoke in the night the remembrance of that meeting was sweet and comforting to her, and that she loved to think of the feelings by which it had been marked.

Thus with alacrity, and even cheerfulness, did this aged servant of the Lord prosecute the closing labours of her day, repeatedly observing, that although sometimes weary in her work, she could honestly say she was not weary of it, but felt the service of her Lord and Master to constitute her meat and drink in a spiritual sense.

At the Quarterly meeting in the spring she was powerfully engaged in advocating the cause and name of her Redeemer, and seemed to overflow with love and solicitude towards her friends: while the strength and clearness of her voice was deemed by many an indication of renovated health.

For several weeks afterwards she continued to get out regularly, and on first-day the 13th of fourth month, attended her own meeting at Peckham, morning and afternoon; in the first she was exercised in the ministry, and spoke of both seasons as having been times of refreshment to her spirit.

She was at the Monthly meeting of Southwark on the third-day following, and continued tolerably well until sixth-day the 18th, when she was affected with symptoms of a heavy cold, and in the evening palpitation of the heart and faintness. As my beloved mother was accustomed to sudden attacks of indisposition, we did not feel any particular alarm. Next day, however, she appeared very unwell, and during several succeeding days repeatedly mentioned, that she felt so loaded with illness as to make her apprehend that nature would sink under the oppressive weight; while this was always expressed in much calmness, and with perfect resignation to the divine will.

Sixth-day the 25th, after taking with a relish something which had been prepared for her, she said with great sweetness, "How good is our gracious Provider in thus supplying us with all we want; yet how apt are we to pass by Him, regale ourselves with His gifts, and forget the giver."

During that and the following day she was frequently employed in a strain of heavenly rejoicing, and once observed, "How little idea we can form of what will open upon the spirit when the incumbrance of mortality is laid down. I have not a wish to go, if I could proclaim to one more soul the rich mercy of God in Christ; but if it be the will of the Lord to take me, I hope my dear children you will be resigned, and preserved from all evil; and may the Lord preserve your goings out and comings in from that day forth and for evermore.

"I have no sight as to how it may be, but I do not feel able to struggle as heretofore; my strength seems giving way, the sands sinking fast; but they may be renewed."

At another time, "I have nothing to depend on, not a shred of my own, no good works to tell of, only mercy; that which visited me in the morning of the day, has supported me through life, and will support me in death; unmerited, unbounded, and I trust unchangeable mercy! I have loved the cause of my Redeemer; it was to draw to Him, to attract and fix the attention of the mind on Him alone, that I have been willing, made willing, to proclaim His goodness; and though one Philip after another be taken away, yet the happily awakened soul may go on rejoicing. This was the case with the Ethiopian, while Philip was

found at Azotus, sent and commissioned to preach to others the unsearchable riches of Christ."

Seventh-day the 26th, was one of much bodily suffering; in the evening she said, the Lord bless thee, my precious child, for thy care of me; we have been together in heights and depths, in poverty, and sometimes in the riches of the gospel; had it not been for a portion of these, we must have utterly sunk under conflict and multiplied exercises, even of later times.

"I am thankful that the labour in Devonshire-house quarter was accomplished, and for those last meetings, both with Friends and others; the Lord be praised for the strength He afforded to proclaim His goodness, and He will be praised. Thou mayest know more of it when I am dead and gone, for there was a witness in many hearts to that which was his own work.

"I have no sight of how it will be with me, at which I almost wonder; but it will not do to judge by the weakness of the poor body; the Lord can raise it up if it be His blessed will. His will has been all to me, when the conclusions, doubtings, and hesitations of nature have been kept down.

"Thy will be done, is the highest anthem ever sung on earth or in heaven; that will of God which is our sanctification; and when fully yielded to, operates in its own regulating and redeeming power, raising out of the fall, and restoring to all that was lost, this I am sure of, to all that was lost, the second Adam, the Lord's new creation in the quickened and believing soul. My heart is full, but the poor body must have rest. I trust thou wilt be supported; try for a little rest; this is granted to poor human nature as well as to the mind."

On awaking from an uneasy slumber she exclaimed, "Excellent, excellent;" and asking her what was so excellent, she replied with energy, "The support of religion is most excellent."

Third-day morning, the 29th. My precious mother desired that the xiith chapter of the Hebrews might be read to her, and whilst hearing it, seemed as if deriving peculiar comfort from that blessed record of divine doctrine and instruction; observing, "it was part of that chapter which engaged my attention at the last meeting I bore testimony in London." Upon the last verse but one being read, "Let us have grace whereby we may serve God acceptably with reverence and godly fear," she audibly pronounced "Amen, amen, amen."

Fifth-day, 1st of fifth month. After a time of silence she evinced how her mind had been occupied by mentioning the Yearly meeting of Ireland, and said: "A large number of Friends are collected in Dublin this day, and many dear creatures; I wish they may be enabled to do their duty, and preach Christ to the people."

Afterwards, with much composure, and in a tone that bespoke the feeling of renewed thankfulness: "I seem to have nothing to do but with the present moment, no looking back with pain or uneasiness, but in grateful remembrance of that mercy whereon I trust there was a building long ago. Oh, not to doubt the foundation is a great mercy; warn them, tell all, there is no other way but resigning up all, the management of ship and cargo, to the true, unerring pilot. Then, (alluding to Paul's shipwreck,) though the vessel may be tossed, however any are tried, some as on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship, but oh, the consolation, all will get safe to land.

"Every feeling and desire of my heart seems comprehended in the language, 'Thy will be done.' Only I fear that through long continued suffering I may not exemplify that which I have declared to others, the sufficiency of divine power: may patience have her perfect work, whether any glimpse of the unspeakable glory be afforded or not. Oh, if this is known, it must be glory to God in the highest, through Him who came to procure peace on earth. The language of the redeemed through all eternity will be, 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Thy name be the praise.'

"I sometimes feel as if I could fly even to distant lands to proclaim the gospel of life and salvation: 'the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.'"

In the night of the 4th of fifth month, my dear mother's mind appeared to be deeply exercised on some doctrinal subjects, and she said with great energy: "For a man to have his Bible in his hand and read, 'as I live saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live,' and then venture to say that any soul is created for destruction! Oh! surely the present dogmas nearly amount to an assertion of this kind; I have not so learned Christ. It is dangerous, dangerous.

"I am a believer in the election of grace, the covenant and seed of life, but not in the possibility of any state where the petition, Lord save, will not be necessary, nor that any human being is excluded from the offer of divine mercy."

Once on taking leave for the night she sweetly said, "The Lord direct our hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ; then all will be well." Thankfulness for favours received seemed the continual clothing of her spirit; and instead of dwelling upon her complaints, or recurring to the numerous

afflictions which had marked her pilgrimage through time, she spoke of the blessings afforded her, as abundantly beyond her deserts, saying, "What mercies I am a partaker of, and how poor and unworthy I feel, nothing to trust to, but mercy, mercy, mercy; that which was early extended, that which has ever sustained. Wonderfully was preserving grace afforded in the morning of my day, guarding from evil and keeping from many snares. It may well be said I girded thee when thou didst not know me; and since my heart has been surrendered to divine government and guidance, the promise has been graciously verified, 'I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee;' Oh this rock."

The 7th of the fifth month was a day of considerable suffering from cough, &c., and the appearance of exhaustion was very painful.

When a little revived, my dear mother observed: "Sometimes after a fit of coughing it seems as if I should sink away, and then again the feeling is rather different; how it will be is remarkably hidden from me, but I feel perfect quiet and resignation. What a mercy to have no burden or anxiety, though I am poor and unworthy, nothing to depend on but the one foundation; if that fails, all is over; but it never will fail; the mercy of God in Christ Jesus: and whether I am able to express much or not, when the time comes, this is my anchor. Oh! now to have a conscience stung with guilt! and this might be the case but for gracious unmerited mercy: for what am I? what have I? but 'He that spared not His own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things' in time and in eternity.

"I trust I have not been equivocal in proclaiming gospel doctrine, that I have not shunned to declare what I believe to be the whole counsel of God."

On obtaining relief from a distressing symptom, she desired the psalm might be read to her which begins, 'Unto thee, oh God, do we give thanks, for that Thy name is near, Thy wondrous works declare.'

First-day the 12th, while Friends were at meeting, my beloved mother requested her daughters to sit still awhile in her chamber; and after a time of solemn silence uttered the following supplication: "Wherever gathered, Holy Lord God Almighty! whether in this little meeting, in larger congregations, or under whatever name assembled, bless those who wait upon and worship Thee. Let thy word have free course and be glorified to the increase of the dear Redeemer's kingdom, and the advancement of the great, the glorious and universal work spoken of by thy prophet, when from the north and from the south, from the east and from the west, Thy suppliants shall be brought.

"Bring them, gracious Lord, near unto Thyself; bring us, as a family. Bless my children, I pray Thee; Thy poor unworthy creature, yet one who through Thy mercy has trusted in Thee, and been desirous of Thy glory."

She then prayed for each of her family, in a manner which showed the clearness of her spiritual perceptions, and the deep religious concern renewedly awakened on account of those most near to her affections, and concluded with these words, "Wash all in the laver of regeneration, and grant the renewings of the Holy Ghost, that Thou gracious Father mayest be praised in time, and with the dear Son of Thy love, everlastingly receive glory and honour, thanksgiving and renown. Amen and amen."

Her voice was remarkably strengthened for this exertion, and she afterwards observed, "What a mercy to be favoured with a little fresh feeling; without the fresh feeling what is all expression, what is any thing?"

In the afternoon she addressed her kind physician, in a manner which evinced strong interest and Christian solicitude on his behalf, offering gospel counsel and encouragement, and enforcing the necessity of constant watchfulness and prayer. She expressed feeling obliged by his affectionate attention; to which he replied that he deemed it a privilege to have the opportunity of attending her.

Upon one of her sons mentioning that his wife had been detained from public worship that day on account of her infant, she promptly answered, "'The tabernacle of God is with man.' We have duties to fulfil; but there is an altar to which we may continually resort: the gracious language is accomplished, 'He that is with you shall be in you;'" adding, "my children are very near to me; the Lord bless you and the dear babes; Oh may He keep them from the evils of the world: the evils of the heart must be gradually overcome through submission to the spirit of Christ."

Third-day the 14th, hearing of our dear friend Mary Proud's being alarmingly ill, my beloved mother was much affected, and spoke of her as an endeared sister and fellow labourer in the gospel; after a short pause she solemnly exclaimed; "Oh our poor Society! Lord raise up judges, counsellors, feelers, such as are quick of understanding in Thy fear; and if children are to become teachers, give them wisdom and humility."

The approach of the Yearly meeting was watched with lively interest by my dear parent, and when it began her mind seemed clothed with the same Christian solicitude as if she

were personally mingling with her friends. This was in degree manifested by an address which she dictated to the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, as well as by messages to many of her brethren and sisters who were engaged in active service; and she entered into the concerns of that important season as fully at times as if she had no bodily ailment. Yet her weakness was such as to render her unfit to see company, and often to excite apprehension that her vital powers were rapidly sinking; while she was still kept in ignorance, and as she would sometimes say, remarkably blind as to the event.

"To the Yearly meeting of Ministers and Elders, held in London, fifth month, 1823.

"Dearly beloved Friends,

"Separated from you by the pressure of extreme bodily weakness, that love which I trust is of the everlasting gospel, has caused me to visit you in spirit, and even bound in sympathy under your solemn deliberations. Your attention has been claimed by the return of messengers, who, having been enabled to lift up their eyes and look on the fields, now thankfully feel that He who led into labour, graciously sustained through the portion allotted them, while they dare not rejoice in any thing but the humble hope, at times afforded, that through unmerited mercy their names are written in heaven, and their feeble efforts, for the promotion of His ever blessed cause, accepted by the great Lord of the harvest. You have also been called upon as a collected body, to receive the acknowledgment that views of a similar, or more extensive nature, are opened to some others who have been alike separated for the work of the ministry.

"In considering the present state of things at home and abroad, not only the want of the prevalence of divine life, but in many instances the oppression of the heavenly Seed; how has my soul travailed, that such as are sent forth may not only go in the fulness of gospel commission, but so dwell deep with the gift, as to be faithful to its revealings, watchful and patient in times of concealing, and resigned to those reducing, as well as qualifying operations, whereby the command given to the tribe of Levi may be understood, and from time to time obeyed: 'Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy Holy One, whom thou didst prove at Massah, and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah.' Here is the safety of ministers in this day, as it was in preceding ages, who knowing that all their help is from the Lord, cast their care wholly upon Him.

"And for you, dear Friends, who are called, though in a less public manner, to labour, whether at seasons in word and doctrine, or as deeply baptized Elders to act like Aarons and Hurs, my heart is engaged in sisterly concern.

"Some of you in your different meetings, with larger or smaller companies, have long known what it is, while desiring to bear your own part of the burden, to sit as with your mouths in the dust, ready to utter the bemoaning language, 'What advantageth it me if the dead rise not.'

"May these be strengthened to hold on their way, accepting for their encouragement the scriptural assertion, 'Unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ not only to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake;' while through this deep experience there is an increasing capacity to 'know Him and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings,' so as to be 'made conformable unto his death.' The Lord has not forsaken His long regarded people, though 'the time to favour Zion' in the way that exercised spirits crave, 'the set time,' may not be yet come. The Redeemer's kingdom will spread in His own way; the work is great, but the arm which is carrying it forward is Omnipotent.

"To the Lord then let us look; in Him let us trust, and to His name, which is everlastingly worthy, be the glory ascribed now and forever, Amen. In the feeling of affectionate and gospel love, I salute you, and am your very poor and variously tried friend,

MARY DUDLEY.

"Dictated in her sick chamber but signed with her own hand at Peckham, the 28th of Fifth month, 1823."

In the early part of the sixth month she so far revived as to bear being taken from her chamber to a sitting room, where, reclined on a sofa, and mercifully excused from much pain, she frequently saw her friends, and enjoyed that social and religious intercourse for which her mind and disposition were so peculiarly adapted.

The first strangers she saw were two of her sisters in the ministry, to whom she imparted much of her feeling on the most important subjects; encouraging them to individual faithfulness, and making many observations which are likely to be well remembered by those who heard them.

She feelingly expressed her own sense of unworthiness, and that her sole dependance was on the mercy and merits of her Redeemer.

The same day she had a very interesting interview with Isaac Stephenson, whom she wished to see previously to his embarkation to America. She was wonderfully helped to testify her continued zeal in the cause of truth and righteousness, as well as affectionate concern for those

engaged in gospel missions, earnestly desiring that divine assistance and preservation might be experienced by this dear friend, whom she blessed in the name of the Lord.

During the seventh month, my precious mother was so far recovered as to ride out several times; and we began to entertain hopes of a partial restoration, fondly anticipating the probability of enjoying her valued society, even though the days of active service might be over.

This she frequently said she believed was the case; and spoke of the peaceful retrospect which she was often enabled to take, whilst feeling that her gospel labours were only valuable as tests of her love and obedience, but not furnishing any ground of dependance. Yet she was much engaged in encouraging to faithfulness, often saying to those who visited her, as well as to her attendants, "Mind that the day's work keeps pace with the day;" and in exhorting her fellow ministers strongly expressed the necessity of being completely devoted to the sacred calling, and not shunning to declare the whole counsel of God.

These communications were accompanied by remarks which evinced great humility with respect to her own services. Once, upon some allusion being made to her diligent occupation of the time and talents with which she was entrusted; she sweetly and in great tenderness of spirit, replied, "Feebly and unworthily as they have been used, I trust it was with a single view to the help of others, and the glory of the dear Redeemer; and if He forgives all the mixture, all that has been of the creature, and mercifully receives me into rest and peace, whether he affords those bright prospects, which in the beginning of this illness, and often since, have been vouchsafed, or not, oh, may I never doubt or cast away my confidence.

"I trust that He who hath loved with an everlasting love, will continue to uphold me, notwithstanding all the weakness of the flesh, and the temptations of the cruel enemy. Oh this enemy! he never quits his hold of poor human nature while he can assail it. Where is it said that the Saviour condescended to be tempted?" The passage ivth of Heb. and 15th verse was then repeated, to which she assented, as what conveyed comfort to her soul.

Afterwards, when under considerable suffering of body, she prayed for patience, and added "Oh! if I should become impatient with the divine will, what reproach it would occasion. I feel poor and empty, and when lying awake am not able to fix my thoughts upon what I desire and prefer, but little things present, and this tries me. David speaks of having songs in the night, but I sometimes say, these, meaning intrusive thoughts, are not the Lord's songs.

"I have nothing in the world that really occupies me, no object of peculiar interest except my children, and these I can leave to Him who I trust will care for them and protect them."

It was very striking to us, and to some of those friends who occasionally saw my precious mother, how entirely she was abstracted from temporal things, seldom evincing much interest about passing events, and repeatedly observing that every thing of a terrestrial nature was so nearly alike to her, that she could say desire had failed.

There was also such a settled solemnity of countenance as indicated her thoughts and mind being in heaven. I scarcely remember seeing her smile during the whole illness, though nothing of gloom or anxiety was apparent.

Some Friends, for whose best welfare she had been long concerned, coming to take leave of her when about to go a journey, she testified the continuance of her solicitude by imparting much Christian counsel. She enjoined the young people of the family to value the privileges of their education, and not to be ashamed of the cross, even in what are termed little things; saying that she wished the standard of simplicity might never be lowered amongst us, and as their temptations to deviate would be likely to increase, she felt earnest in pressing what it was probable would be her last advice. This proved the case, for though she lived until their return, they never again met.

Early in the eighth month symptoms of increasing debility came on, and it was obvious that her constitution was gradually sinking. Of this she was fully aware, though from tenderness to those about her, she seldom spoke on the subject.

On being settled in bed one night she solemnly said, "When this poor body drops, I should like if Friends see no objection, for it to be taken into Southwark meeting, and from thence to Bunhill Fields. No invitations to be given, nor any unnecessary expense gone to; only information to my friends that the pins of the earthly tabernacle have at length fallen out. Nothing done, nothing said, nor if possible thought, but what lays the creature where it ought to be, and I trust is, prostrate at the footstool of divine mercy: a poor, humble yet confiding sinner.

"I trust enough may have been said, however feebly, to manifest my faith and the ground of my hopes, which solely rest upon the mercy and goodness of God in Jesus Christ."*

* In some written directions respecting her burial, penned several years before her death, there are a few observations which, in addition to the desire expressed above, contain such evidence of gospel concern on behalf of her fellow members, as to be judged worthy of insertion:

"I request that my body may be taken to the meeting-house of Southwark, where I have for many years past

About the same time when much tried with restlessness, she expressed her fear that patience would not hold out; but on its being observed that this virtue was from time to time graciously renewed to her, she said with earnestness; "'As thy day so shall thy strength be,' is a promise which has been signally fulfilled in my experience; and now all I desire is that patience may have her perfect work, and that when passing through the valley light enough may be afforded."

One day in the latter end of the eighth month when taking leave for the night of a relation, towards whom she had acted the part of a tender mother, she said, "Thou seest me, my dear, in a state of much poverty and weakness. Oh that I may be favoured with a little more light before entering the dark valley." She replied, that she felt sweet peace on sitting beside her, and repeated the language of our Saviour, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven;' to which the beloved sufferer answered, "That is precious; I can be thankful for even the smallest crumb from a child of my heavenly Father's. Preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling block, and to the Greeks foolishness: there is much of the Greek and Jewish spirit amongst us; but be not thou afraid to preach the cross of Christ, and to proclaim not only what He would do within us by His spirit, but also what He hath done without us, the all-atoning sacrifice, which should never be lost sight of."

After a pause she added, "I often look back to the Quarterly meeting in the spring; I am glad I was at it, and love to remember the sweet feeling that prevailed. Oh what I have felt for the Quarterly meeting of London and Middlesex. If I live to the next I should be willing to be taken to it, and once more proclaim the mercy of God in Christ Jesus; all is mercy, unmerited mercy; nothing attaches to the creature, all my dependance is on the mercy of God in Jesus Christ."

The 1st of the ninth month was a day of much bodily suffering, but one wherein the affectionate and religious feelings of my revered parent were peculiarly excited. After writing a few lines indicating the unabated strength and tenderness of her maternal feelings, she expressed a wish to speak a little to her daughters, and upon their all sitting beside her, said with much calmness, "It has been a low cloudy time of late, but a little more light seemed to spring up this morning, and if this should be the last time I may bear testimony to the goodness of the Almighty, I can acknowledge with thankfulness that this has followed me all my life long. That the Lord's mercy and love have never failed me, since He took me out of the wilderness of the world, and before that time He girded me, and restrained from evil.

"I have never doubted the universality, the freeness and fulness of divine grace, and my faith is now unshaken. Oh! never limit this grace; proclaim it as that whereby all may be saved. I go trembling and dependent, hoping that my sins will be forgiven for the sake of 'Him who loved us, and gave Himself for us.' I have nothing of my own, not a rag, (if I may use the expression of another Friend,) to clothe me with."

She then gave some directions relative to the future and afterwards remarked that she felt much relieved by what had passed. Early in the morning of the 2nd she inquired where is that sweet language, "to be ever with the Lord?" Her countenance at the same indicating heavenly tranquillity, and she seemed comforted by having the 4th chapter of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians read to her.

Several times when taking leave of her family for the night, she solemnly uttered this short petition, "Gracious Lord prepare us for what is to come." And when suffering from pain, and the feeling of general irritation, she frequently petitioned, "Lord enable us to trust that thou wilt never lay more on me than thou wilt give strength and patience to endure," adding, "Pray that I may have patience."

On the 5th, conversing seriously respecting her situation, it was remarked that her seeming ignorant as to the issue still produced a degree of hope that the trial of separation was not yet at hand, to which she quickly replied, "That this is my death illness I have not the least doubt, but the time may be wisely and mercifully concealed from me. The end may come in a moment; and if it be the Lord's will to save me from agonizing pain, and grant a quiet dismissal, what a favour it will be. Oh! to pass quietly away. I feel very poor, and have many infirmities, which I hoped might be less sensibly felt at this awful time; but I have this one testimony, 'I am nothing, Christ is all.' My friends are dear to me, there is nothing in my heart but love to all. God is love; He has supported me through many trials, and now enables me to rely on His free, full, and unmerited mercy. Glory, glory, glory be to His name now and for ever. The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same His name is to be praised."

First-day, the 7th, she seemed like one on the verge of the eternal world, and evidently

mingled in person, and often in deep unutterable and sometimes acknowledged exercise, with the burden bearers there. A meeting if not regularly held to be appointed, that while dead, a silent testimony may be proclaimed to that love, wherein prayer has frequently arisen, that grace, mercy, and peace might abound there, and among all the Lord's professing people."

thought herself going. The difficulty of breathing and occasional spasms on her chest being very distressing to herself, and to those around her. She several times said, "Come Lord Jesus, come quickly. Into thy hand I commit my spirit."

Observing that she felt too weak even to hear the scriptures read, she sweetly added, "But I can think of their author." When parting for the night she commended each of her children to divine protection, imploring the heavenly blessing for them, under the influence of strong affection, and with the solemnity of Christian concern.

Contrary to expectation she obtained some refreshing sleep, and became a little revived, saying next morning, "I expected to be in another world by this time. Lord enable me to wait in the patience thy appointed time."

The evening of the 9th, after hearing a chapter in the Bible, she spoke with an audible voice, "Lord thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations," going on correctly with the first four verses of the 90th Psalm, and then added, "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." Thus do, for my children, gracious Lord, and oh! afford me a renewed evidence of thy goodness, for a day in thy courts is better than a thousand." After a little pause, "How wonderfully He is supporting me, and though there may be such an impoverished state as to have no oblation, the Lord Almighty knows where the refuge is."

She once remarked, "There is too much religious reading and speaking among some serious persons; a little precious quiet and fresh feeling, how far beyond all: do not depend on forms, seek to have the spirit of prayer raised in the heart, and then what is offered will be in the life, and meet with gracious acceptance."

On the evening of the 10th, she desired the xiith chapter of the Hebrews might be read, and afterwards spoke at considerable length on "the privilege and blessing of the gospel, the importance of attending to the voice of Christ as it is uttered in the secret of the heart, where He speaks against sin, and gradually prepares for being joined to the just of all generations;" adding, "He tasted death for every man, and the grace of God which bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men;" repeating the whole text, and commenting upon it in a clear and instructive manner. She afterwards prayed with great earnestness for her family, concluding with these words: "Let all the dispensations of Thy wisdom be sanctified to their souls, and in thy great mercy prepare each of us to be joined to the just of all generations, in ascribing to Thee everlasting praise. Amen."

For above a week after this time, my precious mother continued so bright and capable of entering into those subjects which interested her best feelings, that we were often ready to think the bitterness of death was again passed for a season, and that we might enjoy her valuable society even for months to come. A friend who had been from home some days and called to see her, was quite surprised at the animated manner in which she inquired about Friends in the country, and conversed respecting the state of meetings, &c.

Upon asking her about this period what part of the Bible she would like to have read to her, she replied, "Not a chapter that treats on doctrinal subjects, my mind has been long made up on all those points." And she frequently desired that either some of her great Master's sayings or the Psalms might be turned to; generally commenting upon what she heard with her accustomed force and clearness. She saw a few individuals whom she expressed a wish to take leave of, and was strengthened to evince her Christian love and solicitude for them, in a manner which she afterwards said felt relieving to her mind.

First-day the 14th, when very weak and languid, she observed, "I cannot think or keep my attention fixed, but merciful Goodness forgives the infirmities of human nature;—what would become of me now, if I wanted parsons, bread and wine, and to make confession of sins? What a mercy to be delivered from all dependance on man, poor and weak perhaps as myself. What is man whose breath is in his nostrils.—Lord receive me for Christ's sake, is my plea!"

Being tried with restlessness, and the desire for frequent change of position, she sweetly remarked, "It is only the body, it does not get within; all there is peaceful, quiet trust." In the evening she desired that the family might collect for reading, saying, "We may not have another First-day," and listened with close attention to the xvith chapter of John, responding to different expressions with her usual quickness of feeling.

During the night she seemed as if richly enjoying the foretaste of perfect happiness and peace. Once, after taking some refreshment, she said, "How good, all is sweet, sweet nurses; what mercies to be thankful for; there are no nurses like children. I have often thought lately, whether the feeling of gratitude has ever been sufficiently prevalent in my heart, the sense of heavenly goodness, and my many blessings seems so to increase; I could have sung a song of praise this night."

In the morning she desired a few verses in the Bible might be read, and being asked what part, said, "No matter, all is treasure;" but in a minute or two added, "The Lord hear thee;" upon which the xxth Psalm was read, by which she seemed comforted, saying at the

conclusion, "Lord we thank Thee that Thou hast heard."

After obtaining some refreshing sleep she observed with emotion, "Often through divine mercy something so sweet touches my soul, my good Master is, I trust, near me; all is well, all is right, the Lord has never forsaken me; God forbid I should distrust His mercy, though the enemy has thrust sorely at me, but I have remembered the language, 'Oh thou enemy, destructions are come to a perpetual end.' What mercy, a perpetual end."

A medical friend calling to see her, she manifested the continuance of Christian love and interest for him, by desiring the Lord might bless him in his undertakings; and added, "Keep near to Him, and may He keep thee near to Himself; that is the way, my dear friend—keep near to God, through that grace which bringeth salvation; farewell!"

On the morning of the 19th, a distressing spasm at her chest caused my beloved mother to feel as if dying, and the appearance to those around her was awfully affecting; when a little relieved, she spoke as follows: "Glory, glory, glory to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb forever; nothing in the way, all peaceful within; but ah these struggles! Lord take me not away in anguish—grant a calm if it be Thy blessed will. Do not hold me; I can give you all up. I must go; do you yield me up every one of you? Ah! do not hold me."

Being told that we were endeavouring to feel resignation, and desired not to hold her, she expressed satisfaction, and said, "Now then leave me in the Lord's hands, make no efforts; Lord Jesus receive my spirit." After a while she had some sweet sleep, and on awaking said, "How wonderful that I am here, I expected to wake in another world: Lord why is it, why am I kept? but it is not for me to say what dost Thou?"

In an interview with our dear friend Maria Pollard, she mentioned it as a great favour "at such a time as this to have nothing in the way, though I am a poor creature, very poor, and have nothing to depend on but divine mercy;" adding, "how dost thou feel beside me? Do not conceal a word even if reproof be needful." M. P. telling her she felt nothing but sweet peace, and deemed it a privilege to be near her, trusting that she should remember the opportunity with thankfulness during the remainder of her life; she replied, "That is more to me than rubies; then I am not deceiving myself."

Humility, as it regarded her own attainments and feelings, was strikingly conspicuous in my revered parent during her whole illness, and the manner in which this was evinced, by one of such deep experience in the way and work of righteousness, offered very important instruction to those who had taken fewer steps in the Christian course.

During the remainder of this day she frequently expressed her surprise at being still in the body, saying, "I seemed just at the gate, to have almost entered it, and now to be here,—what am I kept for?" After a short pause she added, "Give my love to all Friends; tell them to cast off the works of darkness, whatever they are, and seek to be clothed with the whole armour of light, which is Christ within, the hope of glory. The world, the world gets in, and occupies the attention, and then there is a settling down in form, without the power."

At night she said, "Lord strengthen me to go through the remaining conflict: I thought the conflict would have ended this night; enable me to wait in patience; I am afraid I feel impatient; may I be forgiven if I do any thing wrong."

First-day morning, 21st. After a distressing night, and while tried with the feeling of restlessness, lifting up her hands and eyes she fervently exclaimed, "Grant a moment's calm of body, if it be Thy blessed will." Which petition being almost immediately answered, she solemnly, and with a clear voice proceeded, "Praise, praise for this calm. Now Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit. Bless my children, bless thy own work. Receive my feeble, but I trust, not unacceptable acknowledgments for Thy great goodness, while I have nothing to depend on, nothing to look to, but mercy, mercy, unchangeable mercy." Awhile after, hearing her in a low voice mention the word "Rock," it was observed that she felt sustained by the Rock of ages, to which she sweetly replied "That's it, Oh! this rock," with some further allusion to the support she experienced, in words which were not distinctly heard.

The whole of this day might be termed a sabbath indeed, for whilst every affectionate feeling was in painful exercise, under the certainty that the hour of separation was fast approaching, the power and presence of the Most High were signally vouchsafed; so that nature seemed hushed into stillness, and reverent submission to the will of Him who was thus condescending to make His strength perfect in weakness.

In the evening my precious mother suddenly uttered this language: "The dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." Part of the 15th chapter of the First of Corinthians being read to her, she made remarks upon different expressions, which evinced her clear and fresh conviction of those important truths, and on hearing the 57th verse, she audibly pronounced "Amen!" Soon after which she said, "Conflict is over; the combat is end-

ed and victory proclaimed. 'Thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' Now is the accepted time, now I trust is the day of salvation: glory, glory, glory!"

Early in the morning, the 14th of John was read to her, to which she attended with her wonted quickness of perception. At the 17th verse she remarked, "There is the new covenant dispensation, 'He dwelleth with you and shall be in you. I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh.' He tasted death for every man. Oh! never limit divine mercy." After a time of solemn stillness she said with peculiar emphasis, "Grace has triumphed over nature's feelings. The Lord has fulfilled His promise. He has given the victory through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power, dominion, salvation and strength now and forever; holy! holy! holy!

Second-day 22nd. While her family stood around her bed, and it appeared as if she was on the point of entering upon her eternal and much desired rest, my beloved mother repeatedly asked, "Do you give me up; who holds me?" She then said, "Oh! do not hold me. I proclaim I am ready. Lord God Almighty, Thou hast done Thy part, praise and thanksgiving to Thy name for this day. I am ready, and willing to go; now Lord let thy servant depart in peace according to Thy word. Oh! save the world; turn the hearts of the irreligious, give them hearts of flesh." Her continuance in the body much surprised, and even tried her, and she frequently queried, "Why am I detained, Lord why is it?"

A few hours after this she was strengthened to speak in an extraordinary manner to some of her children, and her little grand-daughter, adapting her language to the capacity of the child, so as strikingly to evince the clearness of her recollection, and unabated soundness of mind, when the powers of nature were all but exhausted. She mentioned feeling a good deal spent with this exertion, but much relieved in mind, and frequently remarked on the peace she enjoyed, sweetly saying, "I feel so peaceful!"

From this time it seemed as if my beloved mother was scarcely an inhabitant of this world, her language being generally that of adoration and praise, and accompanied by the names and attributes of her God and Saviour. She was often evidently engaged in prayer, when only broken sentences could be gathered, and the names of her children were pronounced with affectionate epithets.

In the forenoon of fourth-day, she began to slumber a good deal, and lay in an easy and composed state, which her attendants did not interrupt by asking her any questions: thinking it most consistent with the awful occasion, and knowing it to be accordant with her own feelings, not to excite natural emotion, or recal the happily prepared spirit in any degree to the world, from which it was gradually, and most peacefully receding. For some hours the coldness and hue of death were apparent, but her breathing was so easy that it seemed scarcely possible the change could be so near.

The only evidence of approaching dissolution was a gentle sinking of the breath, which continued like that of a sleeping infant; until without any perceptible intermission or the slightest struggle, it ceased, and the immortal and redeemed spirit ascended with joy to the mansions of never-ending rest and peace, about half-past eight o'clock on fourth-day evening, the 24th of ninth month 1823; leaving its worn tenement with the appearance of perfect tranquillity, and a countenance which strikingly indicated holy settlement and permanent repose.

The repeated prayer of this ancient and honourable servant of the Lord was thus remarkably answered, by her last hours being exempt from any degree of bodily anguish, and exhibiting the calm solemnity she so highly valued. Under this feeling, and amidst the poignant sense of such a bereavement, nature was mercifully hushed into stillness; and while all her children stood around her bed, a thankful assurance of the unspeakably glorious transition of one so justly beloved, overcame selfish sorrow, and tended to produce that resignation to the divine will, wherein the strength and true consolation of the believer are known to consist. My dear mother was aged seventy-three years, three months and sixteen days.

On fifth-day, the 2nd of tenth month, the precious remains were taken into a meeting appointed for the purpose at Southwark. It was largely attended by Friends and others, and signally favoured with the covering of solemnity, both in the time of silence, and while many Friends were engaged in the line of gospel ministry.

The same extension of divine regard was again evident, while a numerous assembly stood beside the grave at Bunhill Fields, and the last affecting duty of depositing the coffin in "the house appointed for all living," was succeeded by a silence peculiarly impressive, so that then, as at the moment of dissolution, the tide of natural grief was restrained by Almighty power, while the contemplation of her life and death emphatically called upon survivors to follow her as she had followed Christ.

A Testimony of Southwark Monthly meeting, concerning MARY DUDLEY, *deceased.*

THIS our beloved friend was born in the city of Bristol, the 8th of sixth month 1750, of pa-

rents professing the principles of the established church; who strictly attending to the ceremonies instituted therein, introduced her from a child into a regular observance of them; notwithstanding which she was allowed to enter into most of the vain amusements of the world, to which her natural disposition greatly inclined; and being of engaging manners her company was much sought after, and her temptations to gaiety thereby greatly increased. It appears, however, by some of her memorandums, that she was very early favoured with the visitation of divine love; and whilst pursuing the gratifications of time and sense, she was often impressed with an awfulness and fear, which led her to desire the possession of more substantial enjoyments; and which ultimately produced a gravity of demeanor that exposed her to the ridicule of her less thoughtful companions.

About the twentieth year of her age she withdrew from those scenes of dissipation and folly to which she had been accustomed; became dissatisfied with the forms and ceremonies in which she had been educated, and apprehending that she had received benefit from the ministry of some of the Wesleyan Methodists, she was induced to connect herself with that society, and continued a member thereof between two and three years; but remained at the same time an attender of the established worship. Here she observes: "In the several ceremonies of this, and in different meetings of the other, I felt unsatisfied; and often while others were engaged in attention to the preaching, singing, &c., has my spirit in solemn silence communed with the Lord my strength, so that I scarcely knew what was passing without me, and even felt disturbed from this inward attraction when obliged to draw to that spot where the outward elements were prepared for the congregation. Oh! how did I then feel the heavenly mystery, and sweetly partake of the bread of life, so that all forms and shadows fled away, and became no longer of use or efficacy to a mind feeding spiritually on the substance." In this state she frequently attended the meetings of Friends, and was so drawn into fellowship with them, that although she had no outward instruction, nor was assisted in the understanding of their religious principles from the reading of books, it appears she had so clear a view of their profession and peculiar testimonies, and was so strongly convinced of their consistency with the truth, that she believed it would be required of her to demean herself conformably thereto both in profession and practice. But in submitting to this sense of duty, the opposition from her family was so great, and the cross to her own will so heavy, that she thought the yielding up of her natural life would have been an easier sacrifice. She was, however, through mercy, strengthened to obey the divine requiring, and in the twenty-third year of her age, on the ground of settled conviction, joined our religious Society; about which period she felt herself constrained to speak in the line of ministry, from which her natural disposition exceedingly shrunk. After exercising the gift with which she was entrusted, for some time, the conflicts of her spirit were so great that she gave way to reasonings and doubts on the subject of her call to the sacred office, and thus became involved in unspeakable distress, from which at times she could see no way to escape.

In the year 1777, she was married to Robert Dudley of Clonmel, in Ireland; but the society of an affectionate husband, and an increase of domestic comforts, proved insufficient to afford that peace of which her exercised spirit felt so much the want: and here she described her situation as "often miserable"—concluding that by disobedience she had forfeited the divine favour, and should never again be commissioned to proclaim her Lord's goodness. But He who had called her to His service, and designed to qualify her for his work, brought her out of these perplexities and close probations in which her mind had long been involved, to the comfort of many who had suffered with and for her, and to His own praise; enabling her again to bear public testimony to His goodness.

Her constitution being naturally delicate, she was often affected with illness, and it was at times under the pressure of much bodily suffering that the prospect of religious services was opened to her, and a preparation of mind for proceeding therein experienced. This was strikingly the case in the year 1787, when by a complication of disease, she was brought so low, as to be thought by those about her to be near her close; yet in this state of bodily infirmity, her spirit was attracted to distant parts, and in the love of the gospel a people of strange language presented to her view. This prospect in a short time became more fully opened, and her love and allegiance put to the closest test, by an apprehension that it was required of her to unite with her beloved friend Sarah Robert Grubb in a religious visit to France, Germany and Holland. She had seven children, the youngest only ten weeks old when entering on this engagement; her health was very delicate, and in the progress of the journey she experienced many deep conflicts. But the holy arm of power being extended, she was enabled to accomplish the service to the unspeakable relief and peace of her own mind, and we trust to the edification of those in that remote part of the vineyard, who were thirsting for spiritual refreshment. Her resignation to the foregoing

requiring was the commencement of that devotedness to the cause of religion, which so conspicuously marked the future life of this dedicated servant of the Lord. For the succeeding twenty years, when ability of body permitted, she was much occupied in travelling; having within that period visited all the meetings, and a large proportion of the families of Friends in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, many of the counties in England, and some parts of the continent not included in her former journey: besides which she was engaged in most places in holding meetings with those of other denominations.

After the decease of her beloved husband, and two children who had arrived at maturity, trials which deeply wounded her susceptible feelings, she removed in the year 1810, under an apprehension of duty, into the neighbourhood of London, and resided for the most part of the remainder of her life within the compass of our Monthly meeting. She was a minister highly esteemed amongst us; sound in faith and doctrine, labouring diligently in gospel love for the promotion of the cause of truth and righteousness, under the pressure of much bodily weakness; a bright example of devotedness in declining years; and we believe it may be truly said of her, she was "fervent in spirit, serving the Lord;" that in her removal we feel the church has sustained the loss of a mother in Israel. After coming amongst us, she visited most of the families comprising the Quarterly meeting of London and Middlesex, and travelled in several counties in the line of the ministry. The youth in our Society were the objects of her peculiar and affectionate solicitude, for whom she was at times concerned to appoint meetings. She was also favoured with a gift that remarkably qualified her for service in meetings with those not in religious profession with us, in the exercise of which she was frequently engaged in advocating, in a clear and convincing manner, the doctrine of universal and free grace, and the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. She experienced many deep trials which she bore with exemplary resignation; evincing thereby her reliance on divine support. Thus could she feelingly sympathize with others under affliction, and was often enabled to hand the cup of consolation for their encouragement. Her last religious engagement was a visit to the families of Friends belonging to Devonshire meeting, which she was enabled to accomplish early in the past year to the admiration of herself and others; during which she frequently expressed her belief that her day's work was drawing to a close. After this, when ability of body permitted, she continued to attend her own meeting until the 18th of fourth month, when she was confined to her bed with what appeared to be the effects of a severe cold: symptoms of fever soon followed, and in a few days the disorder had made so rapid a progess that danger was apprehended. She frequently expressed a belief that nature would sink under the weight of illness with which she was oppressed: saying, "I do not feel able to struggle as heretofore, but I have no sight as to how it may be, nor any wish to go unless it be the will of Heaven." Again she said, "when the doubtings and hesitations of nature have been kept down, the divine will has been all to me. Thy will be done is the highest anthem ever sung on earth or in heaven." She was eminently favoured with the sensible enjoyment of the Lord's presence, and often testified of the support and consolation thus afforded her. "I have loved the cause of my Redeemer; it was to draw to him, and fix the attention of the mind upon him alone, that I have been made willing to proclaim His goodness." Being much tried with pain and other distressing symptoms she observed, "I only fear that through long continued suffering I may not exemplify that which I have held up to others, the sufficiency of divine power: may patience have its perfect work, whether any glimpse of the unspeakable glory be afforded or not. Oh! if this be known it must be glory to God in the highest, through Him who came to procure peace on earth; the language of the redeemed through all eternity will be, Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name be the praise. I could say much; my heart is full; but the poor body must have rest."

First of fifth month. This night when solemnly conversing on her precarious situation, with a peculiar calmness and feeling she said, "I seem to have nothing to do but with the present moment, no looking back with uneasiness, but in thankful remembrance of great and unmerited mercy, whereon I trust there was a building long ago. Oh! not to doubt the foundation is a great mercy; tell all there is no other way but that of resigning up all." About this time she was informed of the alarming illness of a valuable minister, when with much tenderness of spirit she uttered the following emphatic language, "Oh! our poor Society! Lord raise up judges, counsellors, feelers, such as are quick of understanding in thy fear—and if children are to become teachers give them wisdom and humility." On allusion being made to the diligence with which she had occupied the time and talents committed to her trust, she sweetly replied, "Feebly and unworthily as they have been used, I trust it was with a single eye to the help of others and the glory of the dear Redeemer." And if he forgive all the mixture, all that has been of the

creature, and mercifully receive me into rest and peace, whether he affords those bright prospects which, in the beginning of this illness and often since, have been vouchsafed, or not; Oh! may I never doubt or cast away my confidence, that He who hath loved with an everlasting love will continue to uphold me, notwithstanding the weakness of the flesh, and the temptations of the cruel enemy. Oh! this enemy, he never quits his hold of poor human nature while he can assail it."

Early in the eighth month she became increasingly debilitated, and thought it probable her remaining strength would be soon exhausted; and one night after having given some directions respecting her funeral, she expressed a wish that nothing might be done, nothing said, nor if possible thought, but what would lay the creature where it ought to be, and where she trusted it then was, prostrate at the footstool of divine mercy.

Her situation at this period was very fluctuating, but the evidence of Almighty support and consolation became increasingly manifest. On its being observed that, as she had no clear sight of the issue of her disorder, a hope was induced, she might be again raised up, she replied quickly, "That this is my death illness I have not the least doubt, but the time may be mercifully concealed from me; and if it be the Lord's will to save me from agonizing pain, and grant a quiet dismissal, what a favour it will be." At a time when she was sending some messages of love to some of her friends, she said, "I am nothing, Christ is all! my friends are dear to me, nothing in my heart but love to all—God is love. Glory, glory, glory, be to his name now and forever."

During the last three weeks of her life, she suffered much from the difficulty of breathing, and general bodily uneasiness: her mind, however, was wonderfully supported; so that to those around her she frequently appeared to be favoured with a foretaste of the rich enjoyment of perfect happiness and peace. At another time, when tried with pain and restlessness, she said; "It is only the body; it does not get within: all there is peaceful, quiet trust;" again, "nothing in the way. Ah! do not hold me; yield me up; I must go; I could have sung a song of praise this night."

After a distressing night she prayed with earnestness, "Grant a moment's ease of body if it be thy blessed will!" The petition appeared to be soon answered; for almost immediately after she proceeded thus, "Praise, praise for this calm. Now Lord into thy hands I commend my spirit; bless my children; bless thy own work." The attributes of her God and Saviour now became almost her only theme; and she often seemed as if scarcely an inhabitant of earth. Her approaching dissolution was now apparent, and the following are some of her latest expressions. "Grace has triumphed over nature's feelings; the Lord has fulfilled his promise, he has given the victory through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, and power, dominion and strength, now and forever; holy, holy, holy."

Her departure was observable only by gradually ceasing to breathe, and her immortal and redeemed spirit we doubt not ascended to the mansions of never-ending rest and peace. She died at her house at Peckham on the 24th of the ninth month, 1823, in the seventy-fourth year of her age; a minister about fifty years; and her remains were interred in Friends' Burial Ground, near Bunhill Fields, on the 2nd of the tenth month, after a solemn meeting at Southwark.

Signed in Southwark Monthly meeting, 10th of second month, 1824, by many Friends.

At a Quarterly meeting for London and Middlesex, held the 30th of the Third month, 1824.

The foregoing testimony concerning our beloved friend Mary Dudley, whose memory is precious to us, in the remembrance of her "work of faith and labour of love," has been read in this meeting, and being cordially united with, after some small alterations, is signed in and on behalf of the meeting, by

JOHN ELIOT, Clerk.

Signed in and on behalf of the Women's meeting. HANNAH MESSER, Clerk.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

OF

HANNAH DUDLEY,

WHO WAS RELEASED FROM THE TROUBLES AND DANGERS OF TIME

On the 19th day of the Third month 1810, *in the twenty-sixth year of her age.*

THE following account was drawn up by E. Dudley at the time, and has been circulated in manuscript among the cotemporaries and friends of the deceased. Her dear mother having left a written request, that if any memorial of her life were ever prepared for publication, this should be added to the work, it now seems proper to premise a few particulars respecting the character of one who was but little known beyond the circle of her immediate connexions.

Hannah Dudley was the third daughter of Robert and Mary Dudley, and born at Clonmel, in Ireland. Her disposition was amiable and tender, combined with a degree of reserve, so that, although naturally cheerful, she shrunk from observation, and was peculiarly diffident in her manner. She was seriously thoughtful from a child; fond of reading the Holy Scriptures, and remarkable for the solidity of her demeanour in religious meetings, which she delighted to attend. As she advanced to youth, the favourable impressions thus early made upon her mind, were in some measure counteracted by indulgence in self-gratification, and she took greater latitude with respect to dress and reading than was consistent with her education, though not to an extent which would be generally deemed reprehensible, nor by any means equal to what many young persons of our Society give way to. In the twentieth year of her age she had a long and very suffering illness, during which it pleased the Lord so to renew the visitation of his love, as greatly to humble and contrite her spirit. In this state she saw the vanity and unsatisfying nature of worldly enjoyments, mourned over the time which she had spent unprofitably, and was brought under conviction for deviating, even in little things, from that simplicity which she then felt it would be right for her to practise, however in the cross to her natural inclination.

She was strengthened to enter into covenant with her heavenly Father by the sacrifice of her will and affections; and when raised from the bed of sickness, the fruits of humble dedication were obvious to others. She continued subject to trying attacks of indisposition, but her patient endurance of pain, increasing watchfulness and stability of conduct, with an evident weaning from worldly objects, proved that the great work of transformation was powerfully, though secretly, carried forward in her heart.

Some papers being found after her decease, which describe the earnestness of her desire for complete sanctification, it is thought that the following extracts may be a suitable introduction to the particulars of her last illness and death.

EXTRACTS.

Eighth month 25th, 1805. "This day I completed my 21st year; may the succeeding one witness a more perfect dedication of heart to the Creator and preserver of my life, and may He graciously sanctify, (if his will,) the late severe dispensation with which he thought fit to visit."

Third month 31st, 1806. "Although disease may be permitted to make its advances by almost imperceptible degrees towards a final termination of life, and with it all terrene incumbrances, be pleased to grant, Oh! thou dispenser of every blessing, an entire acquiescence and unreserved submission; but, if consistent with Thy holy will, merciful Father! bestow more patience, more perfect resignation of heart, to every dispensation of thy Providence. Thou alone canst afford ability in the moment of trial, to rely on thine unfailing arm for consolation and divine support. Teach me, then, I beseech thee, teach this unsubdued will, to bend unreservedly to thine. And, O Lord! if so mean a suppliant may be suffered to cast a petition at thy footstool, in abundant condescension be pleased, Creator and preserver of my life, to continue near when pain and weak-

ness prove almost too much for the small grain of faith; for thou alone, dearest Father, canst afford strength in such a moment."

First month 1st, 1809, one o'clock First-day morning:

"Another year forever gone
Proclaims the end of time."

"May the succeeding one be passed more circumspectly, and an increase of knowledge be acquired on subjects worthy the pursuit of an immortal soul! But resolutions formed without mature and necessary reflection and perseverance, steady, unvarying perseverance therein, can avail but little—alas, how little!"

Eighth month 25th, 1809, Sixth-day. "The first of which I have ever attempted to set down the occurrences, and the last I have to spend of my twenty-fifth year; a year in which there has been little or no progress made in what ought to be the grand pursuit of my life, and is designed to be the end of my being. O Thou! whose ways are not as our ways, nor thy thoughts as our thoughts, grant that I may experience, (if permitted to measure another year in this state of probation,) an increase of desire, and stability in that desire, to follow more implicitly, more resignedly, thy holy commandments; to watch more guardedly over a disposition naturally prone to be too easily excited by the occurrence of trivial circumstances, to what is improper and reprehensible, both in my feelings and language. Oh! be pleased to teach me the way most suited to curb, if not overcome, the propensity I have so frequently to combat with, indulgence in imaginary prospects which never can be realized, and which tends more than any other weakness, to alienate my mind from devotedness to Thee, thou great Source of light and life. And ere I close this weak attempt to petition for further strength and support at thy footstool, thou God and Father of my life, be pleased to grant the humble request of one of thy most unworthy creatures, that this effort to acquire some improvement in the most essential point, may be blessed."

Twenty-sixth, 1809, 7 o'clock, Seventh-day morning. "This day I enter a new year. Oh may the numberless blessings conferred on so unworthy an object during the preceding one, as well as every other of my life, be thankfully had in remembrance, and with sincere humility of heart considered of, every rising and setting sun I may be permitted to behold. But, more often than the rising or setting sun, may I be strengthened to return thanks to his name who has been the preserver of my life, who would be the enlightener of my eyes, did I permit them to be opened to revealed conviction. Through His adorable condescension am I still preserved; but were I more devotedly to resign every selfish, sordid, low propensity, and substitute for them the meekness, humility, and self-denial of the true follower of a crucified Redeemer, of how much more the instrument of good to others should I be permitted to become; and how much larger a portion of that peace which the world cannot give, neither take from its happy possessor, should I be frequently blessed with."

On the 15th of the First month, 1810, my precious sister was attacked with violent pain in her face, to which she had been liable since a long illness five years before, so that we did not feel alarmed by it. Lying in bed that day, and using proper care, seemed to have the desired effect, and she was so much better the two following days as to bear sitting up for a short time. On the 18th the pain returned with much severity, and was attended by symptoms of fever, and inability to sleep, which she remarked was very trying. Towards noon her spirits became much affected, but after being relieved by weeping, she lay in a composed state, though still without sleeping, and said, "My poor dear Thomas seems continually before my eyes."* At night she grew more easy, and fell into a sweet sleep, which lasted nearly five hours; on awaking, however, she felt no way refreshed, though tolerably free of pain; and expressed such great anxiety at my not going to bed, that to satisfy her I lay down for an hour or two.

The next evening she was sweetly collected, and we had some very interesting conversation. She observed, "How just is that line of Young's, 'All men think all men mortal but themselves,'" and added, "how apt we are to forget that we are not to continue here. I have been thinking of the 91st Psalm, as applicable to our dear mother; does it not end with 'I will bless him with long life, and show to him my salvation?'" She then asked me to read the whole of it, which I did, apparently to her comfort: when I came to the last verse, she cheerfully said, "that is not one of the blessings I desire," meaning long life; her mother answering, "but, my love, thou hast no objection if such be the divine will?" "Oh no," she replied, "if it be the Lord's blessed will." That night, while in great pain, she said she was afraid of being impatient, to which I replied that she had always been much favoured with patience when tried by illness; which indeed was the case in a very striking manner: she sweetly answered, "The Lord has never laid more on me than he enabled me to bear; we should be poor creatures without his help." She then calmly said, "I think I shall not recover this illness." Being told that she had been worse in former attacks,

* A brother who had died in his 21st year, about two years before, and to whom she was very tenderly attached.

she replied, "Yes, I have, a great deal worse and been restored, and I may be now; but somehow I think I shall not; and if it be the will of the Almighty I should rejoice; at least I hope I should. Is it in the Romans that passage is? 'We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.' 'For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.'" Soon after this, mentioning a relation who had lately died; "Poor ———," said she, "had a bustling life; I trust she is at rest. Oh! if people did but consider rightly I often think how insignificant those things would appear which now make us anxious and uneasy.

> 'Ah! what is life, that thoughtless wish of all,
> A drop of honey in a draught of gall.'"

I remarked that the next line was also striking:

> "A *half* existence, or a waking dream."

"Yes, indeed," she replied, "we do not exist here; it is in eternity we shall have our existence." After awhile she again spoke on the improbability of her recovery, and mentioned her absent brothers with much tenderness, desiring that when any one wrote, her love might be given them; adding, "I think I shall never see them again, but I don't know, of course none of us can tell; but if not, we must be satisfied; His holy, blessed will be done!"

On my saying that I hoped such a sorrow as losing her did not await us, after all we had gone through, she cheerfully repeated, "Sorrow!" I replied, "that it will not be sorrow to thee, my love, I can readily believe, but it will be a sore privation to us." She sweetly answered, alluding to the term sorrow, "I hope not; I trust in the mercy of a gracious Saviour, and rely on his merits only." I think it was on first-day evening, that being in great agony, she clasped her hands, as in the attitude of prayer, and exclaimed, "Oh! merciful Father! thou hast never laid more on me than thou enabled me to bear." Presently after she queried where is that expression, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble;" her mother repeated the verse to her, which is the first of the 20th Psalm. "Yes," said she, "but there is something more." The whole passage was then repeated. "Send thee help from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel." "Yes, yes," said she, "that's it; Oh, merciful goodness!" On getting a little ease she quickly told us she was better, being always anxious to say any thing calculated to relieve our minds, and sweetly added, "what a favour this is." Upon asking whether her mother was gone to bed, "my poor, careworn mother," said she, "does she take nourishment? You should make her take as much as possible, now she has so much to bear." Her amiable, affectionate solicitude for those she loved, never seemed more acute, and she often expressed her fears of our being overdone by watching with her, frequently saying, "I am not worth half the trouble you have with me." Hearing some noise in the street, which we told her was owing to a ball being in the neighbourhood, she remarked, "how giddy the world is, and how serious every thing appears to one who is not likely to recover;" then lying still awhile, she looked at me with inexpressible sweetness, and said, "Come, let us join with angels round the throne!"

When she had been about a week ill, the doctor proposed our calling in further medical advice; but feeling very delicate of alarming her, though convinced that she was fully aware of her own situation, we avoided speaking of it until the second physician was in the house. Her kind attendant then told her that he had brought his friend Doctor ——— to see her, not because he thought her worse, but that it would be a satisfaction to him to have his own judgment confirmed. She calmly answered, "I have no objection, he may come in, though I have full confidence in thee, but I cannot answer many questions. Thou art trying to make me think I am not in a dangerous disorder, but I know I am, and you can do nothing for me. I do not depend on physicians; thou need not be afraid to tell me." When both the doctors had withdrawn, she inquired of me, "what do they say my complaint is?" I told her they called it inflammatory rheumatism. "Ah," said she, "it is more than that;" and signified that she felt the disease very deeply seated. Her mother saying that she hoped the means used for her help would prove effectual, she sweetly answered, "but, my dear mother, if the means are not effectual, I want thee not to be depressed; thou art too good, too good to us all. I cannot say that I have an evidence that it will be so, but the impression that I shall not recover remains." Her mother answering that she had heretofore been wonderfully sustained and brought through severe sufferings, she replied, "The Lord is all goodness, all mercy, all mercy." She seemed religiously to comply with every thing proposed for her benefit, though some very painful means were thought necessary. She usually suffered much from the application of blisters, and had an uncommon dread of them; so that

when it was proposed to put a large one to her neck, where the pain was very severe, she objected, and seemed to think she could not bear it; yet after a few hours she called me to her and said, "thou had better put on that blister; if I grow worse I shall blame myself for refusing it."

Complaining that she felt very heavily loaded with illness, yet could hardly tell where her pain was, she said, in a solemn and impressive manner, "It is in seasons like this, we find the necessity of exerting all the little religion we may be favoured with; every other support fails me now." The scriptures appeared to be mostly the subject of her meditations, and the remembrance of them to contribute largely to her comfort. "What a treat it will be to me," she would say, "when I am able to hear thee read a chapter." At a time when her bodily affliction seemed enough to absorb every other feeling, she astonished me by querying, "Dost thou know who is the author of that observation respecting the sacred records, 'They have God for their author, Salvation for their end, and Truth, without any mixture of error, for their matter?' How just," added she, "is the description!" At another time she asked, "Is it the Apostle James who says, 'we walk by faith, not by sight.'" She would frequently observe, "what trouble and care these bodies cost us;" "Oh! the encumbering flesh," &c.; and repeatedly, when undergoing violent pain, which it was often hard for those who loved her calmly to witness, she would say, in an animated and heavenly tone of voice, "What are these sufferings when compared to what the Saviour bore for us. The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed." Whenever a little respite from pain was afforded, she would mention it as a mercy, and say, "what a favour it was that she had not such or such suffering to struggle with;" or, "thank gracious Providence, that pain is lessened." Want of sleep was one distressing feature of the complaint throughout, but she lay so still that we often thought her dozing, until she would break forth in some sweet observation, tending to manifest how her mind had been occupied. On one of these occasions she asked me if I remembered these four lines:

"We've no abiding city here,
We seek a city out of sight;
Zion its name—we'll soon be there,
It shines with everlasting light."

The 5th of the second month was a day of extreme suffering to my beloved sister, although when the physicians came they pronounced her not worse, which she listened to without making any remark; but after passing a most distressing night, she said to me very composedly, "Surely Dr. ——— is too honest a man to tell you I am recovering. I am not, nor do I believe I ever shall. I have never lost the belief that I should not recover this illness. I dreamed last night that I saw my precious father, and remembering that he was gone, I asked him if he was happy? he answered me in the sweetest manner by repeating that passage of scripture which he used to speak of on his death-bed, relative to the general assembly and church of the first-born; adding, 'thou shalt be with me in a short time; only make thy peace with God, and he will admit thee into his holy presence.'" She wept much while relating this dream, and on my remarking that I trusted her peace was not then to make, she said, "if I only had an evidence, but I trust I shall at last." I reminded her of the manner in which she had been favoured at the beginning of her illness, when she had said she could rejoice in the prospect of being taken away; "Yes," she replied, "and I hope I can rejoice. I trust in my Saviour. I have many sins, and I pray they may go beforehand to judgment." She then mentioned that her nights were so trying as to make her dread their approach; "yet," said she, "I enjoy sweet peace in the night. How do the doctors account for my passing such uneasy nights, and being unable to sleep; but, (as if unconcerned about an answer,) it is an unspeakable favour, that even when I am racked with pain, I feel such sweet peace as more than compensates for all I suffer. Oh! what condescension of a gracious Saviour to a poor sinner! this bed is not like a bed of sickness: I feel holy joy."

In the afternoon being asked how she felt, she cheerfully answered, "rather better, thank Providence; it is a great mercy that my head is not always so bad as it is sometimes." When the doctor came in he queried whether the pain was more bearable, to which she sweetly answered, "It ought always to be bearable, but I think it is somewhat lessened."

Speaking to her mother of her illness, and its probable increase and termination, she said, "If I grow worse my dear mother do not get any other physicians." Her mother replying that she knew her confidence was not in man, but in the Lord, "Ah!" said she, "what poor creatures we should be but for his help!" Her mother observing, thou canst say with Job that "painful nights and wearisome days are appointed thee;" "yes," she returned, "I suffer much, but what are mine when compared with the sufferings of many others; and though my nights are trying, there are times when my Saviour is near me, I feel him near me!" Her mother again repeating the first two verses of

the twentieth Psalm, added, my soul craves that this may be thy experience; to which she solemnly answered, "my dear mother, the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much, and if I have thy prayers they will be such." After the doctor had paid his visit at night, she said, "I pity that poor man when standing by the bed; he is very affectionate and wishes to help me I believe, but it is out of his power, and I do not depend upon them; the opinion of any physician is not of the weight of a pin with me. I know the Lord is able to do all things, he can raise me up if he pleases, and he can grant me patience, though I fear if it lasts much longer, (meaning her illness,) mine will be worn out." Her mother saying thou art favoured with patience, it is renewed to thee; "It is renewed;" she emphatically replied. On my begging her to try for rest, "ah! my dear!" said she in her own placid manner, "I believe there is not much rest for me on earth." As the night advanced, her pain and restlessness increased, and on my querying where her uneasiness was, she replied, "my head is very bad, but it is a mercy my senses are preserved, I think I have had a sight of heaven." She then spoke of her death, and said, "tell my dear brothers not to grieve like those who have no hope. I trust we shall meet in another and a better world; take care of our precious mother." Finding that this conversation affected my feelings, although natural emotion was generally suppressed in her chamber, she sweetly said, "Is it not our Saviour's language? Daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me; but weep for yourselves and for your children: thou art doing too much; Heaven bless thee for all thy kindness to me; but what should I do if thou wast sick." Then correcting, what might seem like selfish consideration, she added, "but it is more for thy own sake than mine I speak; do go to bed, perhaps I may get a little sleep." This she often said with a view of allaying our solicitude; for notwithstanding any little temporary amendment, from which those about her were at times willing to cherish hope, her opinion that she was in her death illness remained unshaken. And the whole tenor of her conduct evinced, that she was patiently waiting her Lord's time for an admittance into that mansion of rest which she confidently, though humbly, believed was prepared for her; and it was indeed an unspeakable favour, considering the pain of body she endured, that she was spared those mental conflicts, which many experienced Christians have been tried with. Her prospect of a glorious fruition appeared to be unclouded. Whenever she mentioned any thing that she wished done, or spoke of any little alteration, it was with this provision, "please Providence my life is spared, I hope to be moved into the other bed to-morrow, &c." One night she inquired whether she was to take medicine, or have any thing done for her; I replied no, that she had nothing to do but to try for sleep. "Only," she returned with great sweetness, "to pray for patience."

At one time she suffered much from the use of a painful prescription, which seemed almost too much for her exhausted state, and she frequently exclaimed, "mercy! mercy!" When somewhat relieved she called me to her, and said with much tenderness, "I was very unguarded awhile ago, I was impatient." I replied that we had not observed it, but thought she was much favoured with patience. "I felt it," said she, with emphasis, "I was unwatchful."

Thus was the "swift witness" attended to by this happily instructed spirit, and no allowance made for emotions which perhaps few would deem culpable under such distress as was allotted her. Her nurse once mentioning how hard it was to bear such agony, and that it would have been better never to have been born, "Oh do not speak so," said she with earnestness, "it is good for us to suffer."

Second month 17th. For some days past the increased illness of my precious sister rendered her unable to speak much, but the little she did utter, clearly evinced that the Lord still sustained her in holy confidence, amidst the storms and tempests of a peculiarly trying season. Many times, when a sentence could hardly be connected, the language of supplication was heard, and her patient acquiescence with the divine will manifested in words like these, "Oh Lord look down upon thy poor child: heavenly Father! not my will but thine be done," &c. &c.

18th. Her weakness and debility this morning seemed greater than at any time before, so that she was scarcely able to articulate; yet on being asked whether she had got any sleep, she answered, "very disturbed sleep, but it was a sweet peaceful night." Her bodily sufferings throughout the day were extreme, and she appeared to think herself hastening to the close; once on calling me to her she said, "Pray, pray, pray;" and soon after, "this is an awful day; preparation for a final change." Her mother saying that she did believe her soul was anchored on the Rock of Ages, and that the Lord was her Father and Helper, she said in an animated manner, "Come then holy Father! Lord preserve me! Oh the encumbering flesh."

19th. About five o'clock this morning her sufferings of body were such as nearly to overcome her, and desiring I might be called to her, she described her sensations as peculiary distressing. On finding that I was greatly afflicted at being unable to relieve her, the different

means prescribed proving ineffectual, she affectionately held my hand, and said with sweet composure, "be content, whatever way I am taken, be content, the Lord is near me. He is near me; my God and Saviour!" Soon after, while under great conflict, she raised her eyes, and awfully exclaimed, "My blessed Redeemer!" Her brother coming into the room she spoke very tenderly to him, saying that it was a mercy they were permitted to hear each other's voices again, (for the room was necessarily kept so dark that he could not see her,) and in strong terms expressed her love for him. After he left the chamber she called me to her and said, "It is surprising how my affections are loosened from every earthly object. I seem weaning from all of you, and oh that God may be all in all to all of us. Every tie seems fast loosening, if I am taken this will be a mitigation of my sufferings, but perhaps when the time comes it may feel harder." I remarked that every thing had been made easy to her during her illness. "Oh yes," she emphatically answered, "from the very first. I sometimes forget that I am on a sick bed; the serenity I feel is so great, that at times I fear it is carnal security, and think it is presumptuous in so poor a worm to trust as I do, but no! He cannot deceive me, none ever trusted in the Lord and was confounded." She often said she was not half thankful enough for the blessings she enjoyed, so superior to what many poor creatures under bodily suffering are favoured with. In the night while her pains were very acute she repeated the following lines.

Hide me, oh my Saviour, hide!
Till the storm of life be past,
Safe into the haven guide,
Oh receive my soul at last!

"Ah! that is it," said she, "If I be but safely landed." In the intervals of pain she prayed in these words, "Oh my God! help thy creature who depends on thee." Turning to her mother, she said, "when thou hast access pray for me. I have often thought my dear mother, that I could not bear to see thee go, that I could not bear to stay behind thee, and now it looks as though I should be spared that trial." At another time, when speaking to her mother respecting the nature of her disorder, she signified how unimportant it was what name it might be called, adding, "we must all have something to bring us to our end;" and then turning to the subject which appeared to her the only one worthy of attention, she spoke of her strong confidence in the mercy of a Redeemer, and said that her hopes of salvation were grounded on that alone, observing, "Oh my dear mother, what could works do for me now?" Her mother replied, "nothing my precious child, all we have to trust to is the mercy of God in Christ Jesus."

On the night of the 21st she was affected with something of a spasm, which we were apprehensive might prove the last struggle, and she seemed herself to have a similar idea, for clasping her hands and raising her eyes, she solemnly said, "Now Lord for an evidence!" and presently after, "yes, yes; peace, peace, peace." When a little recovered she observed, alluding to the Pilgrim's Progress, (which she had read through a short time before her illness,) "poor Christian said, though I walk through the valley and shadow of death I will fear no evil, for thy rod and thy staff they comfort me;" then with a more cheerful voice, "poor *Feebleminded* too got over the river, so may I."

She lay during the whole of the 22nd in a state of great suffering, being generally unable to say more than yes or no, and even that effort frequently produced distressing symptoms.—About eleven o'clock at night we were surprised by her reviving so as to call us all by name. Finding that only her mother and sisters were in the room, she asked for her brother, who quickly came in, and we all sat round the bed; when to our admiration she was strengthened to approach the throne of her heavenly Father in the language of solemn supplication, praying for us individually, and commending in a strain of Christian confidence yet deep humility, all and each of her near connections to his protecting care: and then for herself. "Oh gracious Lord and Saviour, if I do not weary thy throne with petitions, look down upon thy poor dying sinner: favour her with an evidence that she shall be received up into glory; but thou hast already, my God and Saviour, nearly done so. Oh! accept my humble thanks for thy preserving care throughout my life, and for the last five weeks that thou hast been near me and supported me. Thou hast answered my petitions. Oh my Saviour! posture is nothing, thou hearest prayer!" She then sent messages to her absent brothers, and sweetly addressed her sisters in the language of serious advice, concluding with, "comfort our dear tried mother, console and support her." Observing that some of us were affected, and indeed it would have been hard to restrain the tide of feeling on such an occasion; "Suppress nature," said she very forcibly, "I endeavour to do so." After we had all remained some time silent, she inquired, "who are here?" Her mother answered, "none but thy poor mother, thy sisters and brother, and *the Shepherd of Israel*;" "*He is here*," she replied, "He is near me." After a while she addressed her nurse in an affectionate and grateful manner, and added, "I am dying,

and it is a very awful thing to die. Oh be circumspect, we must all die; but the presence of the Lord supports me, his presence is near me." Then dismissing the servant, she said, "Give my love to Dr. ———, tell him I am much obliged to him for his kind attention, but that the knowledge of this world gendereth to bondage. I am afraid he is too fond of vain philosophy to think enough of religion." She next gave me a message to a relation at a distance, comprising much important counsel in a few words; and mentioning the attendance of places of amusement, she said in a plaintive and lamenting tone, "Oh it is a pity, a great pity, a sin, and waste of time." After lying still a few minutes she broke forth thus; "What is life! a bubble; five and twenty years and a little more, and all is over; but I am taken in great mercy, oh! in great mercy I do believe, from the evil to come. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever." Remaining awhile quiet she said, "I hope I have not said more than was given me:" her mother telling her that she need not fear, as it was evident her lips had been touched with a live coal from the holy altar; "It is the Lord's doings," she replied, "it is His doings, oh what mercy! He hears and answers prayer!"

It is worthy of remark, and proved an undoubted evidence of her having been strengthened for the occasion, that although my beloved sister had spoken so much more during this solemnly interesting scene, (which lasted for about two hours,) than at any time of her illness, yet she did not seem at all exhausted by it, nor to suffer afterwards from such great exertion of voice: for notwithstanding her weakness was such that we generally had to lean over her in order to gather what she said, she spoke while thus engaged in so clear and distinct a manner that she could be heard in any part of the room.

For about two weeks after this memorable period, her debility was such that she could seldom bear to be touched, or have any one very near the bed, and usually made signs for what she wished done, the distressing sickness at her stomach rendering it hard to her to speak a word. Yet ejaculations were sometimes heard which manifested that her mind was still kept in confidence, and her faith in the sufficiency of her Almighty Helper preserved unshaken. One evening during this sore conflict, after her mother had supplicated at her bed side, and was engaged to petition that the Lord might preserve her amidst all the suffering he saw meet to dispense, in steady reliance upon himself, and grant that patience might have its perfect work, &c. &c. "Amen! Amen!" said she with uncommon energy and sweetness, and then made this appeal; "Thou hast told me that mine eyes shall see thy salvation. Thou hast told me so in the secret of my heart; only Lord keep in the patience, until it is thy good pleasure to set the spirit free. I am afraid the spirit is too anxious to get free." During exquisite distress of body the following aspirations were distinctly heard, though uttered in a weak and broken voice. "Gracious Father, remember I am but dust! Oh, my Saviour, look down with compassion upon thy poor sufferer, take her this night if it be thy good pleasure; yet not my will but thine be done!"

Speaking one time of the dying expressions of dear Sarah Grubb, she seemed comforted by her mother's repeating that part relative to the grain of faith being mercifully vouchsafed, amidst deep conflict of flesh and spirit, &c., and afterwards mentioned the account of a young woman who had made a very happy end, saying, "How apt we are when in health to scan over records of this kind, without considering their value and importance, though they are calculated to do much good." She several times mentioned dear Deborah Darby, (of whose death we did not inform her, though it occurred during her illness,) saying, she had dreamt of her, and often remembered her and her companion's sweet visits to our family when last in Ireland; remarking what a favour it was to be noticed by the messengers and servants of the Most High; but that His visits to the soul were beyond all. She sent a message to a beloved and intimate young friend on the subject of reading, which at that awful period she saw required great caution, and lamented that much precious time was often wasted in perusing works of imagination. "Tell her," said she, "to read the Holy Scriptures," intimating that the more she did so, the less she would feel disposed for perusing books of an unprofitable tendency.

About a week before her death, she said, one evening while in great pain, "I pray that the Lord may terminate my sufferings before my patience is exhausted, and I believe and trust he will." On my querying where her pain was, and expressing surprise at her having such constant uneasiness, "Oh death, death!" she calmly replied, "in how many forms does death approach, it is hard work to die." She once or twice asked her mother, "dost thou think it can be long," meaning her continuance in suffering. At a time when we thought she scarcely noticed any sound, she remarked the death-bell tolling, and said, in an animated manner, "some one escaped from life, a spirit released."

Third month 14th. Her sufferings and consequent debility were very distressing, so that we were often apprehensive she had really ceased to breathe; yet on a little revival, it was evident that her faith and patience continued

in lively exercise. She said with great sweetness and composure, "How pleasant it will be to get home, after all these conflicts, into the arms of Jesus! how trifling they will then appear, though so hard to poor mortality; but the Lord is near; oh what an eminent favour, what an unspeakable mercy that he is so near: from the very first he has seemed to overshadow me, all my impatience he passes by and forgives; he remembers that I am but dust; he smiles, he comforts, he cherishes me." I remarked that her bodily sufferings had been very great almost throughout. "Yes," she answered, "in the beginning I had great conflict, and felt my pain very trying; but at length I got to resignation, and by prayer could say, Thy will be done; and now I have desired that when I am taken it may be in a calm and tranquil moment, that the pangs may not be such as to preclude the possibility of my nearest connections being around me; but the Lord's blessed will be done. He is all goodness to me, and will relieve me in his own good time."

For the last two days of her life, she spoke but seldom, and that with difficulty, apparently owing to the oppression and hurry of breathing: which were such, that except when some one fanned her, she dared not venture to doze, feeling as she herself expressed it, that without that artificial air she could not breathe at all.

On first-day evening she had a little of that rambling which results from extreme weakness, and did not seem fully to know those about her; but this quite subsided, and she was next morning perfectly clear, yet did not say much, being mostly in great pain and suffering, more so under the approaches of dissolution than we thought could be the case, considering her exhausted state. But about four hours previously to her release, as if permitted to show us that the bias of her mind remained firm even at that awful moment, she said, with strength and clearness, "thank merciful Goodness, that pain is better." She appeared once or twice after this to be engaged in prayer, but the words could not be understood: and so peaceful was her close, that those around her knew not the precise moment when she entered her everlasting rest; though her nearest connections were witnesses of the solemn, and to them deeply afflictive scene, about half past eight o'clock on second-day evening, 19th of third month, being exactly nine weeks from her first seizure. The desire of her soul was thus remarkably granted, and the last enemy disarmed of his sting. May she, "being dead," yet speak with availing emphasis the awfully instructive language, "Be ye also ready."

A MEMOIR OF THE LIFE AND RELIGIOUS LABOURS

OF

THAT EMINENT SERVANT OF CHRIST AND MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL,

EDWARD BURROUGH.

COMPILED FOR THE FRIENDS' LIBRARY.

INTRODUCTION.

The materials for compiling a life of Edward Burrough are extremely scanty. His death occurred so early after the rise of the Society; and at a period when Friends were enduring such severe persecution, many of them being shut up in prisons, that it is probable but little care was then taken to collect or put on record the incidents of his short but laborious life. It does not appear that he kept any account of himself, except the few particulars which are scattered through his controversial or other religious writings. These, with the scanty materials furnished by incidental notices of him, in the journals of other Friends of that day, and in Sewel's History, are all that can now be obtained.

From this circumstance the reader will not expect to find a minute or closely connected biography of this remarkable man—yet with all the paucity of material, there is enough to form a narrative deeply instructive and interesting. Perhaps there are few instances on record, of more full and entire devotion to the cause of Christ and the good of souls, more fervent zeal, more untiring industry, more pa-

nt and meek endurance of reproach and persecution, than marked his character.

From the day of his espousal to Christ, his urse seems to have been straight forward, ver looking back or flinching amid all the flictions and sufferings which beset him for e gospel's sake. Bold, ardent, and devoted pursuing the path of Christian duty, he was othed with a dignity and divine authority hich made him a terror to evil doers, while the eekness and gentleness of Christ softened and dorned his whole character, and qualified him administer the balm of divine consolation to e afflicted and contrite mourner.

Cheerfully surrendering every prospect of orldly ease and profit at the call of duty, he evoted the prime and strength of his days to e service of his Lord, laboring night and ay for the good of souls and the spread of ital religion, and crowding into the narrow ompass of a few years, a greater amount of abour than is often accomplished in a protracted life.

Undaunted by the frowns and cruel persecution of his enemies, he never flinched from ines, imprisonment or any species of personal buse, or violence, but nobly stood as in the orefront of the battle; and at last, actuated by hat Christian sympathy which is ever ready to hare the sorrows and sufferings of brethren nd sisters in Christ, he repaired to London, uring a time of extraordinary severity against riends there, and being seized and dragged to ail from one of their meetings, the pestilential tmosphere caused by the crowded state of the partment, soon undermined his health; and e gradually sunk away, in peace with God nd man, a martyr for the name and testimony f Jesus; exchanging a prison on earth for an ncorruptible crown in heaven.

CHAPTER I.

Edward Burrough was born in the year 634, in or near Underbarrow, a village in the arony of Kendal, in Westmoreland. His parents were respected for their virtue and honesy; and as they were possessed of a sufficient state, they gave their son the best education hat could be obtained for him in the neighbourhood where they resided. He displayed much manliness of character at an early age, abstaining in great measure from the ordinary amusements of youth, and evincing a relish for the company and conversation of pious persons of enlarged and mature minds. He was fond of reading the Holy Scriptures, and having a retentive memory, he became well versed in them. His parents were members of the Episcopal church, and brought him up in the practice of the ceremonies which its ritual prescribed. He describes his religion, at this time, as consisting in "going one day in seven to hear a man preach—to read and sing, and rubble over a prayer; whilst I was wanton and light, and lived in pleasure without the fear of God; not knowing God but by hearsay and tradition."

He was early favoured with the visitation of divine grace, making him uneasy with his sensual enjoyments and sinful condition, and inciting him to seek after better things. He says, "When I grew up towards twelve years of age, something stirred in me, and showed me that there was a higher religion than that I was exercised in." He visited various places of worship, for the purpose of finding some purer way than that in which he then was; and thought the Presbyterians had more that seemed like truth amongst them, than those with whom he had been educated. "So I got to be a Presbyterian, says he, and followed the highest of the priests and professors of that form, and grew in favour with them. Then I left some little of my vanity and lightness, and pride grew up in me. Some of my former acquaintance began to scorn me, and by labouring here, I gathered knowledge of things without, but yet was ignorant of the living truth."

"When I was about seventeen years of age, it pleased God to show himself a little to me, and something struck me with terror. When I had been praying, I heard the voice often, 'Thou art ignorant of God—thou knowest not where he is; to what purpose is thy prayer?' So, much fear came upon me, and broke me off from praying many times; trouble came thick into my mind, and fearfulness fell upon me. I was struck off from my delights, which I formerly loved, and what I had gathered in, as of God, died. I left off reading in the Scriptures, for something showed me that I was very ignorant, and knew not the true God; and the beauty of all things vanished. I went to some, asking what that God was, which was professed? for I said, 'I know him not;' but I got no satisfaction from any."

"At this time, he continues, I was much separated from the vain ways of the world, and from worldly people; and was made to reprove many for wickedness in words and actions; and was derided, and looked upon scornfully by many. The preaching of those whom I had formerly much delighted in, was withered and decayed. Yet it pleased the Lord to show himself in love to me, and I had sweet refreshment, coming in from him to my soul, and had joy and peace in abundance; and openings of the living truth in me, which the world knew not of. The mystery of the Scriptures was something opened, which before I knew nothing of; and I saw many glorious things in it, which lie

hid under the letter. I was in much rejoicing many times, and sang praises, for I was brought out of the land of darkness, and could say, I was in the light."

"But not knowing the cross of Christ, I ran forth, in my wisdom comprehending the mysteries of God. Having a light shining in me, I grew up into notions, to talk of high things, for it was my delight to comprehend in my busy mind. Thus, being ignorant of the cross, to keep low in it, I ran before my guide up into comprehension, and then was I above many of the priests and professors, and followed only to hear the highest notionists, that preached high things. But the fleshly man was at liberty, and so I became one of them in their discoursings, and was looked upon by them to know much. The former terror was gone, and I had got up from under the judgment;—pride grew more than ever, self-conceit, presumption, and fleshly liberty to the carnal mind; and my delight was much in discoursing; where I gave holy things unto dogs, and cast pearls before swine. Wisdom was hid from me; I lived pleasantly, for I had the true God, and the true truth in my comprehension, which by my wisdom in the light I had comprehended, and I had the world in my heart. Pride, covetousness, and the earthly spirit ruled, and my delight was grown up to that, which once I had no delight in, and the beauty of things grew, which seemed to have been vanished. Here I was run from my husband after other lovers, and had left the Lord my Maker who had so graciously made himself manifest unto me. I became darkened, lost that which I once had, and had in memory that which before I had enjoyed. I could tell of experiences, but they were dead to me; and something within began to question how it was with me? for I saw myself to be ignorant more than formerly, and I saw that I knew nothing."

At this period he felt earnest desires to regain the state from which he had fallen; yet was not humbled enough to seek restoration in that abasedness of self, which would have prepared him for knowing the gracious promise fulfilled, "Seek, and ye shall find." He endeavoured to comfort himself in the recollection of the seasons of inward communion with the Lord which he had formerly enjoyed, saying, "Whom God loves once, he loves forever." This doctrine, which was very prevalent among the Calvinistic Puritans, is eminently evil in its tendency, by soothing the anguish for sin, which the Lord in mercy, as well as in judgment, brings upon his backsliding children, in order to induce them to seek reconciliation with Him through Christ, by repentance and amendment of life.

Edward Burrough could not however, long rest satisfied to trust in former experiences, knowing from the convictions of the Holy Spirit, in himself, that his heart was not right in the sight of God. What would it have availed him, if called into another state of existence, that he had once been favoured with divine approbation, when, to use his own language, "that was head and ruled in me, which God never loved!" The witness for Truth in his heart did not suffer him to settle down at rest. He grew weary of the preaching of the priests, even of those who made the highest profession, and through the discoveries of that divine Light which still shone in his heart, he perceived the spiritual ignorance and emptiness of the professors of the Christian name.

Whilst in this unsettled state, he informs us, that "It pleased the Lord to send into the parts where he lived, his faithful servant and messenger, George Fox. He spoke the language which I knew not, notwithstanding all my high talking." It was about the first of the fourth month, 1652, that George Fox came to Underbarrow, where Edward Burrough met with him. He had previously been at Kendal, and had preached at a meeting there with such prevailing power, that a number of persons received his doctrine; and several of these came with him to Underbarrow.

The doctrine of the light of Christ Jesus, made manifest in the heart, reproving for evil, giving a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and leading the humble and obedient ones to the saving knowledge of Him who died for them, was calculated to produce a strong impression on the minds of those, who had long been fruitlessly seeking after truth and religious stability, among empty forms and ceremonies. Yet the truth thus declared to them, being in the cross to man's natural wisdom, was not received without opposition and argument; and amongst the contenders against it were Edward Burrough. His ability in argument, and his desire to save himself from the acknowledgment of error, were however, of no avail; for through the power of the Holy Spirit accompanying the word preached, which gave an awakening force to the language of Truth in the mouth of George Fox, this strong-minded young man was brought to confess to the soundness of the doctrine which he then heard, and its consistency with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. But what was more important to him than all this, his heart was touched and softened, whilst his mind became enlightened, and he was brought to a sense of his wretched and sinful condition. He tells us, that the Lord was pleased to show him that he was in the prodigal state, above the cross of Christ, out of the pure fear of the Lord, and full of corruption and of the old nature. He felt himself to be a child of wrath, and "no more worthy to be called a son." "A day of

weeping, mourning and misery, says he, and a day of vengeance and recompense came upon me, such as I had never known. One vial of wrath after another [was poured out] and then I separated from all the glory of the world, and from all my acquaintance and kindred, and betook myself to the company of a poor despised and condemned people, called Quakers. Now am I one of that generation which is ever hated of the world; and have chosen rather to suffer affliction with them, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin with the great multitude, though worldly pleasures were not wanting to me. I do bear witness against all formality in religion, and false hirelings, and chief priests, who walk in the steps of the Scribes and Pharisees, and of the false prophets of Israel, that were never sent of God to declare his word. I am despised of my neighbours and carnal acquaintance, and am not greater than my Lord, who was called a blasphemer and a deceiver, as now I am. But praised, praised be the Lord forevermore, who hath separated me from the world and worldly glories, and hath made me a partaker of his love, in whom my soul hath full satisfaction, joy and content."

Whilst he was thus made to endure the baptism of the Holy Spirit to prepare him for the Lord's service, he had also a large share of outward trouble and conflict. His parents having been educated in the belief, that religion very much consisted in the observance of the church ritual, were not prepared to tolerate in their son a profession which struck at all mere external rites and ceremonies, as being contrary to the spirituality of the Christian religion. They no doubt regarded the Quakers as heretics, in denying the saving efficacy of those rites, which many deemed to be part of Christianity itself, and obligatory on all. Other dissenters, however they might differ on certain points of doctrine or discipline, clung to what were termed the ordinances. They considered the administration of outward water as the Christian baptism, and the partaking of bread and wine, after it was supposed to have been consecrated by the priest, as the Lord's supper. The Quakers, therefore, were condemned by all other professors of the Christian name; and Edward Burrough's parents were so incensed against him for joining with such a people, that they refused to permit him to remain in their family. When they had rejected him as a son, he offered to remain and work for them in the capacity of a servant, but in this he was also denied. Having now literally given up father and mother for the Lord's sake and the gospel's, he endeavoured to walk in faithful obedience to Him who had called him, and whom he found to be a rich "rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." He that declared, "whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and sister and mother," was with him in this separation from his kindred, sustaining him under the sacrifice he had made of family endearments.

Having thus given up all for Christ's sake, and passed through various exercises and baptisms to prepare him for the service and station which he was designed to fill in the church, he received a divine call to the solemn work of the ministry of the Gospel; and engaged therein about two months after his convincement. In a preface which he subsequently wrote to one of George Fox's works, he thus speaks of this period, viz:

"It is now about seven years, since the Lord raised us up in the north of England, and opened our mouths [to preach the gospel] in His Spirit. What we were before, in our religious profession and practice, is well known to that part of the country; how generally we were men of the strictest sect, and of the greatest zeal in the performance of outward righteousness. We went through and tried all sorts of teachers, and ran from mountain to mountain, and from man to man, and from one form to another, as many do at this day, and remain not gathered to the Lord. Such we were that sought the Lord, and desired the knowledge of his ways more than any thing beside. For one, I may speak, who from a child, even a few years old, set his face to seek and find the Saviour, and more than life, treasure or any crown, sought after with all his heart the one thing that is needful, to wit, the knowledge of God."

"After our long seeking, the Lord appeared to us, and revealed his glory in us, and gave us of his spirit, and of his wisdom to guide us, whereby we saw all the world, the true state of things, and the true condition of the church. First, the Lord brought us to see that God had given every one of us a light from himself, shining in our hearts and consciences, with which light, Christ, the Saviour of the world, had lighted every man. This light we found sufficient to reprove and convince us of every evil deed, word and thought. By it we came to know good from evil, and whatsoever is of God from what is of the devil. This light gave us to discern between truth and error, and between every false and right way. We thereby came to know what man was before transgression, how he was deceived and overcome by the devil; how he is driven from the presence of the Lord, and the sorrow and anguish which he is to undergo. By this light we came to know the way and means of restoration, and the state of man come out of the trangression and restored. These things were revealed in us by the light which Christ had given us, and enlightened us with."

"We found this light to be a sufficient teacher to lead us to Christ, from whom it came; and it gave us to receive Christ, and to witness him to dwell in us. Through it we came to enter into the new Covenant, to be made heirs of life and salvation. In all things we found the Light, which is Christ, which we and all mankind were enlightened with, to be sufficient to bring to life and eternal salvation; and that all who owned this light in them, needed no man to teach them, but the Lord was their teacher, by his light in their consciences, and they received the holy anointing. So we ceased from all the teachings of men, their worships, temples and baptisms, and from our own words, professions, and practices of religion, in times before zealously performed by us, and became fools for Christ's sake, that we might become truly wise.

"By this light of Christ in us we were led out of all false ways, false preachings and false ministry, and met together often and waited upon the Lord in pure silence. We hearkened to the voice of the Lord, and felt his word in our hearts to burn up and to beat down all that was contrary to God, and we obeyed the light of Christ, and followed the motions of the Lord's pure Spirit—took up the cross to all earthly glories, crowns and ways, and denied ourselves, our relations, and all that stood in the way between us and the Lord. We chose to suffer with and for the name of Christ, rather than enjoy all the pleasures upon earth, or all our former professions and practices in religion, without the power and Spirit of God."

"Whilst waiting upon the Lord in silence, as we often did for many hours together, with our hearts towards him, being stayed in the light of Christ from all fleshly motions and desires, we often received the pouring down of his Spirit upon us, and our hearts were made glad, and our tongues loosened, and our mouths opened, and we spake with new tongues, as the Lord gave us utterance, and his Spirit led us, which was poured upon sons and daughters. Thereby things unutterable were made manifest, and the glory of the Father was revealed. Then we began to sing praises to the Lord God Almighty, and to the Lamb, who had redeemed us to God, and brought us out of the bondage of the world, and put an end to sin and death.

"All this was by and through the light of Christ within us; and much more might be declared hereof, which could not be believed, of the manifestation of the everlasting spirit that was given us. But this is the sum, life and immortality where brought to light, power from on high, and wisdom were made manifest, and the day everlasting appeared unto us. The joyful Sun of righteousness arose and shone forth unto us and in us, and the holy anointing, the everlasting Comforter we received. The heir of the promise was brought forth to reign over the earth, and over hell and death, whereby we entered into everlasting union, and fellowship, and covenant with the Lord God, whose mercies are sure and his promise never fails. We were raised from death to life, and are changed from satan's power to God, and gathered from all the dumb shepherds, and off all the barren mountains, into the fold of eternal peace and rest; and mighty and wonderful things hath the Lord wrought for us, and by us, by his own outstreched arm."

"Being prepared of the Lord, and having received power from on high, we went forth as commanded of the Lord, leaving all relations, and all things of the world behind us, that we might fulfil the work of the Lord, unto which he called us. With flesh and blood, or any creature we consulted not, nor took counsel of men, but of the Lord alone, who lifted up our heads above the world and all fears and doubtings, and was with us in power and dominion over all that opposed us, which was great and mighty. We sounded the word of the Lord, and did not spare; and caused the deaf to hear, the blind to see, and the heart that was hardened to be awakened; and the dread of the Lord went before us and behind us, and took hold of our enemies."

"We first journeyed out of Westmoreland through Cumberland, Northumberland and into some parts of Scotland and Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, &c., and in all these counties we had much opposition, sufferings and cruel dealings from men of all sorts. Every jail may witness, how seldom any of them were without some of us imprisoned these six years; and scarcely one steeple-house or market but may witness what beatings, bruises, halings and perils we have sustained. Let the witness of God in all men's consciences, give testimony what cruelty we suffered, and also our patience and innocency under all that they have done to us."

Others beside Edward Burrough had been convinced of the Truth in the Northern counties of England, through the ministry of George Fox; and these frequently met together to worship the Lord. Being redeemed from all dependence on man, and convinced that the solemn act of divine worship must be performed immediately between the soul and its Almighty Creator, through the help of the Spirit of Christ Jesus, the one great Mediator, through whom alone we have access unto the Father, they were often engaged to sit down together in silence and wait on Him. Thus reverently seeking after the divine presence and power to be manifested among them for the renewal of their spiritual strength, the Lord was pleased at sea-

sons marvellously to break in upon them and crown their assemblies with his living, heart tendering virtue, even when no words were spoken.

Francis Howgill tell us, that in joy of heart at this favour, they often said to one another, "What! is the kingdom of God come to be with men? Will he take up his abode among the sons of men, as he did of old? And shall we, that were reckoned as the outcasts of Israel, have the honour communicated amongst us, who were but men of small parts, and of little ability in respect of many others as amongst men?"

Many were the afflictions which these honest hearted people were called to partake of, but having turned their backs upon the world with all its friendships, honours, ways, religions and worships, they nobly persevered amid all their sufferings, taking up the cross and following Christ Jesus, the Lamb of God, whithersoever he led them. In this patient waiting state, seeking to know and to do the will of God, they grew in religious understanding, and divine knowledge of the things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven, and many of them were deeply instructed in the mysteries of salvation. Abiding under the teachings of the Spirit of Christ, they knew him to sanctify and prepare them for the ministry of the gospel, and in his time felt themselves called of Him, to declare unto others that which they had seen and felt, and tasted and handled of the good word of life. Thus they were made living and able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit, and in its power and authority were sent forth to gather souls unto Christ.

We have already seen that Edward Burrough had been driven from his father's house, in consequence of his religious profession; and having thus early begun to taste of that cup of persecution, which in those intolerant times, was poured out in such large measure for the people called Quakers, he shrunk not from the bitter draught, but with Christian meekness and patience, continued to bear the allotted portion of suffering, until at length he sealed his testimony with his life.

At an early period the storm of persecution broke forth in the north, and Edward Burrough in common with his brethren felt its effects, but this did not deter him from endeavouring faithfully to occupy the gift committed to his trust. He soon began to travel through his native county, and also went into Cumberland, Northumberland and some parts of Scotland, holding meetings and preaching to the people, many of whom were awakened by his ministry, and brought to join in religious fellowship with the Society of Friends.

In the sixth month 1652, Miles Halhead was committed to prison in Kendal, near Edward Burrough's native place, for reproving a priest. He informs us that the first night he lay in prison, the word of the Lord came to him saying, "Fear not, for I will be with thee according to my promise, and will make thee a burdensome stone unto the town of Kendal, and to thy persecutors. And I will send my servants, my sons and my daughters, from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, to bear witness to the same truth that thou suffers for: yea, against the justice that committed thee. Therefore be thou faithful, for I have chosen thee to be the first that shall suffer for my name's sake in the town of Kendal." This promise Miles informs us, was made good. He was confined three months, during which period, the same justice committed Francis Howgill, Thomas Holme and thirty others, "brethren and sisters," for bearing testimony to the Truth. At the expiration of the three months, the justice set him at liberty. Soon after, for riding through this town of Kendal, and exhorting the inhabitants to repentance, he was committed to prison by the mayor. He tells us that this officer "had little peace from the Lord in what he had done, till he had released me. Then I returned to my house again, and had great peace with the Lord." About the ninth month of this same year, Miles went to the house of justice Fell, at Swarthmore; he says, "I found the Lord's people gathered together to wait upon his name. The Lord was very good to that family, in feeding them with the dew of heaven, and with the sweet incomes of his love, according to his promise. Glory and honour, and living eternal praises, be given to the Lord God for evermore."

An anecdote will illustrate the unreasonable enmity against Friends, which at that time prevailed in the north of England. As Miles was going towards Swarthmore, a woman whom he passed without uncovering his head to her, ordered her servant to follow and beat him. This unreasonable abuse, Miles patiently submitted to. Towards the close of the year, feeling a concern to visit the woman, he went to her house. She came to the door, and knowing him, and being desirous to avoid hearing what he had to say, feigned herself to be some one else. Miles, though unacquainted with her person, from a secret impression upon his mind, was convinced that she was the one, whom he had come to see. After reproving her falsehood on the present occasion, he delivered a solemn warning to her, ending with this exhortation, "fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou mayest end thy days in peace." Three years afterwards, the servant, who at the command of his mistress had beaten Miles,

came to him, and requested forgiveness, desiring he would pray to the Lord for him, that he might obtain peace of mind. To these requests he made this Christian answer, "Truly friend, from that time to this day, I never had anything in my heart against thee or thy mistress, but love. The Lord forgive you both. I desire it may never be laid to your charge, for ye knew not what ye did." Miles adds to his account of the occurrence, "So I parted with him; my heart being exceedingly broken with the true love of God, who had pleaded my cause in the hearts of my persecutors."

In the latter part of the year 1652, or in the beginning of 1653, Edward Burrough accompanied his fellow labourer in the gospel, John Audland, in one of his earliest, if not in his very first, journey on a religious account.

Of the success of their gospel labours John Audland thus writes: "Praises and honour to our God forever, who is worthy, for all is falling before Him. My dear Friends, the harvest here is great; even all the fields are white, and all the dumb dogs and idle shepherds, drones and loiterers run, quake, tremble and fly before us. The sword of the Lord is in the hands of the saints, and this sword divides, hews and cuts down, and so way is made for the pure seed to arise and reign above all, which conquers all. Praises be to the Lord forevermore." "Dear Friends the work of the Lord is great, and many are convinced of the living truth, and I really see the Lord will raise up to himself a pure and large people, to serve and worship him in spirit and in truth. My dear brother and fellow-labourer, Edward Burrough, salutes you in the Lord."

Edward Burrough at this time, could scarcely have been older than in his nineteenth year, yet he was accounted an able minister of the gospel, being zealous in his Master's cause and wise in spiritual things, understanding the way of life and salvation; and was withal earnest in his manner, and fluent in the delivery of those important doctrines which he was commissioned to preach.

How long he continued travelling with John Audland we have no means for ascertaining. He appears however to have been much engaged at this early period in labouring in his own county, and elsewhere, in the markets, the streets, in places of public worship, and wherever his Master sent him with the message of life and authority to proclaim it. He had a remarkable gift in discerning the states and conditions of those amongst whom he was sent; and the exercise of the wisdom bestowed on him, no less than his zeal, was often called for.

About the close of the year 1653, or in the beginning of 1654, Edward Burrough was imprisoned for writing a letter of Christian reproof to one who was living in gross wickedness. During this confinement he prepared for publication a manuscript, bearing the title of "A Warning from the Lord to the inhabitants of Underbarrow, and so to all the inhabitants of England." In this he first addresses the people of Underbarrow, opening to them the spiritual nature of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He tells them, that he had, at four different times, entered their place of public worship, under a sense of religious duty, in order to declare the Truth among them, but that as he could not have liberty to speak there, he now cleared his conscience by writing to them. He appeals to the Searcher of hearts, to witness, that it was not in his own will, but in the cross to it, that he had gone to their meetings. His object was to show them that they were in bondage to a ceremonial, formal worship, and to a dependance upon a man-made and deceitful ministry, which tended to keep their souls in death. That his concern was to direct them to wait, in spirit and in truth on the Lord, in order to attain the true knowledge of Him, and of that one thing needful, the eternal welfare of their souls. He desires that they may be led out of the will-worships of the world, to worship God in spirit and in truth. He has had several arguments with their minister, who had denied the doctrine that Christ, by his light or Spirit in the soul, enlightens every man that comes into the world. This he continues is to make Christ a liar, and proves the assertor of it, to be ignorant of the first principles of religion, not knowing the light of the Holy Spirit which leads to God. This light, which the servants of God in all generations were witnesses of, Edward Burrough declares, he and his fellow professors experienced to shine in their hearts, showing them the deceit of all such ministers, as the priest of Underbarrow.

He then declares that he and his brethren own the one saving baptism, that of the Holy Ghost and fire; and witness a being baptised by the One Spirit into the One body, of which Christ Jesus is Head, though they do not use water baptism. That they reject the administration of bread and wine as a Christian rite, whilst acknowledging the communion of saints, the partaking of the body and blood of Christ, by which they were nourished up to eternal life. Singing in the spirit, and making melody in the heart to the Lord, the singing of that song which none but the redeemed ones can learn, they acknowledge, believing it to be well pleasing to God; but the singing in the will of man, without the Spirit, as generally practised in their places of worship, they reject "as carnal and traditional." "True preaching of Jesus Christ crucified we own, and do witness;

for this preaching is not of the will of man, or form and custom, [but it] is foolishness to the wisdom of the world now, as it ever was. This is not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. The preaching of the word of faith, which is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, we do own; for faith comes by hearing of this word preached. Prayer with the Spirit of Truth we do own, for that is not in word [merely] to be seen of men; not by custom, form and tradition, but by the Spirit, which hath free access to God, and which he heareth, and doth accept."

After bearing testimony against the too general depravity of the professors of religion, and warning them to repentance, he adds; "Now is the day of your visitation, wherein the Saviour of the world stands at the door and knocketh. If any open unto him he will come in: therefore prize your time, and hear the word of the Lord, and lay aside the works of darkness, lying, swearing, mocking and scorning, and beating your fellow-servants." "Repent and turn to the Lord with mourning and lamentation, and cease from all your former ways and doings. Cease from covetousness and oppression, ye aged people; cease from lightness, vanity and pride, ye young people; and from all priests and steeple-houses, for there your lightness, pride, and vain minds are fed and nourished, and the enemies of the Lord are strengthened. Dear people, there I once had fellowship with you in your pride, lightness and vanity; and there was once my joy and delight. But now I am chosen by the Lord out of all these things; praises be to Him forever, to serve the Lord in declaring against all these abominations."

"All ye people, mind the light; for the light hath enlightened every one of you, which is the Saviour and redeemer of him that loveth it, and bringeth his deeds to it: but it is the condemnation of him that hateth it, and walks not in it. Therefore all people, mind this light which is of God; this will lead you up to God. This is the way to the Father, and no man cometh to the Father but by me, said He, who was, and is the Light. If you love this Light, and walk in this Light, it will bring you to be witnesses of the Scriptures, and of the saints' condition, which you are but talkers of. This is the Light from which they spoke, who spoke the truth of God; and from this Light did Isaiah, who lived in the obedience of it, cry against the greedy dumb dogs, that sought their gain from their quarter. So did Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah and Malachi cry against hirelings, and against them that said, "The Lord saith it," and he never spoke to them; and against them that preached for hire and divined for money; and taught for the fleece; and yet leaned upon the Lord, saying, "Is not the Lord among us?"

"Love the Light and obey it. It will separate you from all filthiness, and corruption, and lead you into purity and holiness, without which none shall see God. There is your teacher, always present with you, which teaches to deny ungodliness, and the wicked ways of the world."

At the close of this address, Edward Burrough felt his heart drawn to salute his brethren, commonly called Quakers, who had been brought, through the obedience of faith, into religious fellowship with one another in the Lord. "By faith, says he, with Abraham, are ye come out of your native country, from your kindred, and out of your father's house: with Moses, have ye forsaken the glory of Pharoah's house, and chosen rather to suffer affliction among the poor despised people, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin. Great shall be your reward, ye contemned ones: glory, honour and everlasting happiness is prepared for you, if you stand faithful to the end. The Lord is with you as a mighty terrible one; and therefore shall all your persecutors be ashamed and confounded."

"Walk in the fear of the living God, and despise not the cross of Christ, but let the cross be your rejoicing, for through the cross is the power of the Lord made manifest. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, that you are counted worthy to suffer shame and reproach, and some of you imprisonment for the Truth's sake. Thus it ever was; he that is born of the flesh, persecutes him that is born of the Spirit. Be glad and rejoice in the Lord, for you hath he chosen to shine as lights in the world, and to be a burdensome stone to the nations. Your fame has gone abroad, and because of the manchild that is born are the nations troubled, and the chief priests and rulers combined together. But that the Lord may be glorified, for your sakes will he scatter the proud in their imaginations, and will break in pieces the snares which the chief priests have laid for your feet, and they shall be taken in their own craftiness, and fall in the pit which they have digged for you. The Lord, who hath called you, will set you upon a rock, and will preserve you out of the mouths of the wolves, who devour souls for dishonest gain."

The encouragement held out to his faithful fellow believers, that they should experience preservation, even amid the cruel persecution of their enemies, was fully realized.

All the machinations of their opponents, aided by the strong arm of the government, and the relentless power of persecuting priests and magistrates, failed to crush the Society of Friends. The doctrines they promulgated

were responded to by the witness for Truth in the hearts of multitudes, who weary of a lifeless profession of religion, cordially embraced what they found to be no cunningly devised fable, but the living substance. Almost every day, some were added to their number, by the power of heartfelt conviction, and in a few years, they grew to be a considerable people.

Their patient consistency and steadfastness in the performance of their religious duties, undaunted by personal abuse and cruel imprisonment, finally wore out persecution; while the meekness and blamelessness of their lives and conversation, won for them the esteem of the moderate, and even extorted commendation from their enemies.

The scriptural soundness and excellence of their Christian testimonies, though at first derided, misunderstood and misrepresented, at length attracted the serious attention of many in different religious denominations, and exercised a salutary influence in opposition to the deadening effects of empty forms and stated rituals. Many of the spiritual views, which, for many years, the Society maintained single handed, have since been taken up and advocated by those who have not been gathered into the same outward fold, and have had no inconsiderable influence in modifying the opinions of other Christian professors.

CHAPTER II.

Prior to the year 1654, the religious labours of George Fox, and of such of his fellow believers as had received gifts in the ministry of the gospel, and who had been sent forth by the Lord to proclaim the spirituality of the religion of Jesus Christ, had been very much confined to the northern parts of England. George himself had travelled as far south as Leicestershire; and his earliest female co-labourer in the ministry, Elizabeth Hooten, had preached the gospel and suffered imprisonment therefor in Derbyshire. Towards the close of the year 1653, Elizabeth Williams and Mary Fisher, both from the north, entered Cambridge; and having faithfully reproved some of the vain and rude students there, who sought to entrap them in argument, were taken up on a charge of preaching, and publicly whipt by order of the mayor of that city as "vagabonds."

The sight of the blood drawn from the bodies of these innocent women, by the lash of the executioner; their patient endurance of the ignominious and unjust punishment thus inflicted on them; their prayers for their persecutors, together with their meek rejoicing, because they were counted worthy to suffer for the name and testimony of the Lord Jesus, had no doubt prepared the minds of some of the spectators to examine with serious attention, the principles of that religion, for which they so patiently suffered, and which yielded such support and consolation, under the cruel treatment they received. Thus the brief tarriance of these two Friends at Cambridge, opened the way for the spread of the Truth. In most of the southern counties of England, the Society was little known at this period, except through the vague, contradictory and often false reports, which had been put into circulation respecting them.

In the spring of 1654, several ministers left their former field of labour in the north of England, and travelled into the southern counties, publishing the message of life and salvation, to those who were seeking deliverance from sin, and longing for a more pure and spiritual religion, than that held forth by the hireling ministers, and formal professors around them. Among these ministers was Edward Burrough; and as the city of London was the field in which he laboured long and abundantly, it may not be amiss to give some account of the rise and progress of the principles of Quakerism in that great metropolis.

It appears that the first person professing the doctrines of Friends, who visited it, was Gervase Benson. He was there in the autumn of 1653; and a letter written by him from that place to George Fox and James Naylor, is preserved, bearing date, ninth month 29th, of that year. He tells them that he was brought there by the love of God, and was kept there waiting on the Lord, to do whatever he might require of him; though he found little among the people with which he could have fellowship, except a growing testimony in some against the "carnal actings of magistrates and ministers, so called." At that time many public meetings were held, for the purpose of discussing religious subjects. The different fabrics of religious organizations were shaken to their foundations; the minds of the people were in a state of great unsettlement, and many were labouring in their own wills and wisdom, to construct something better than the old hierarchal structure, with its rites, ceremonies and expensive priesthood. To one of these meetings, Gervase Benson went, where there were several ministers, and members of Parliament. He found them spending their time in debating questions, and contending about things which they had not witnessed in themselves. Becoming dissatisfied, he left them, first telling them however, that their meetings were for the worse, and not for the better.

A spirit of enquiry concerning Friends, had been awakened in many individuals in London, about this time, who had heard of their rise, and of the spread of their principles in the

north of England. With such, Gervase Benson had some service.

It is probable that some person in London had acted for Friends, in superintending the printing of their works, before Gervase Benson's visit to that city; for of the books mentioned in Whiting's Catalogue, seven were printed in the year 1652, and twenty-five in 1653. Most of these, if not all, bear this imprint, "London, printed for Giles Calvert, and sold at his shop at the Black Spread Eagle, at the west end of Paul's."

Towards the close of 1653, Isabel Buttery, with a female companion, both of them Friends from the north of England, came to London on a religious visit, where they found a few individuals, who were willing to receive them and their testimony. Robert Dring opened his dwelling, in Watling Street, and Simon Dring his house in Moorsfield, for them to hold meetings. In these meetings, Isabel sometimes spake a few words; and thus a knowledge of Friends and of their principles, began to find its way into the great city, although this knowledge was confined for a time, to very few.

John Camm who had been travelling through the northern counties, during the latter part of the year 1653, turned his face southward near its close, accompanied by Francis Howgill; and they entered London in the first month 1654. A few days before the end of that month, they sought for, and obtained an interview with Oliver Cromwell, then recently installed, "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England." They had no personal advantage or favour to seek from him, but desired rather to admonish him for his own good, and that he might promote the good of all. They exhorted him to look to his own condition, if happily he might be favoured to see his standing, in the sight of the Lord God of heaven and earth; that pure and holy Being, who is clothed with power to punish sin, and who will not acquit the wicked. They bade him take heed to the light of Christ Jesus, in his conscience, which would guide him in the great affairs of the nation, as he abode in the fear of the Lord. Then remembering their brethren who were suffering in various parts of the country, for faithfulness to their religious principles, they exhorted the Protector, to use his influence to take off from the necks of the Lord's people, the yoke of oppression. They assured him, that if his power was exerted to maintain true liberty of conscience, the Lord would honour him, by making him an instrument of good in England.

Cromwell affected to believe that they desired some form of religion to be established by law; but they assured him that they had no such desire; adding, "We witness [that] the coming of Christ in his kingdom, is not by might, nor power, nor pomp, nor glory from without; nor by any law which is in the will of man. Our desires are that there should be no law upon [the subject of] religion, for it needs no law to protect it. Pure religion and undefiled is this; to loose the bands of wickedness, to set the oppressed free, and to take off every yoke." "We are none of those who despise government, and defile the flesh; who pull down others to exalt themselves. All unfruitful works of darkness we deny, and seek to advance the government of Jesus Christ alone. We honour all men in the Lord, and have fellowship with those, whose conversation is as becomes the gospel of Christ."

Cromwell, then in the fresh enjoyment of that high station which he had long so ardently desired, and which gave him the power his ambition coveted, was not disposed to exercise that power in a way that would give offence to those who had raised him to a kingly height; and to more than kingly authority.

The rights of liberty of conscience, were then but imperfectly understood, and as little regarded. Blinded by prejudice and sectarian attachments, many were opposed to all liberty of conscience, except that which tolerated their particular notions, and considered it only the exercise of a Christian virtue, to punish men for differing from them, either in doctrine or practice. Cromwell and some of his adherents, seem to have had a glimpse of more liberal and Christian sentiments, and even to have desired a larger measure of toleration; but there were others, whose good opinion they desired, and perhaps needed, who entertained widely different views, and strenuously opposed every indulgence to dissenting consciences, however sincere and tender.

It is not surprising therefore, that Cromwell treated the application of John Camm and Francis Howgill, on behalf of their friends with much coolness, questioning the authority under which they came to speak with, and advise him. Finding difficulties in the way of a second interview, on the 30th of the first month, these advocates for liberty of conscience, each addressed a letter to him, setting forth their concern for him, and for the cause of truth and universal righteousness.

We have but little information respecting the ministerial labours of these two Friends in London, whilst there on this visit. George Fox tells us, that they went to some meetings, "declaring the day of the Lord, and word of life, and where it might be found." They however very soon returned to the north; but Isabel Buttery and her companion, still continued in London, and a few persons who attended their meetings were convinced of the truth under their ministry. From a letter,

dated London, fourth month 27th, 1654, written by an apprentice, Alexander Delamain, it appears that those who were newly convinced there, of whom the writer was one, were anxiously looking for and expecting Friends from the north, who might confirm their faith, and strengthen their hands in upholding the testimonies of Truth. He mentions that Isabel Buttery had gone to Westminster the preceding first-day, "to some to whom her heart was drawn forth;" and that on her way back, she was arrested by order of the mayor, together with Robert Dring's maid, who accompanied her; and that they were committed to Bridewell. The charge against them, was for letting people have Friends' books. Such was the situation of things in London, at the close of the fourth month. Some of the inhabitants had obtained a little knowledge of Friends, from their writings; the ministers and magistrates had taken one step against the spread of their principles, and there was as yet but few persons so convinced of them, as to make a public profession. For the most part, the inhabitants of that great city, knew or cared but little about them, or the great principles of life and salvation, which they were called to proclaim to the world.

The recently convinced, and the seekers after Truth, did not look in vain for the visits of Friends from the north. The Lord soon sent forth his servants into the south of England, to labour in the ministry of the gospel of his dear Son. About sixty left their homes, during the fourth and fifth months in this year, and passed onward, as they were led from day to day, proclaiming the day of the Lord, and demonstrating with power, the spiritual nature of the Christian dispensation. Their general course was south, through the eastern, western, and middle portions of the island. About the beginning of the fifth month, several of them drew near to London.

We learn from Thomas Camm's account of his father, that Edward Burrough and John Camm were fellow-travellers from the north; and that as they journeyed southward, down through the middle of the kingdom, they met with John Audland, to whom John Camm joining himself, turned westward towards Bristol, whilst Edward Burrough proceeded to London, where he arrived in the fifth month. Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson must have entered the city about the same time. On the next first-day of the week, which was probably the 8th of the month, Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson attended the meeting of the newly convinced people, which was held at the house of Robert Dring. Edward Burrough the same day was at a meeting of those called Separates, which name was given them, because they had withdrawn themselves from other religious societies. They do not seem to have settled upon any common ground of religious belief; and allowed great liberty in their assemblies to strangers and others, both in preaching and exhortation.

Richard Hubberthorn soon joined the little band of labourers in London; who in that great city found a large field for the exercise of their various gifts. Many public stated meetings for religious controversy, with the freest scope; and many others for religious edification, equally liberal in their character, were held there in those days. To both classes of these meetings Edward Burrough found his mind drawn; sometimes going alone, whilst at others he was accompanied by one or more of his fellow labourers. They all appear to have been diligently engaged in attending these large public meetings, or the smaller gatherings of those who made profession with them. As they thus were led from one congregation to another, among individuals, many of whom they had never seen before, they were furnished with a word of exhortation, admonition, entreaty or warning, adapted to the various states of those whom they found assembled. Many were reached by their ministry; and not a few were effectually convinced, so that the meetings held at Friends' houses, increased in numbers rapidly; and a great sensation was produced among that portion of the professing religious world, which was seeking after a nearer acquaintance with God, and a more sure way to his kingdom.

John Camm and John Audland, after parting with Edward Burrough, proceeded onward to Bristol, which they entered on the 12th of the fifth month. On the 13th they held two meetings in that city, in which they were enabled powerfully to preach the everlasting Gospel, so that through the effectual assistance of the Lord's Holy Spirit, the witness in the hearts of many people was reached. John Audland, in company with Thomas Airey, proceeded to Plymouth, where they left some seals to their ministry.* John Camm turned westward to London, where we soon find him banded, in the fellowship and labours of the Gospel, with the faithful workmen who had for some weeks been engaged there.

Although these early preachers of the word of life were generally listened to with respectful attention in London, yet this was not always the case. About the 20th of the month, Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn were at a meeting of the Baptists, held at a place called the Glasshouse; where Edward was permitted to unburden his mind freely. The con-

* See the account of Priscilla Cotton in "Piety Promoted."

gregation however, was not equally courteous to Richard. He may perhaps have given utterance in his communications to some truths, so disagreeable to their pre-conceived opinions or prejudices, that they could not very well bear them. Whatever may have been the cause, they became excited against him, and forcibly expelled him from their place of meeting. They had then a few words of dispute with Edward, who soon after withdrew.

Richard Hubberthorn having been thus ejected from the meeting of the Baptists, joined John Camm, who was that day with a people called Lockers, whose hired preacher had proved himself to be "an hireling," by leaving them in order to obtain promotion. Here our Friends had full liberty to speak, and they were largely opened to declare the Truth among them. The same day Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson attended the meeting of a religious sect, known by the name of Waiters. When they entered the meeting, a man was addressing the company, but he ceased speaking on seeing them come in. Francis soon felt the influence of that anointing which qualifies for labour in the Gospel vineyard, and a large portion of the work fell to his share that day. He opened to them the doctrine of the Light of Christ inwardly revealed, by giving heed to the restraining and directing influence of which, men would be led to Christ Jesus, and enabled to attain salvation. When he had finished the testimony then given him to bear, a man by the name of Rich made a few remarks. He acknowledged that the Light was a guide, and that it led into innocency; but told them that he looked for a greater guide, which would lead into glory. This sentiment was not satisfactory to Friends.

The Light which they preached is the Spirit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, revealed in the hearts of all mankind, and being himself the Truth, He leads those who follow Him, out of all error and into all truth, and not only brings these faithful servants of Christ into fellowship here on earth, but through the redemption which is in Him, opens to them a glorious resting-place in the Paradise of God, in the world which is to come. This divine Light, therefore, is not only a guide into innocence and purity of life on earth, but also a guide to that eternal glory which shall be revealed hereafter in heaven. Anthony Pearson felt himself constrained more fully to elucidate the views of Friends on this very important doctrine, and afterward Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who had just joined his friends, severally added their testimonies to the Truth. The opportunity was satisfactory, and at the conclusion they took an affectionate leave of the auditory.

The next point of time at which we can trace these indefatigable labourers in the Lord's vineyard, was the following sixth-day, when they attended a meeting for religious worship with those who were newly convinced of Friends' principles. There were now many such in London, and the hearts of the faithful ministers and fathers in the Truth, yearned over these with earnest desires that they might not only be established in knowledge but grow in grace, and thus be enabled to walk worthy of their vocation whereunto they were called. On first-day, the 22nd, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at a meeting held in a large place called Ely-house. A man, who in the account left us of this opportunity, is spoken of as the governor of the house, first spoke to the people assembled. Then a Ranter addressed the company. Whilst he was still speaking, Edward Burrough, whose heart was full of deep religious concern on behalf of those present, rose on his feet. At the sound of his voice the Ranter ceased speaking. Edward, though quite a young man, was clothed with a divine authority which reached the hearts, touched the consciences, and convinced the judgment, of many who heard him. When he ceased, the Ranter again spoke; and then Francis Howgill, in a measure of the same power, which had quickened the ministry of his younger brother, laboured among them for about the space of an hour. As he closed, the Ranter being full of that self-sufficiency, which is the common attendant of those whose religion is more in word and imagination, than in life and power, appealed to the people to decide, whether he had not spoken to their consciences, as thoroughly as Edward and Francis had done. To this the people with one consent answered, "No." The governor, indignant at the thought that his own reputation, as well as the Ranter's, had suffered in the opinion of those gathered, refused to grant the request made by Friends, for liberty to hold a meeting in the house in the afternoon.

That morning, John Camm was with a company of people who were engaged in preparing a new translation of the Scriptures, for the purpose of making it support certain doctrinal views. At mid-day these Friends met together, under feelings, no doubt, of gratitude to the Lord who had strengthened them for their several portions of service during the morning. In the afternoon Richard Hubberthorn attended the meeting of Friends; whilst Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson, feeling their minds drawn to sit with those translators of the Scriptures, of whom we have already spoken, went to their meeting, where they had some seasonable service. Before they left, a dispute concerning some point arose, and they mutually agreed that all doctrines should be tested by the Scriptures. Friends were so well furnished by the great

Head of the Church with wisdom in argument, and the memory of apposite texts, that their opposers were confounded. Edward Burrough was that afternoon at a place of worship in Lombard street, at which many of the highest professors of religion in the city attended. Here he sat in silence, until the priest had gone through his accustomed round of singing, praying, &c., which constituted, in the general estimation, the service of a meeting. Before the priest closed his performance, Edward was joined by Richard Hubberthorn, Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson. The usual exercises of the meeting being now finished, Edward stepped upon a seat, and in a loud and animated voice addressed the congregation. There was such sensible evidence of the baptising power of the Holy Spirit, accompanying the word preached, that the whole congregation listened to him with quiet attention. He addressed them about an hour; and when he closed, his nearly united friend and companion, Francis Howgill, was also permitted to relieve his mind among them.

In the mean time, John Camm was at a meeting of Baptists, where his mouth was opened to preach the freeness of the grace and gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the evening they all met together in sweet unity of spirit, and closed the day in peace, enjoying the communion and fellowship of the saints, and the fresh feeling of the Heavenly Father's love. This is a history of one of the many days of faithful and laborious service, which those ministers of Christ spent in London.

On one occasion they held an appointed meeting on the fourth-day of the week, in a room in Southwark, which on first-days was occupied by Anabaptists as a place of worship. Many of those who usually attended these meetings were present, and were well pleased with the doctrines which were then preached. But whilst these were satisfied, some who had not been present, found fault with the principles of Friends, and with their fellow-professors, who had permitted the meeting to be held in their room. Their preacher, or as he was termed, Teacher, spread many false reports against Friends, to which those who had heard for themselves gave no credit. Dissatisfaction on this account and dissensions arose among them, which resulted in a secession of many of the flock.

On the 23rd of the fifth month, Anthony Pearson left his fellow labourers in London, and returned to his family in Westmoreland. Writing to George Fox, at the close of this month, he tells him, that they found many in London, with a true principle of honesty in them. But, he says, the people of that place, are "for the most part so high-flown in wisdom and notions, it is hard to reach them." Trusting in their own strength and attainments, they were apt, if these were called in question, or judgment placed upon them, to become angry. Anthony expresses his conviction, that much true wisdom was needful in those, who attempted to labour among them. He thinks that the only effectual mode of bringing them to the truth, would be by reaching, through the convicting power of the Holy Spirit, the witness for God in their consciences; and whilst broken and contrited under its operations, to pass judgment upon them, and keep them out of disputing and questioning. "This," he says "we found the most profitable ministry." Few words must be used, for they have the Truth in notions, and all cry out, 'What do these men say, more than others have said?' but to bring them to silence, confounds their wisdom." "Oh that none might come to London, but those who are raised up into the life of Truth; who dwell in the living power of God, whose words may have authority: for there are so many mighty in wisdom to oppose and gainsay, that weak ones will suffer the Truth to be trampled on. And there are so many rude savage apprentices, and young people, and ranters, that nothing but the power of the Lord can chain them." "Great is the harvest likely to be in that city. Hundreds are convinced, and thousands wait to see the issue, who have the persuasion that it is the Truth." "Many honest hearts are among the Waiters, and some that are joined to the Ranters, are a pretty people. The living power of God was made manifest, to the confounding of all, and we were carried above ourselves, to the astonishment both of ourselves and others. We were made to speak tremblingly amongst them, in dread and much fear."

Edward Burrough in a letter to Margaret Fell, written about this time, informs her, that "We were at a meeting of the people called Waiters, where Richard Hubberthorn spake about an hour in much power and authority. Francis was moved to go to an assembly of people called Seekers, and they were, as all this generation practices, jangling and contending about the meaning of the scriptures. He stood silent among them a little, and then spake the word of the Lord, in power with boldness an hour or more, and confounded their wisdom, and crushed their meaning of the scripture. He said, there were some pretty people among them."

John Audland and Thomas Airey, having fulfilled their visit to Plymouth, and the west of England, early in the sixth month, came eastward to London. Here John remained for a few weeks, and as ability from on high was given him, entered into that extensive field of

labour, which his faithful brethren in religious belief, were so zealously and successfully cultivating there. It was now past the middle of summer, the sixth month old style, corresponding with the eighth in the new. At this period of the year, many of the tradesmen and mechanics of London, were in the habit of assembling in the fields, on the outskirts of the city, near the close of dry and pleasant days, to amuse themselves in wrestling, or in watching others so engaged. One evening as Edward Burrough was passing by, his attention was drawn to a company of people assembled round an athletic man, who had already thrown several competitors, and was then waiting for another. As no one offered to enter the ring with him, he seemed flushed with pride at his success, and full of vain glory, because of that strength and activity of body, which was given him by his Creator for nobler purposes. As the wrestler thus stood in the pride of his strength, with the crowd of admiring spectators around him, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring. The successful champion looked with surprise at this new opponent, whose serious countenance and solid demeanor, seemed so little like the usual light, and unmanly deportment of the competitors, in these trials of strength and agility. If the wrestler was astonished, the idle gazers around him were not less so; and they watched with intense interest, to see the result. But the object of this youthful minister of Christ, was not to wrestle with flesh and blood. The weapons of his warfare were not carnal, though mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan. He had been redeemed by the effectual workings of the grace of God, in his own heart, from the spirit of the world, with all its vain pleasures and pastimes, and he was now enlisted under the banner of the Prince of Peace, the captain of salvation, in making war with the spirit of antichrist, and against all the corruptions which abound in the world. It had become his meat and drink to do his Master's will; and he felt it his pleasure, no less than his duty, to labour to gather souls to Christ—to turn men and women from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God. Clothed with authority from his divine Master—after standing a few moments, he addressed the bystanders in a powerful and awakening manner, to which they listened with attention and wondering admiration. He told them that their heavenly Father had not left himself without a witness in the heart of man; but had placed in every one a measure of his grace or holy Spirit, by which man was at times enlightened to see his fallen condition, and to feel the necessity of regeneration. Many of his hearers were deeply affected by his discourse, for he was very aptly called, "A breaker of stony hearts; a son of thunder, as well as a consoler of the contrite in spirit." The labours thus bestowed, in this strangely gathered meeting, was made, through the divine blessing qualifying the instrument, and preparing the hearts of the hearers for the reception of the seed sown, effectual in turning the feet of some of them into the way of peace, and leading them to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Thus this spiritual wrestler was made victorious in this new arena, and having been faithful to the requirings of duty, in thus publicly wrestling against wickedness, he retired from the ring in peace.

Of the inhabitants of London, it might have been said at that time in truth, "Many were daily added to the church." Gilbert Latey, was one of these. He was of an honest, sober life, and had been earnestly engaged in seeking after spiritual good, even durable riches and righteousness. Being informed that some men come out of the north, were to have a meeting at the house of Sarah Matthews, a widow who lived in White-cross Street, he went thither, and heard Edward Burrough, who was that day led in his ministry to set forth the free gospel of Christ Jesus. Being effectually reached by the power and authority which accompanied the word preached, his heart was opened and prepared to receive with gladness the Truth, in the love of it. He believed in, and turned to the light of Christ Jesus in his conscience, and followed its leadings, "greatly rejoicing that he had found his soul's beloved." He was strengthened to take up the cross to worldly honour, to deny self and the praise of men, and to despise the shame, which the men of the world are ever ready to cast upon the true disciples of Christ. Being thus humbled, and having been made willing to be despised for Christ's sake and the gospel's, he was united to the flock of newly convinced Friends in London; and in due time became eminently useful among them.

The following letter to Margaret Fell, exhibiting a little of the labours of Friends in and about London, during the sixth month, was written by Edward Burrough on behalf of himself and Francis Howgill, who also signed it. This will account for the alteration of the singular to the plural pronoun, which is to be found in it.

London, 29th of Sixth month, 1654.

"Dear Sister,—Great is our care and charge. Pray that we may be kept in faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord committed to us, and that wisdom may guide us to handle the sword; that we may clearly discern what to spare and what to destroy. Great is our travail, till Christ be brought forth

in this people; and our suffering is ever with and for the pure seed, which lies in bondage. We two are constrained to stay in this city; but we are not alone, for the power of our Father is with us, and it is daily made manifest through weakness, even to the stopping the mouths of lions, and to the confounding of the serpent's wisdom. Eternal praises to Him for evermore!

"In this city, iniquity is grown to the height, the serpent's wisdom is grown fully ripe. Here are the subtilest serpents to grapple with and war withal; but in the eternal light, which is our shield and buckler, are they comprehended and their deceits made manifest to us; and by the light they are judged and condemned.

"We have three meetings or more every week, very large, more than any place will contain which we can conveniently meet in. Many of all sorts come to us, and many of all sects are convinced, yea, hundreds do believe; and by the power of the gospel declared amongst them, is the witness of God raised, which shall never die. There are some brought under the power exceedingly, which strikes terror in the hearts of many; and many lie under true judgment, and a true life is raised up in many, and the time of redemption is drawing nigh. As yet we know little of our departing from hence; to all, do we, and shall we, clear our consciences, and be free from the blood of all men, and finish our testimony. Many begin to consider of us, and think there is something more in it than a bare notion; at the first they looked upon it as no more; but it sinks deep inward in many, for to that we speak, which brings us in remembrance when they see us not.

"The last first-day but one, (sixth month 19th), I was at a steeple-house in the forenoon, and had liberty to speak what I was free, and past away to the meeting in the afternoon. Last first-day, (26th) Richard Hubberthorn and I went twelve miles out of the city, to a great meeting of Separatists, to a place called Theobolds,* where many great men were, and officers in the army, and such like: and we had pretty liberty to let forth ourselves, but at the end, the heads of them put us violently forth, which many simple minds owned not in them. The fourth-day of last week (22nd) we had a meeting in Southwark, in a large room, where some Anabaptists meet on the first-days; several of them were there, and many hundred people.

"Our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm, went from us the last sixth-day, out of the city towards Oxford, to be there the last first-day, (26th); our hearts were broken in separating one from another, for our lives are bound up in one, and we partake of one another's sufferings, and of one another's joy. We receive letters every week from the prisoners* at Chester. The work of the Lord goes on gloriously in that county. There is precious seed there; and Anthony Pearson writes to us of the like in the county of Bishoprick (Durham). It is ever our reward to hear that the Lord is raising that up in power, which was sown in weakness: to the Lord be glory, be glory for evermore!

"Remember us dearly to all Friends, for we are refreshed in the remembrance of you. Our chiefest care is, that we may be preserved in obedience, in power and in wisdom; that the Lord may be glorified by us. We rest from writing, but continue to be thy dearly beloved brethren in the Lord.

EDWARD BURROUGH,
FRANCIS HOWGILL."

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were still usefully occupied in London. Those who had been co-workers with them there, had all left them, and were now labouring in various parts of England, as the Lord led and qualified them for his work and service. John Camm and John Audland, after visiting Oxfordshire, passed on to Bristol, where a rich harvest awaited them. They held various meetings in that city, the first of which was on the 10th of the seventh month; and many were convinced of the Truth under their ministry.

From the following letter, written by Francis Howgill to Robert Widders, we may gather some further particulars of the labours of Edward Burrough and himself in London.

London, 23rd of Seventh month, 1654.

"DEAR BROTHER,—E. B. and I stay still in London. Large is the love of God to us, and the work of the Lord prospers in our hands: eternal, living praises [to Him] for evermore. We are here among this great people in much weakness; and when we see such multitudes, we are often put to a stand where one might get bread to satisfy so many. But the wisdom and power of God has been with us, and there

*This is near Waltham Abbey. Richard Hubberthorn passed on after this meeting to Cambridge, where on the 28th, he was arrested, and with James Parnell, cast into prison.

* These probably were Edward Ogden and Richard Costhorph, and perhaps there were some others. Richard was fixed in the place of torture, called *little ease*. Besse says, "It was a hole hewed out in a rock, the breadth across from side to side, was seventeen inches; from the back to the inside of the great door, at the top seven inches; at the shoulders eight inches; at the breast nine inches and a half. From the top to the bottom one yard and a half, with a device to lessen the length, as they minded to torment the person put in, by drawing boards which shoot over the two sides to a yard in height, or thereabouts." Many Friends, during this year, suffered in this place.

are hundreds convinced; but not many great or noble do receive our testimony. Yet there are many put to a stand, and brought into silence; and many are under deep judgment, and a true power. We have had many great giants to encounter, but by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions have been stopped, and our adversaries have been put to flight.—We have been in great service continually since we came into this filthy place. Here is the trimmed harlot, the mystery of witchcraft; the devil rules, and is head in all sorts.

"We have been at the most eminent societies in the city, and we have had strong fightings with them over and over, and at some steeple-houses; and, but that they have our persons in contempt, they say none speak like us; but the devil cannot stoop so low. We have two or three meetings in the week, but no place large enough; so that we are much put to it. We have been guided in much wisdom, so that all them that hate us have nothing to accuse us of,—as of tumult, or disorder in the least. Some want to entrap us, but in wisdom we are guided; praised be the Lord!

"Miles Halhead and James Lancaster* were here, and came to visit us. They stayed one first-day, and so were moved towards Cambridge. We are much refreshed; we receive letters from all quarters; the work goes on fast every where. Richard Hubberthorn is yet in prison, and James Parnell, at Cambridge. Our dear brethren, John Audland and John Camm, we hear [from], and we write to one another twice in the week. They are near us—they are precious; and the work of the Lord is great about Bristol.

"Pray for us, dear brother, that we may be kept in wisdom and power; that the living God may be exalted for evermore. My dear yokefellow salutes thee.

"Thy dear friend in the work of the Lord.

FRANCIS HOWGILL."

Under date of the 2nd of the eighth month, Francis Howgill writes: "Our burden is great, we cannot get any separation, [that is of Friends from others], for the multitude, and so Friends do not know one another. We cannot conveniently get any place to meet in, that Friends may sit down."

Through the divine blessing on the labour bestowed, many had been convinced, and several small meetings of Friends were set up about this time in London, and regularly held. On first-day mornings, some of the Friends collected together at the house of Sarah Matthews, widow, residing in White-cross street; and in the afternoons of that day they met at Simon Dring's in Moorfields. It would seem that there were meetings also at the houses of other Friends, and sometimes at Glazier's Hall. Besides these meetings, some were appointed, in almost or quite every week, at such suitable public places as could be procured for the purpose. A great sensation had been made in the minds of the people throughout London. The convincing power that accompanied the ministry of Friends had produced such results, that the priests beheld with dismay, many of their congregations leaving them. The doctrines preached by Friends were not new, they were primitive Christianity revived in its ancient spirituality; and the quickening power which attended their ministry, awakened and aroused the lukewarm, while it met a ready response from the sincere seekers after truth. Instead of calling the attention of their hearers to curious speculations and outward forms and observances, they directed them to Christ Jesus their Shepherd and Bishop, who had given them a measure of his Light and grace to profit withal, and which, as they obeyed and followed it, would lead them out of all evil, into holiness of life and conversation, and that living faith in Christ Jesus, as the Redeemer and Sanctifier of his people, which is the gift of God and the saints' victory, over the world, the flesh and the devil. It is a practical, heart-changing religion, adapted by Infinite Wisdom for the recovery of man out of the fall, and for preparing him, through sanctification of the Spirit and a belief of the truth, for the blessedness of heaven.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN CAMM and John Audland were the first preachers amongst Friends, who visited the south-west of England. In the fifth month 1654, they were in Bristol, at which place they appointed meetings, which were largely attended; many of their hearers were seriously awakened, and not a few were convinced of the truth.* Their first visit to the city was brief, but they returned in the seventh month, after they left London. They held many meetings in Bristol and its vicinity, and the same overshadowing influence of the divine presence was with them, as attended their first labour there. The newly convinced were confirmed, and the opposing spirit in some was shaken. They left Bristol again about the 22nd of the seventh month, and travelling north, were at a meeting

* Miles Halhead and James Lancaster, early in this year, left Westmoreland to labour in the northern parts of England. They also visited Scotland; and afterwards travelled south, and entered London, early in the seventh month.

* Josiah Cole, Charles Marshall and many besides, who afterwards proved valiant men and women in supporting the doctrines of Friends, were convinced at these meetings.

at Hereford on the 25th, from whence they proceeded to Bramyard.

In the eighth month, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill left London, under a concern to visit Bristol. They reached that place about the middle of the eighth month, and on the next first-day, the 21st, they had a meeting in the Castle, which was attended by many hundreds of people. When the meeting was over, in order to obtain a little quiet retirement from the company of interested and inquiring persons, who constantly thronged about them, they retired into the country, to the residence of a captain in the army, about one mile from the city. Their plan to obtain seclusion did not succeed, for many followed them and filled the house. Every day of the succeeding week they had meetings either within or without the city, largely attended by the citizens, and crowned with the sensible evidence of divine regard. On the morning of the following first-day (28th), they were in the city, at the house of George Bishop, then a military captain, but afterward a soldier of Christ Jesus the Prince of peace. His house was large, but it proved altogether inadequate to accommodate those who came. In the afternoon they went out to the fort, and at the meeting held there, it is supposed two thousand persons were present, amongst whom were many of the great men and women of the city. This large assembly was very quiet, but the multitude was so great, that the preachers could scarcely extend their voices, so that those in the outskirts could hear. When the services of the meeting had closed, Edward and Francis found it difficult to get away from the awakened crowd; and they say in a letter to Margaret Fell that they were obliged to retire into a private chamber.

The priests and magistrates were incensed at the effects produced by the gospel labours of these ministers of Christ, and determined if possible to find some cause of complaint against them. On second-day they came into the city, and going to the house of a merchant, information was soon spread. The mayor, aldermen, justices of the peace, with some of the priests assembled, and a sergeant was sent to bring the strangers before them. Edward and Francis, conscious of having violated no law, readily obeyed the summons, and were accompanied by many of the military officers, and great men of the city, who had been in a measure reached through their ministry. These were not, however, allowed to be present at the examination that took place. After Edward and Francis had informed those before whom they were taken, that they had come according to their desire, the magistrates manifested great wrath because they did not take off their hats. Being informed that it was not out of contempt of authority, but for conscience sake that Friends did not uncover the head to their fellow men; they were asked their names and country. We will give the rest in Francis Howgill's words, contained in a letter to Margaret Fell, which was signed by Edward Burrough.

"They asked us how we came to the city, and we answered them; and told them the command and motion of the Lord; that we had to bear witness to his name and to declare the gospel committed unto us. It was asked whether our call was mediate or immediate; we answered immediate; we denied all mediate calls, for they were carnal. They said if we had the same immediate call declare it. Then I declared what I had been and what I was. We declared where we had habitations, and that at the command of God we left them: we spoke about a quarter of an hour, and they gave audience. They asked if we accused all ministers in England? We said no; there were many ministers of Christ in England, and we had unity with them; but all hirelings, and such as sought for their gain from their quarter, we denied. They pleaded for hire; and said the light was natural, and that every one had it not, and the like. They also said, we dishonoured the gospel. After much striving and contending, when they could not ensnare us, they all cast their ears together, and said, we had tumultuous meetings, to which one of their own [number] answered, there were many godly honest people [collected] without tumult. So they could get nought against us, and they commanded us to depart out of the town; but we were bold, and said, we were free-born men, and we knew no law we had transgressed, and therefore we should not be at any man's will; but when He moved us that called us, we should [depart]; and come in again as he moved. So we passed away, and all the people were silent, and the priest and magistrates were enraged. We staid till night, and then went out of the city. This day [ninth month] we were moved to come in again, and walk the streets.

"Here is a pretty people, and a great harvest; it is like that bonds will attend us; but all is one; in the will of God we stand free, out of all. John Audland and John Camm, we see not yet, but expect their coming. Here is a thirsty land; and truly, the sound of the gospel committed to us, is gone through all the regions round about. The living God of life preserve us in his eternal power and wisdom; in the will of the Lord we stand, and none can take away our joy.

"Salute us dearly to George Fox; one hour with him would be great joy to us. We [have]

'ant of nothing without; the Lord reward thee ınd thou hast thy reward), for the care and ›ve over all the church of Christ."

The account of this interview, given in the sufferings of Friends," relates rather more of ıeir reply to the magistrates; it closes thus, We are free-born Englishmen, and have ›rved the commonwealth in faithfulness, being ee in the presence of God from the transgres- on of any law. To your command we cannot ² obedient, but if by violence you put us out f the city, and have power to do it, we cannot ısist."

They continued in and about Bristol, labour- ıg to fulfill the requiring of their divine Mas- ›r, during the ninth month, and it would ap- ²ar without molestation. The magistrates as- ıonished at their innocent boldness, knew not hat to do with them, and the priests had not et matured their plan for stirring up a perse- ıting spirit in the mob, by whose hands in a ›w weeks afterward, John Camm and John ıudland suffered much abuse. In the mean me, the faith of those who had been convinced f the truth in that neighbourhood, was strength- ned by the labours of these faithful Friends, nd they grew in grace, so that they were nabled in a remarkable manner by their con- tancy in sufferings and imprisonments, to hold p a light to the world.

Rumors of the great meetings held by 'riends in Bristol, spread far and wide through he country; and twelve Baptists came out f Wiltshire, to have a public dispute with Edward and Francis. A meeting was ac- ordingly held, and their confident challengers eing unable, either to defend their own views, ›r controvert the doctrine of those they had ›ome to overthrow—fled from the contest.

On returning home in order to cover their lefeat, they reported that the Quakers cursed ınd swore, and denied Christ and the scriptures. These reports reached the ears of Edward and Francis, who were about leaving Bristol to re- urn to London; the care of Friends there till resting upon them. Edward had also ›ome controversial tracts about passing through he press in that city. It was early in the enth month, that they took leave of their riends at Bristol, and passing into Wilts, came o the town where the discomfited champions ıad spread those false reports. The people of he place were very fierce towards them, but hey obtained liberty for a meeting in the mar- ıet place to clear themselves. As they went o it, they felt a sense of great inward weak- ıess and insufficiency, which led them to look o the alone source of strength and true wisdom or assistance. A large company gathered, ımongst whom was the mayor of the town, and ı justice of the peace. They soon felt the power of the Lord strengthening them; so that for two hours they spoke with irresistible au- thority, in defence of the truth. They then had a dispute with two of the Baptists for four hours, at the conclusion of which their oppo- nents laid aside all boasting. The justice of the peace thus expressed his satisfaction, and said he had never heard any, who spake like them, and invited them to his house, where on the following day they went. In the evening, the mayor of the town called on them, con- fessed that they had spoken the truth, and said if he did not witness to it, his conscience would witness against him.

This dispute opened their way in Wiltshire, and they had many meetings. They stayed two days at the house of justice Stooker, who with his wife, was convinced of the truth, as were many others. When they departed for London, the justice sent his man and horses to take them fifteen miles on their way. From this circumstance, it is evident that their travels were much on foot. It would appear from a passage in George Fox's journal, that almost immediately after they reached London, Fran- cis Howgill must have returned to Bristol. Edward Burrough remained a short time in London, but towards the close of the tenth month, he met with his friend and former com- panion, at a general meeting held at Swaning- ton, in Leicestershire.

By whose agency this meeting was called, no information appears to have been preserved. Geoge Fox says of it, "many Ranters, Bap- tists, and other professors came." The Ran- ters were as usual wild and rude, but the power of truth, was present to confound them. On the second day of the meeting, Jacob Bot- tomly, a great Ranter, came from Leicester;" but he too was restrained by the Lord's power, as was also a priest, who attempted to oppose. George Fox says, "the priests, Baptists, Ran- ters, and other professors were very rude, and stirred up rude people against us. We sent to the Ranters to come forth, and try their god. Abundance of them came, who sung, whistled and danced; but the Lord's power so prevailed over them, that many of them were convinced."

From Swanington, Edward and Francis re- turned to London. Among the changes which had taken place in that city, several of the newly convinced had been called and anointed to preach the gospel of life and salvation.

Let us now examine what Edward Burrough had been doing with his pen this year, in which as we have seen, he had been so abundantly occupied in ministerial labours. Soon after Friends began to hold meetings in London, many Anabaptists, being convinced of the truth of the gospel, joined them. This stirred up the zeal of some of their late companions,

who still considered Quakerism to be a dangerous heresy, and occasioned the publication of a book entitled, "The Quaker principles, dashed in pieces by Enoch Hewitt, an Anabaptist." Edward Burrough, was prompt in answering this, and in the strong and quaint language, generally adopted for the titles of books in that day, called his tract, "The walls of Jericho razed down to the ground, or an answer to a lying book, called the Quakery, &c." One of the charges which Hewitt in his tract, makes against Friends, is "They oppose the word of Christ, to the written word; and will have a word that is a discovery spiritual, to be the word; but whatsoever it is, they call the word, it is perfectly false, and not the truth."

Edward reproves him for allowing his misstatements, to be carried up and down the streets of London as ballads, and says, "We do not oppose Christ to the scriptures; for Christ is the word, and this the scriptures doth not oppose, but bears witness to him who is the word; and his name is called the word of God. And this Word became flesh and dwelt among us; as the scriptures witness; and the word of the Lord endureth for ever. Thou that wouldst set up the latter in the place of God, to try all things, and to search all hearts,—thou makest an idol of it, and so opposes God with it, and would bring that to contend against the Lord, which they witnessed through suffering. I tell thee and all the world, the word is but one, and all who know God, hear that word. It is a light and a lantern to their paths; but that is invisible and eternal, and what the saints witnessed of his word, they declared, and the scripture is true, and bears a true record and testimony of the word, and they were witnesses of the word of life that wrote it. It is a true declaration of these things that are certainly believed, of the which they saw, and heard and tasted." "Let all that have heard us in the city of London, or elsewhere, speak, if they heard us say the scriptures were useless, or did disesteem them; but on the contrary we exhorted them to search if the scriptures did not bear witness to these things we declared; and so let shame cover thy face, thou false accuser."

To the charge of denying the Lord Jesus, that was crucified for them; Edward Burrough says, "We deny not the Lord that bought us, for by Him can we say we have received the end of his coming, and of his death and ascension; even he hath purchased us, and set us free from the power and kingdom of the devil."

Edward Burrough bears a clear testimony to the belief of Friends, in the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and in replying to the charge of denying the ordinances of God, and the Lord who bought them, he says, "The way unto God and unto everlasting life, which is Christ Jesus, we do not deny, but are true witnesses, that the same Christ alone, which was crucified at Jerusalem, and which God had raised from the dead, and which is ascended, in him alone is salvation, and by him also alone are all justified that believe on him. This we declare freely unto all people, that Christ is the ordinance of God, ordained by him for the salvation of all that believe, and for the condemnation of all that believe not in him. And that the way unto this Christ, is not any outward visible thing, but even that which is manifested from him, and leads up unto him; even the light, by which he hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world, which is spiritual as Christ is spiritual."

"The one baptism, which is by one spirit into one body, into the death of Christ, we are witnesses of; and the bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ; and we being many are one bread; but the beggarly elements of the world we testify against, being witnesses of the substance." After declaring once more Friends willingness to be judged by the scriptures, he concludes thus: "If thou find any that disown the scriptures, we also disown such, and do say, they are not spiritual men, but have the spirit of antichrist."

E. Burrough's next work, was an answer to certain questions put forth by a priest called Philip Bennet, and a ranting deceiver named John Reeve. This was followed by a review of a work entitled "Choice Experiences, written by J. Turner, a female." In this review he shows wherein the doctrine contained in the "Choice Experiences," is contrary to the truth.

The success attending the ministry of Friends, and the rapid increase of their converts, created at this time great alarm among many of the ministers of other societies. They were stirred up to oppose and vilify the principles and practices of those, who seemed taking away their congregations. Many pamphlets were put forth, the evident design of which was to make Friends appear ridiculous, heretical and dangerous in the eyes of the community. None of these pamphlets appear to have been suffered to go unanswered. One of them written by a John Griffith, entitled "A voice from the word of the Lord, to those grand impostors called Quakers," called forth a prompt and spirited reply from Edward Burrough. In this essay, Edward Burrough makes frequent declarations of the full belief in, and regard for the Holy Scriptures, which he and his brethren in religious profession, entertained, as well as many other points of Christian doctrine, some of which we shall quote:—

"That we reject and despise the scriptures,

and the words which Christ spake, which thou accusest us of, is another false slander: for the scriptures we own in their place, and by the Spirit of God set to our seals, that they are true." "I charge thee with a lie in thy mouth, who sayest, 'We would not have men read the scriptures.'" They who have heard us, shall witness that, that we do direct to search the scriptures, whether our doctrine be true, and by the scriptures shall our doctrine be tried."

John Griffith says, "they talk of high enjoyments and great revelations, without, above, and beyond the scriptures, and of a light, which is besides the scriptures, but it is deep and thick darkness. And what hath such lights led men into? even contempt of God, and of all righteousness." He also adds, "they call the scriptures a dead letter."

Edward Burrough replies; "Here thou art an accuser of the brethren; for what we do declare, the scriptures witness to the same. We speak of nothing, but what is declared of in the scriptures, by the holy men of God; and either without it, nor above, nor beyond it, do we speak. I challenge thee to prove what thou hast asserted, and all the city of London, whether we have spoken or declared any thing, but what the scriptures bear witness to. And the light which we declare of, is the light of Christ; which the scriptures saith, hath enlightened every one that comes into the world. It is not besides the scriptures, so as [to be] contrary to it, but the scriptures bear witness of the light; and here I charge thee with blasphemy, who says, the light of Christ, which is the light that we declare of, hath led them or leads any to contemn God, or his ordinances, or righteousness." "If you know any who cry against the scriptures, and against the doctrine therein contained, we cry and declare against such; for the scriptures we own in its place, to be a true declaration of God, of Christ, and of the saints conditions; but they are not the light, but Christ is the light, as themselves bear witness. Nor are they the saints guide, but the spirit that gave them forth [is], as they themselves bear testimony. Neither were the scriptures given forth, to give your own imaginations and suppositions upon,—but they themselves are doctrine,—and are as they speak; he that hath the same spirit which spake them forth, reads them, and understands them, and none else."

CHAPTER IV.

After a few weeks spent in fervent labour in London, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, went out again in the service of their divine Master. Whilst they were absent George Fox was brought to the city, to be examined by Oliver Cromwell. Although nominally a prisoner, yet he was not restrained from going abroad, and attending the meetings of Friends. He was as yet a stranger to the great body of the young converts there, and kept himself much retired, not mingling amongst them, except at meetings. The way of this eminent man, was soon open amongst them, and they could but take notice of the respectful deference paid him by the faithful brethren, his fellow labourers in the gospel of Christ Jesus, who met him in London. Many of these had been effectually reached under his ministry, and having had evidence of the wisdom, that had been given him from above, they could not but consider him as a father in the truth, worthy of double honour. This honour was not manifested in flattering words, which tend to exalt the creature,—but there was a disposition to hear and observe the remarks he made in social minglings, as well as in religious meetings;—and Alexander Parker informs us, that the London Friends, all took notice of one thing; "if George be in the company, all the rest are for the most part silent."

On the 6th of the first month 1655, George Fox was set at liberty by the Protector, and about that time, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, met him in London. There were many other ministers gathered there, Edward informs Margaret Fell, that on the next first-day, the 10th, George Fox was in private with Friends, that is he attended the small meetings in private houses, where Friends gathered by themselves. He adds, "we two were in the general meeting place,* among the rude world, threshing and ploughing. The rest of our brethren were that day at several meetings, some at one and some at another, and some among the Baptists, and gathered people; and great service there was that day. Then shortly after that first-day, the brethren separated into the field, to reap and to gather in." After describing the field of labour, into which several of these brethren had entered, he continues, "We believe that [George Fox] will return to this city again; we two are too few for this service, for truly it is very great; at present many come in daily to the acknowledgment of the truth. Friends are so many, that not one place can hold them on the first-days, where we can peaceably meet, for the rude people; for since we came they have been very rude,—very oft to pull us down, when we have been speaking. George was at the great meeting place, two first-days before we came;

* Probably the Bull and Mouth.

and his voice and outward man was almost spent amongst them.

"We have thus ordered it since we came,—we get Friends on the first-days, to meet together in several places out of the rude multitude, &c.; and we two go to the great meeting place, which we have, which will hold a thousand people, which is always nearly filled, [there] to thresh among the world; and we stay till twelve or one o'clock, and then pass away, the one to one place, and the other to another place, where Friends are met in private; and stay till four or five o'clock.

"Truly dear hearts, our care is for the whole body, that all things may be ordered in the wisdom of God, to the confounding of all our adversaries, who seek for our halting."

The number of ministering Friends, who were now frequently in London, many of them persons of very small means, and who could illy afford to bear their own travelling expenses, furnished an opportunity to their brethren of that city, for contributing occasionally to their necessities; yet a care rested on the minds of the travellers, not to be burdensome to any. Alexander Parker writes, "We do not want for any thing; here are many precious Friends in this city, who would do any thing for us, or let us have any thing, but George [Fox] is not very free, but rather keeps clear." It is probable that Friends in other places, particularly Margaret Fell, sent of their abundance to Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, for their care in furnishing supplies to the faithful travellers, who had not of their own. Alexander Parker says, "If any want, our friends F. and E. supply them. The charge truly is great, but our desire is to make it as easy as possibly we can."

George Fox, who had left London before the middle of the first month 1655, returned to it again on first-day the 31st of the same month. Alexander Parker thus writes of the services of that day. "We had five meetings, three of Friends that met in silence, and George was at one of them, where many of the world came in, but were sober. Francis and Edward were at the great meeting place, where many came to hear. Gervase Benson and I were at a meeting beyond Westminster, where there are many convinced: in the forenoon having such short notice there were not many; but in the afternoon there came very many, and they were sober, quiet people."

Just before the middle of the second month, Edward Burrough left London, and went to Edmundbury in Suffolk, where he was soon joined by Francis Howgill. They passed on together to the Isle of Ely, where at the time of the assizes they had a very favoured meeting. Here they found James Parnell, who informed them that the Baptists at Cambridge had challenged him to a public dispute. Feeling a willingness to be present, they accompanied him to that place at the time appointed. It was the 20th of the second month. The steeple-house had been selected by the Baptists as the most suitable place for accommodating those who might wish to witness the controversy; but when the hour came they found it shut. In the mean time the whole town was in an uproar, and the scholars as usual rude and turbulent. The Baptists, finding that James Parnell had two such able assistants with him, were unwilling to carry on the dispute. Edward and Francis, perceiving the commotion to increase about them, with intimations of personal violence, and no present appearance of the dispute being allowed, returned to the house of justice Blakeling. James continued with the Baptists, who retreated to the house of one of their number, whose wife behaved in a very unchristian manner toward himself and friends, on which James said, that as she was nothing departed from the old nature, it was evident she had not been made better by her baptism in water. Followed by many rude scholars and people, he then returned to a Friend's house, probably the one at which his companions were; and there he preached to the multitude. The Baptists finding that the common people, and the rough mob were with them, felt their hands strengthened, and went to the shire-house, in the castle yard, and sent for James Parnell, who quickly came to them. The gaoler at first would have refused James Parnell permission to enter, but he at last obtained it. The multitude now became quiet, and Edward and Francis soon joined their friend. The Baptists and the Independents, each chose one to represent them, and the dispute opened.

The Baptists put but one question, which was this, "The writings of the Prophets and Apostles, which are called scriptures, whether are they the word and sayings of the Most High God? yea or nay? To this James replied, "The word of God, which is God, which dwelt in the Prophets and Apostles, from it they spoke forth the things which are recorded in scripture." The Baptists declared this was no answer, and finding nothing how they could take hold of it, they after a time departed, enjoining the gaoler not to allow James to speak to the multitude. James was hustled and abused by the rude scholars, although the Baptists had been allowed to go away unmolested. On this he remarks, "It appears that the world loves its own."

"Edward and Francis returned to the house of a Friend, and sending for their brethren in religious profession and some others, they had

a meeting with them in the evening. On seventh-day the 21st, they had two meetings in the yard of a house in the place, at which many were convinced of the truth, even some of those who had been wild and turbulent. The next day, they were at a meeting previously appointed in the Isle of Ely. It was large, there being as was supposed, seven hundred persons present. The father of Cromwell's son-in-law Russel, a colonel in the army, who resided near, sent two priests to the meeting, probably to dispute with them. But so clearly did the two Friends set forth the spirituality of the gospel and unfold the way of life, that the priests were confounded, and had nothing to say. Their hearts were touched, and on returning to Russel they told him, the Quakers were far before them. On this the colonel invited Edward and Francis to his house, where they went, and had a kind reception. When the family gathered about them, they were afresh qualified to preach to them, in the demonstration of the spirit and with power. Some of those present were seriously affected, and the colonel's wife wept freely.

The next day the colonel sent them word, if they would go to the house of one of the priests, whom he had sent to dispute with them, who was an Independent, he would send the priest word, and acquaint his congregation. This message they received with gladness, and had a satisfactory meeting, at which were the colonel's family, the public preachers of the parish, and many of the people. The Lord whom they served was near them by the word of his grace, and qualified them to speak the truth, with boldness and convincing power. The priests hung their heads in confusion, but the hearts of the people, being in measure opened by the Lord's good spirit, they greeted the Friends in love.

Early in the third month, we find them once more in London labouring, with their elder brother George Fox. On third-day, the 8th of third month, Edward and Francis had a dispute with "the chief of the Baptists" in London, and the next day with "two of the chief of the Water Baptists." Of these meetings, Alexander Parker writes, "Many of their hearers who are not satisfied, came, and some of our Friends, and the power of the Lord was over them; though they are a very wise and subtle generation, yet the Lord by his wisdom in weak ones, confounds and overturns them. A great shatter is among all the forms and gathered churches as they are called; and many are inquiring after the truth."

As Edward and Francis were returning from their tour, they addressed from Cambridge, a letter to James Parnell, which it would seem recommended him to remember the awakened ones in the Isle of Ely. To this letter, he replied under date of third month 18th, acknowledging the love which dictated it and the evidence it bore of care and wisdom. Soon after receiving it, he went to the Isle of Ely, and had various meetings. At Ely-town many were convinced. Of Littleport in the Isle, he says, "there are about sixty that are brought to meet together, in that town alone." At Soham, he also had an open opportunity of proclaiming the truth to the people, who received the word gladly, and many were convinced.

On the 21st of third month, Francis Howgill writing to Margaret Fell, says: "Pray for us, for our work is doubled,—our care is doubled; but our strength is also renewed. The work is great in this city, but even few are fitted for it. The last first-day, (20th) there were ten meetings in the city, and the work lieth upon George Fox, and us two. Here are a precious people; [they] grow up in wisdom and life, and many are added. All the priests, and all the gathered congregations in the city preach against us, and are bent in great rage, and print lies, and incense people much. Edward Burrough and I have ordinarily two public disputes with the heads of them. They lose their members so fast, they know not what to do; yet the city is pretty calm and quiet: and wisdom begins to grow among Friends, and divers are moved to go forth in the ministry. Two young men and two young women are moved to go to Barbadoes, out of the city." "Here are many Friends come up about tithes. There are nearly thirty in the city, and much care lieth upon us to order them, and for the brethren abroad that are in the work of the Lord, or in bonds." "Our liberty here, is of much advantage to all of the churches of Christ every where, glory be to him that preserveth us in his bosom, and under the shadow of his wing."

On the 29th of third month, these two gospel labourers left London, visiting Friends and holding meetings in various parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. But little account of this journey has been preserved.

Oliver Cromwell, now Protector of England, was conscious that the standing he had assumed, could only be maintained by skill and energy. The Presbyterians were dissatisfied with him, as well as the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics; and the Independents themselves were not hearty in his support. They were zealously attached to a republican form of government, and Oliver gave evidence of an intent to assume monarchical powers, even if prudence should deter him from taking on himself a kingly title. In this situation he displayed his wonted vigour of mind. It would

be foreign to this work, to trace the manner in which he quelled insurrection, and secured and increased his power. But one of his acts, intended to support his usurpations, occasioned much suffering to the Society of Friends. With the sanction of his council, he issued a proclamation, directing that an oath, abjuring "Popish supremacy," should be required of the people of England. Whilst George Fox, Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill and other concerned Friends were in London, during the early part of the third month, [this year], they prepared "a declaration against popery." This was intended to show, that though they could take no oaths to evidence their feelings, they were yet opposed to all popery, popish rites and observances, whether found in the church of Rome, or in those called reformed churches.

This declaration commences with showing, that the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, could not swear, because they observed the doctrine of Christ Jesus and his apostles, who said, "swear not at all, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest ye fall into condemnation." It then stated, that they denied and condemned all popish ways and supremacy over the Catholic church, and in confirmation of this condemnation alluded to the many Friends who had suffered in England, under laws made to protect the Jesuits, crucifixes and images, which laws the priests of nominally reformed churches, now kept as their guard. They bear a decided testimony against that power in England, which would force men's consciences, either to take oaths, or to conform to their outward established ordinances. "Bread and wine, say they, are carnal; which our Lord Jesus Christ's body is not, but is precious. He saw no corruption, and is a mystery, which bread and wine are not, let them consecrate them ever so." "We deny the sacrament, for we know there is no scripture for it. The Lord's supper is not carnal. He will make his abode with us, and sup with us. His body is glorious, and not beggarly elements, as outward bread and wine. This is the blood of Jesus, which washeth away our sins;—and this is the body of Jesus, which makes us free from the law. So we do deny and condemn all that worship, that sacrament of elements of bread and wine, and that supper which stands in those things. We witness Christ to be come, who is the sum and substance, and need not have a remembrance of any element. We which be dead with Christ, live in his life, from [out of] the beggarly elements. Again, we deny that there is any purgatory, and declare against it, knowing the blood of Jesus, which cleanseth from sin; and him who takes away our sin, and destroys the works of the devil." "We do deny all their consecrated host, crucifixes and images, and they are not to be worshipped." "We declare against the Papists, and them which say salvation is to be merited by works, for then it is not of faith in him, who was not born by the will of man. We deny the word merit, and know that man doth not attain anything by his will." "Who are in Christ, are new creatures. To them there is no condemnation, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. So every one shall have a reward according to his works, whether they be good or evil."

After warning the people of England against persecution, and giving two instances of suffering for not swearing, they sum up the declaration by saying, they deny "the Pope, and his supremacy and authority over the Catholic church in general, and over every one of themselves in particular. And do believe and know, that there is not any transubstantiation in the called sacrament of the Lord's supper; or in the element of bread and wine, after consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. They and every of them, the people of God called Quakers, do believe and know that there is not any purgatory: and that the consecrated host, crucifixes or images, ought not to be worshipped, neither that any worship is due to any of them. They and every of them also believe and know, that salvation cannot be merited by works, and all doctrines and affirmations of the said points, we do renounce and witness against. They do deny all equivocation, mental reservation, and secret evasion whatsoever; speaking the words of truth in plainness by the help of God; and in so doing are persecuted, stoned, stocked, mocked, reproached and imprisoned, by those who cannot endure plainness of speech; who are equivocators, mental reservers, and secret evaders."

Anthony Pearson, Gervase Benson and Thomas Aldam took a copy of this declaration and presented it to Oliver Cromwell, on the 28th of the third month. They told him that though the oath of abjuration was given forth for Baptists to take, yet many corrupt justices, knowing that Friends could not swear, would make a spoil of them, by tendering it to them. Oliver replied, "It was never intended for them: I never so intended it." He was very moderate in his demeanor towards the Friends, and promised to read the papers they brought.

CHAPTER V.

On the 10th of the fourth month 1655, Edward Burrough felt an impression on his mind, that it would be right for him to pay a religious

visit to the inhabitants of Ireland. By a memorandum he made on the occasion, it appears, he received a promise that his life should be preserved, although he was required to give up that and all things else, to the keeping of him who was calling him to this field of labour.

On the 30th day of the month, he submitted himself to the will of his divine Master in this matter, and at that time, he knew not that his friend Francis Howgill was under a like concern. It was however in the ordering of the Lord, that these two Friends should perform, at least part of this service together. He had caused a similar concern to take hold of the mind of Francis Howgill, to whom he gave an inward assurance that Edward Burrough should accompany him. The prospect thus clearly opened to both was soon afterwards entered on. Francis Howgill came to London in the fourth month, where he probably found Edward Burrough. A great change had taken place in the condition of Friends, throughout England. Persecution had arisen almost every where, and most of the active ministers were now in bonds. To use the language of F. Howgill, "our army is most scattered and broken, and cast into prison. I know none almost at liberty but George [Fox] and Alexander [Parker], Edward, I and Gervase; except John Stubbs and William Caton, John Wilkinson and John Story, and it is like they cannot be long out; yet truly the power of the Lord is over all. The work of the Lord is great, and goes on fast, notwithstanding all the rage of the heathen." "Edward Burrough is gone to Edmondsbury. I shall take care for the supply of Friends in these parts, while I am here; and truly I fear, lest the burden should be heavy upon the north, for the charge is great, and our camp great." Having received a packet of letters to deliver, from Margaret Fell, he writes to her, "those to Oliver Cromwell are both delivered into his hand, but he is full of subtilty and deceit; will speak fair, but he hardens his heart, and acts secretly underneath."

The two travellers intending for Ireland, took Swarthmore in their way, that they might be refreshed with Margaret Fell's company. From thence they went to Warrington, where on the 8th of fifth month, they had "an exceeding great meeting." Going to Chester they visited the prisons and stayed one night in the town. They sailed the next day, but had a tedious passage of two days, the wind being at first contrary, and afterwards but light. On fifth-day the 12th, they had a meeting at Dublin, in the house of a captain Rich, and on the following first-day, at the residence of a captain Alan. Many persons attended and were quiet listeners. F. Howgill says of the captains, "they are loving, but there is not much in them." Edward Burrough went several times to the house of Deputies and spoke to Fleetwood, who was moderate with him. They had pretty full meetings on first-days, but say of the inhabitants of Dublin, "they are a careless, dissolute, proud people." Beneficial effects however appear to have attended their labours in that place, some of their hearers being convinced of the truth.

Soon after arriving in Dublin, Edward addressed the following epistle to Friends in London, viz.;

A general Epistle to Friends in London.

My dear beloved friends and brethren, in the everlasting unerring truth, of which you are made partakers, who are called of God to be witnesses of his name, and of his truth; with my dear love I do salute you, dearly and tenderly, and all the rest of the begotten of God, in that city, whom my soul longeth after, [even for] your growth in the inward man. The everlasting Father strengthen you, and refresh you with the living streams from his presence; and his love and power and grace, be multiplied among you, unto whom he hath opened a door, and made an entrance into the true rest, which remaineth for you, unto which the Lord of glory is gathering you, and leading you, and carrying you as lambs in his arms, into the fold of everlasting refreshing.

My dear hearts, walk worthy of the love of God, wherewith he hath loved you, and let your lights show forth into the world, that your good works they may see, who watch over you with an evil eye. Dear friends, to you that believe, he who is the light of the world, is precious. Therefore in the light wait, that your understandings may be opened, and your feet prepared to walk in the ways of the Lord, which to all the children of light are pleasant ways. Be not entangled with any yoke of bondage, which may burden you from running the race that is set before you; but in the death of all [that is] mortal stand, and there the life of immortality you will see and witness, and the daily food you will receive, to that life which the love of the world doth crucify.

Do you not know that the friendship of this world is at enmity against God; but you are called not to serve the world, but God, who is the light, and the world must serve you; so take heed lest your affections, and desires, and hearts be drawn aside from the pure way of life into that which is visible, which will not endure forever; for that life is death, and that glory is shame. In the light I read you, and do behold many pleasant plants springing up in the garden of God; and I bear you record,

some of you have laid your crowns down at the Lamb's feet, and have scorned the glory of Babylon and Egypt; surely your reward will be everlasting, and your cups will the Lord fill in the sight of your enemies, and your glory shall be above the glory of the earth, and your crowns shall never wither.

Therefore press on, and look not back, spare not the fat, nor the best from slaughter, but to the sword bring all your enemies, which have been they of your own house, which have prevailed over you; but now the Lord is arising among you, and you have seen the shaking of the earth, and the heavens, and of the darkness of the sun, and of the falling of the stars; therefore wait to the end, that the crown of immortality you may wear. The day begins to dawn among you, therefore put off every work of the night, and walk all in the day; for ye are the light of the world, and a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid. The Lord prosper you, and preserve you, and be with your spirits, and establish you. Amen.

EDWARD BURROUGH.

Dublin, the 14th of the Fifth month, 1655.

After they had been about three weeks in Dublin, Francis Howgill felt a concern to travel to the south-west, believing there was religious service for him in that part of Ireland. He writes, "But now, my beloved yoke fellow and I must part, who have borne the yoke so long together,—the cross is great, in so strange and barbarous a nation; yet it is not so great, as if any other had parted us:—in the will of God we are. I am moved to go a hundred miles west in the nation towards Cork; there is a service and a people to be gathered that way; and at Kinsale, and Bandon-bridge, at the end of the land. Edward Burrough must stay here, for this city we cannot leave yet; but I am given up to lay down all for Him, who hath made me a conqueror; glory unto Him for evermore."

In the latter part of the sixth month, or the 1st of the seventh month, Francis departed from Dublin, being accompanied by Edward Cook, a cornet in the Protector's own troop. Edward was an inhabitant of Bandon, but had been convinced at Dublin, under the ministry of these two Friends, and now he was willing to do what he could towards furthering their gospel labours. Perhaps in going with Francis to the south, he might have had a view of drawing him to his own house at Bandon, in hopes that his beloved wife might also be led thereby to a knowledge of what he now considered the truth. Whatever his views were, it pleased the Lord his Saviour, to grant that his wife also might have her spiritual eyes anointed to see things as he saw them. Both of them were afterwards faithful sufferers for the truth.

Edward Burrough remained in Dublin, and soon after his companion left him, he thus wrote to Margaret Fell; "With heaviness of spirit, I write unto thee, yea, and with my eyes full of tears; for I am separated outwardly from my dear beloved brother Francis Howgill, who was my right-hand man in the war, before whom many Philistines have fallen. And truly when I consider what the Lord hath done by us, my heart is rent and broken. Many glorious days we enjoyed, and many pleasant hours we had together, in dividing the spoil of our enimies; for our hand was always strong in battle, and our ensign was lifted up above our enemies, and even thousands have fallen on our right hand, and on our left. But according to the will of God, we are now separated; he into the west of this nation one hundred or six score miles from Dublin, where I must stay a season, for ought I see, and truly under great suffering, for few are here that hunger after God, and blindness and deafness have possessed all. Little Elizabeth Fletcher,* is at present here, but I know not how long she stays; her dear love is to thee, and to all the flock of God. Truly I suffer for her, she being as it were alone, having no other woman with her in this ravenous nation, where it is very bad travelling every way a foot, and also dangerous; but we are much above all that. If it were the will of the Lord, that any woman were moved to come over to her, it might be serviceable.

"I was glad that Francis Howgill, had so good an opportunity of passing on his journey; he went with a cornet and some others, who were very loving to us, and came to meetings while they stayed in the city."

"Let thy prayers be to the everlasting Father for us, that his dread may go along with us, over all." "As thou canst, at opportunity, write to us, it will make me glad; the face of one Friend would rejoice my soul." In a postscript he adds, "Here is a Friend come from England since I wrote this, from Oxford, who saith he was moved to come, and I believe it. I am refreshed by him." This Friend from Oxford was without doubt Thomas Loe.

Edward Burrough was diligently employed in Dublin, in waiting on his ministry, and writing to his friends and others.

In a general epistle to his brethren in England, written while in that city, he says:

* Elizabeth Smith afterwards arrived in Dublin, and joining company with Elizabeth Fletcher, they then went out into various parts of the country, labouring successfully as they found ability, even amid much oppression and abuse.

To the camp of the Lord in England.

To all you called, chosen and beloved of the Lord, who are of the circumcision made without hands, of the seed of Abraham, who are Jews indeed, not after the flesh, but in the spirit; unto whom belongs the everlasting promise and covenant, which God hath, and is fulfilling in you, and establishing with you. We your fellow citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is the mother of us all; and of the same body, and of the same seed, and same birth, begotten and brought forth by the immortal word of life, which lives for ever, do send greeting, and do embrace you in the arms of our Beloved, who is, and is to come, God blessed for ever. You who are called Quakers, who are so, not only in word, or in show, but in life and in power; whom God hath called and chosen to place his name in, and to take up his habitation among, above all the families of the earth; the tabernacle of God is with you, his dwelling place is among you, and among you is God known, and his name is great in your assemblies.

We who are of the same root and offspring, do bring in our witness, and do set to our seal, that God of a truth is with you, and among you; and he is the God of the living that answers by fire. He is the I Am, and there is none besides him, the first and the last, the beginning and the end of all things.

Praise him for ever ye redeemed of him; lift up your heads, your Redeemer is come; clap your hands, and shout for joy, and let the everlasting praises of God be in your mouths for ever and ever. Exalt ye his name above all gods, and glorify him in the sight of all the heathen, and let his marvellous works stand upon record from generation to generation.

Wonderful hath his work been among you, and that my soul knows right well; you that were scattered in the cloudy and dark day, and were a prey for the wild beasts of the forest, and were driven away as lost sheep in the wilderness, hath God gathered into the fold, to lie down by the springs of living water in fat pastures for evermore.

Your bread is sure, and your water never fails; a feast of fat things is made unto you, of wines well refined; the Lord is become the lot of your inheritance, and the portion of your cup forever.

Your crowns have you laid down at the feet of the Lamb, and your lives and liberties have not been dear unto you; and let this never repent you, for now the Lord will exalt you, and crown you with immortal glory.

The everlasting Day-star is risen among you, which gives light unto the nations; and the light of the sun is as the light of seven days; and there is no need of a candle in your dwelling, but the Lamb is the light thereof; fair as the moon, clear as the sun; yea, it is he which was dead and is alive, and behold he lives forever more. Praise him all ye people, praise ye him ye holy host; let all that hath breath praise him for ever. Who can express his noble acts? And who can declare his wondrous works? Oh, my soul is ravished, and my heart is overcome! let me speak, that I may be refreshed, and let me declare his wonders among all people.

The Lord is our king, our judge, our lawgiver, and our rock of defence. Just is he in his judgments, who hath avenged us of our enemies; mercy and judgment meet, righteousness and peace do embrace each other. Rejoice for evermore ye saints of the Most High, and tell it to your children, that they may tell to another generation what the Lord hath wrought among you, and what his hand hath brought to pass. Salvation is come, and plenteous redemption, and the dead hath heard the voice of the Son of God, and liveth.

Let sorrow and mourning flee away, and be ye comforted ye that have mourned, and be ye refreshed, ye that have been weary; for God hath opened the everlasting fountain, and the streams run pleasantly, which refresh the city of our God. He is come and his reward is with him, even he for whom we have waited; this is he, who is our life, our peace and our exceeding great reward. The light of the world is our Saviour, but the world's condemner; our peace, but the world's torment. Glad tidings, glad tidings! The acceptable year is come; praise ye the Lord ye sons and daughters of Sion; beautiful is your dwelling place, and aboundeth with pleasant fruit, for you are digged and pruned and enclosed, a garden of lovely branches.

Let the wonders of the Lord never be forgotten, nor his works pass out of your remembrance, for he hath wounded and healed, killed and made alive, raised the dead and slain the living, brought out of captivity and bound with chains, gathered and scattered, brought low and exalted, saved and condemned. All this hath your eye seen, and your ear heard; and the heavens and the earth have been burned as a scroll, and the indignation of the Lord you have borne: but the winter is past, and the summer is come, and the turtle dove, and the singing of birds is heard in our land. O magnify his name for ever.

You are made vessels of honour wherein the everlasting treasure abideth, which never waxeth old. The voice of the bridegroom is heard among you, and how can you have any more sorrow? Instead of weeping, rejoicing; and instead of heaviness of heart, ful-

ness of everlasting joy. The Lord hath fulfilled his promise and made good his word, and his law and covenant is with you. From you doth the law go forth, and the powerful word of life, and death soundeth out of your dwelling, and you are God's witnesses, to testify of him in the presence of all nations, some of you by suffering, and some by declaring. Oh endless love, and life, and riches! An eternal crown is upon your heads, and your suffering, which hath not been a little, is not worthy to be compared with the glory that is and shall be revealed. I speak to you who have an ear to hear. My soul is comforted in you, in the midst of my burdens and sufferings, who am separated from you outwardly, yet joined and united to you by the spirit which is unlimited, which doth comprehend all nations. I behold your beauty afar off, and my heart is ravished with it, and I am sick of love: let his works praise him forever, which he hath wrought, for his dwelling is with you in the light, unto which no mortal eye can approach.

The new Jerusalem is come down from heaven, and no unclean can enter; but you are made white with the blood of the Lamb, and purged as silver, and purified as gold in the burning; and unto you an entrance is given, and the way is prepared, and the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready, and the way of the Lord is pleasant to you, and his commands are not grievous. No unclean thing can pass over, no lion's whelp can tread therein, but it is called the way of holiness, where only the ransomed of the Lord do walk; even your mountain is established upon the tops of all hills, and all nations shall flow into it. Sing praises for ever, for the kingdom of endless peace is come, which passeth understanding, and of glory which no mortal eye can behold, and of life which no flesh can live in.

Oh my beloved, come up hither, and I will show you what God hath done for you. He hath rebuked the sea, and driven back the floods of waters which compassed you about, and he hath scattered your enemies with a whirlwind, and he hath given you to feed upon the flesh of kings, and of captains. Can you call to mind the doings of your God, and his marvellous works brought to pass, and not cry out in praises for evermore. O drink and be refreshed, and eat and be satisfied for ever, and let your soul delight itself in fatness; the planting of the Lord you are, and his own purchased possession. He hath separated you from the world, and hath called you out of kindreds, and ye are the royal seed of the offspring of the Lord Almighty, and all nations shall call you blessed.

And O thou north of England, who art counted as desolate and barren, and reckoned the least of the nations, yet in thee did the branch spring, and the star arise, which gives light unto all the regions round about. In thee the Son of righteousness appeared with wounding and with healing; and out of thee the terror of the Lord proceeded, which makes the earth to tremble and be removed; out of thee did those come forth in the name and power of the Most High, who uttered their voices as thunders, and laid their swords on the necks of their enemies, and never returned empty from the slaughter. Though I be as by the waters of Babylon, in a strange land; and as a pilgrim and stranger, destitute but not forsaken; as dying but behold I live; yet if I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning, and let my name be blotted out of the book of life. O how I love the holy seed, which in my eye is precious! No man can hinder my boasting of thee, for I am sealed among you in the record of eternal life, to be read among you in the light where I am known to you, and where my unity stands with you in the love and life, which never changes, and you are my mother, and my brother and sister, who do the will of my Father.

Our God is a consuming fire, and his habitation is compassed about with dread and terror. The heathen shall see and fear, and the inhabitants of the earth shall tremble. Our God is everlasting burnings, and it is tempestuous round about his throne, and he reigns for evermore; and though thou be despised and set at naught, and counted as the off-scouring of all things, and the scorn of the heathen, yet thy King reigns upon mount Sion, and if he utter his voice, all flesh shall tremble. Before him thy adversaries shall fall, and thy persecutors shall be confounded, for thou shalt never be forgotten of thy God, but with his arm will he defend thee, and compass thee about, and thy seed shall be increased. Thou, Jerusalem, shalt be made the praise of the whole earth, for among you is laid the sure foundation, and the tried stone, Christ Jesus the light of the world, in whom you have believed, which unto the nations is a stumbling stone; but unto you precious.

Bring in your testimony, and set to your seal; is there salvation in any other, but in him who is the light of the world? Nay, there is no redemption wrought but by him, nor any deliverance but through him. His is the kingdom, the power and the glory, and he is become all in all. You are no more of this world, but are of the chosen generation, and of the royal priesthood, a people redeemed, unto whom there is none like among the thousands of Israel and Judah, whose God is the Lord, whose Saviour is the prince of righteousness, who covers your

heads in the day of battle, and smites your enemies in the hinder parts; and wounds them in the fore-head.

And now my beloved, let his name be had in remembrance for evermore, and let his praises be declared throughout ages to come, and walk you worthy of his everlasting love, wherewith he hath loved you more than your brethren. Let his name be exalted by righteousness, by purity, and by a blameless life, and bring forth the fruits of righteousness and peace, and let your light shine forth into the world, and your good works abound plentifully; for you are as a city set on a hill, and as a lighted candle to shine abroad; and are created unto good works. Let faith, hope, love and unity, be increased among you; and let mercy and judgment and equity flow down and be established for ever; never to be removed. Let joy, long suffering, meekness and temperance spring out; and be you perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.

Stand upon your watch tower, and be not shaken nor drawn aside to follow any other gods, nor to bow to any image, nor join yourselves to strangers. Mingle not with the adulterous generation; neither take, nor give in marriage with them; but keep yourselves from the idols of the heathen. Be not defiled with them; but abide in your strength, you know where it lies, by which you may work good, and be preserved from evil; and you need not that any man teach you, for you are taught of God, and are far from oppression.

Ye children of light, worship your God for ever, who is light, and in him is no darkness at all, who is the same and changes not, whose mercy endures for ever. Be followers of the Lamb as undefiled virgins, and let your soul scorn the glory of Babylon and Egypt for ever; for you are not your own, but are bought with a price, no more to serve yourselves, but the Lord of Israel for ever.

And thou false prophet, which hast deceived the nations, and scattered the inhabitants thereof, and builded by fraud, and daubed with untempered mortar; thy judgment is past upon thy head already, and the decree of our God is sealed against thee; thy smoke shall ascend for ever and ever; and of thy sin there is no forgiveness, and of thy torment no remission. Over you we do, and shall for ever, rejoice and sing, and over your god and your king, the dragon that old serpent; cursed be he and his memorial for ever.

Ye lambs of the true Shepherd's fold, with whom my soul resteth, whether ever I behold you outwardly, yet my heart is with you, and I am one of your fold, and I lie down with you under the shadow of the rock, upon the mountain which the beast cannot touch, where we are safe from all our enemies, and am to you well known, to be read in your hearts, in the record of the Lamb's book of life, and known only to the world by the name of,

EDWARD BURROUGH.

It was, perhaps, toward the tenth month before he felt released from that city. He appears first to have gone to the north, and then to the south and west, passing through Dublin, and spending two weeks there on his way down. At Kilkenny he spent sixteen days, labouring amongst the inhabitants generally, and being twice amongst the Baptists. He says, "a few in that city received our report." Passing on to Waterford, he writes at that place, "Our service lies only in great towns and cities; for generally the country is without inhabitants, except bands of murderers and thieves and robbers, which wait for their prey and devour many; from which yet we are preserved. I had great opposition in this city; five times opposed by the rulers who are Baptists, and once was I tried for a vagabond, and once examined by them for a Jesuit; but to this day, out of snares and plots am I preserved, and walk as a bird among fowlers' snares, and as an innocent dove which hath no mate; nay, none unto whom I can open my cause, but the Lord my God only."

On the 5th of the eleventh month, writing from Waterford to Margaret Fell, he says, "Sister beloved, whom I forget not, but do remember with kindness, and of whom I am not forgotten." "We are joint heirs of the incorruptible inheritance of the Son, who in us liveth and worketh of his own will; in whom we are what we are, and by whom we do what is done; to Him we give his own, glorifying Him with his own, world without end. Though far distant from one another, yet my love is hereby increased unto all the children of light; with tears rejoicing in the unity of the Spirit with you all, who am to you a brother and companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, and in labours and sufferings more abundant; but as in suffering with Christ I do abound, so my joy by him and consolation in him are increased also." "I have not long heard from my chiefest companion F. H., whose love in the same measure salutes thee with mine. It is now four months since we parted at Dublin, and what I have said in respect of suffering and trials, he can seal the same with me; who have been companions in tribulation and in patience, and are now in joy and rejoicing; hoping to receive the end of our labour, and to see the travail of our souls, that we may bring in the [sheep] with us unto the fold, and may re-

turn to our camp with victory from our Lord. We have not spared to wound on the right hand and on the left; and victory, victory, hath been our word of watch. Though this nation be as a heath in the desert, yet there is a seed and a remnant, for whose sake we are sent. Seldom have I heard from him since [we parted at Dublin]. He is about Cork and Kinsale and Bandon, sixty or eighty miles from this place; and he hath written for me to come that way, if I had freedom, for there was service. But yet I have not had freedom to leave these parts, for here is a harvest and but few labourers; and a war is begun in this nation, and but very few on our part to manage it.

"Our dear sisters Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith are also in the west, valiant for the Truth; and some from London arrived at Dublin, who are going into the north of this nation. Of all our work and labour, which is doubled upon us since we parted, have we a reward into our bosoms; and herein will our joy be more enlarged, to hear how the war prospers in that nation. Write and let us know, that we may partake with you in your rejoicing; and assuredly you may praise the living God on our behalf. Here is a great want of books in this nation, which might be very serviceable in spreading forth the truth."

In the tenth month of this year, a company of priests in the south of Ireland, finding that many of their flocks were leaving them, went to Dublin to obtain some remedy from Henry Cromwell and his council. At their suggestion a warrant was issued, ordering the magistrates to send "all that are called Quakers" to Dublin. A copy was sent to the governor of Kinsale, and another to colonel Phayre, governor of Cork, and it would appear other magistrates besides were furnished with them. Phayre was convinced that Friends were true Christians, and he declared that more good had been done by those who were then there, than "all the priests in the country had done for a hundred years." He had no mind to meddle in persecuting them, and supposing that he would be able to protect them against other magistrates, he sent a letter privately to Francis Howgill, who was at Kinsale, desiring him to come to Cork. The magistrates to whom the warrants were addressed were not desirous of acting, and one called major Stoding was turned out of his commission, for refusing to obey it. Many Friends were now imprisoned in Dublin, and a spirit of persecution seemed spreading through the land. Yet at Cork and Kinsale the men in authority continued generally favourable to Friends, and many officers of the army attended their meetings.

In the eleventh month Edward Burrough went to Cork, where he and Francis Howgill once more joined company. From Cork they went to Limerick, accompanied by James Sicklemore and Edward Cook. They reached that place on a seventh-day of the week. The next day they were not permitted to speak in the public places of worship, and on second-day they were expelled the place. As they rode along on horse-back Edward Burrough preached to the people, and after they were out-side of the gates, he had an opportunity of addressing a great multitude. His three companions each spoke a few words, directing the hearers "to Christ Jesus, a measure of whose light was given to every one to profit withal," and a number of persons were convinced that day.

They also visited Kinsale, where among other fruits of their labour, Susanna Worth, wife of the priest Edward Worth, who was afterward Bishop of that place, was convinced. For her obedience to her conscientious convictions she suffered much at the hands of her husband, but remained a faithful Friend until her death.

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill returned to Cork in the twelfth month, where they were arrested by the high sheriff of the county, under a special order from Henry Cromwell and his council. They were taken by armed men from garrison to garrison, until they reached Dublin, having had many opportunities by the way, of preaching Christ to the soldiery and others. In Dublin they were committed to the care of Mortimer, the sergeant at arms, in whose house they had a large chamber allowed them, where none of their friends were hindered from visiting them.

They arrived at Dublin about the 20th of the twelfth month, and being brought before Henry Cromwell and his council, they were examined, but no charges of any kind were brought against them. They answered with freedom the questions put to them, and Edward Burrough says, "Mighty was the power of the Lord with us, to the confounding of our enemies." Although no cause of imprisonment could be proved against them, they were kept in close confinement, until forcibly banished from the island. Whilst in confinement, Edward wrote various addresses, one of which entitled, "The unjust sufferings of the just declared, and their appeal to the just witnesses of God in all men's consciences," is here introduced, which is as follows:

"To all ye colonels and commanders and officers, and to all the honest hearted in the city of Dublin and elsewhere, to whom this may come.

"Hereby, we the prisoners of the Lord for the testimony of Jesus and for the exercise of a pure conscience, do lay down our cause before you; and to the light of Jesus Christ, in

all your consciences, we appeal in this our cause of righteousness and innocency, to be judged thereby. We are men fearing God, and working righteousness, and are friends to the commonwealth of Israel, and are exalters of justice and true judgment in the earth, and are subject to all just power, and every just ordinance of man for conscience sake. We have suffered the loss of all, and have borne part of the burden with you, that we might obtain the freedom of the righteous seed, and the liberty of tender consciences, to serve the Lord in his own way.

We are well known to the Lord, though strangers to you, and are free-men in the record of heaven, though now sufferers unjustly under your present authority, who have taken the place of exercising lordship, over our pure consciences, and have imprisoned us, and endeavoured to give judgment of banishing us, only upon false accusations, and information and slander, without the proof or testimony of any accusation of evil, justly laid to our charge. And to you hereby be it known, that not for evil doing, do we thus suffer; for to this present, no man hath convinced us of any evil, nor justly proved the transgression of any law, martial or civil, against us, though we stand accused of many grievous things, of which we are clearly innocent in the sight of Him that lives for ever, and do nothing more desire herein, but to be tried by the law of equity and righteousness, and judged according thereunto.

By virtue of command given unto us, by the eternal spirit of the Lord, came we into this land of Ireland, contrary to the will of man; not to seek ourselves, nor our own glory, nor to prejudice your nation or government, nor to be hurtful to your commonwealth, but with the message of the gospel of Christ Jesus, we came to turn [people] from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God, and to minister the word of reconciliation and salvation freely, without gift or reward, unto lost souls. Hereof God is our witness, and also we have the seals of our ministry, which unto us herein can give testimony by the same spirit, and this are we ready to seal with our blood. These six months and upwards, have we laboured in travels and sufferings, and reproaches, and have passed through your cities and towns in soberness; and in meekness have we preached the kingdom of God, and have holden forth the word of truth, and the testimony of Jesus; and our lives have we not loved till this day, though sometimes dangers on every side have beset us, that we might hold forth the faith of Jesus the author of our profession, in the exercise of a pure conscience, both by doctrine and conversation. Herein are we justified in the sight of God, and who is he that condemns us? We call heaven and earth to record, and the light in all men's consciences, who have heard our doctrine and seen our conversation, to witness for us herein. We challenge all your nation of Ireland, our very enemies, to prove the contrary, though otherwise we stand falsely accused, and falsely reputed to be disturbers and makers of disorders, to the breach of public peace, and such like grievous things.

Upon the false information hereof, a warrant was issued out from the chief ruler and council of Ireland, and we thereby were apprehended in the city of Cork, and haled by guards as malefactors, before the council in this city, where none of all these false accusations were, or could be proved against us, nor of the trangression of any known law could we be convicted. Though occasions were sought against us, yet none could be found;—and though snares were laid for our feet, yet were we not entrapped; but were cleared in the sight of God, witnessed by the light in all their consciences; and were found innocent, and without reproof in the eye of the Lord. And by our innocency, were their orders of false accusation made of none effect; and we thus far proved to be guiltless before the throne of true judgment. Yet notwithstanding, contrary to the light in their own consciences, and contrary to the just laws of the nation, which afford freedom to the free-born and righteous, were we committed to prison without conviction, or any guilt charged upon us, or the least appearance of evil towards any man's person. Though falsely accused, yet no true testimony [was] given against us, whereby our boldness in the way of the Lord could be discouraged, as having the testimony of the spirit of God, bearing us witness in the Holy Ghost, that in all good conscience towards God and towards man, we have lived to this day; also are we without reproof in the sight of God and all just men. Though upon search and examination, we are found guiltless thus far, yet farther hath the enemy, the devil, prevailed in cruelty against the innocent, that it is endeavoured that we be banished under the account of vagabonds. This last accusation is most false and unrighteous; for we challenge this; of whom have we begged? or to whom have we been burdensome? or whose bread have we eaten for nothing? or what evil have we done? where is the testimony of your slanders? But innocently do we suffer these things, bearing reproaches, and binding the cruelty done unto us as chains about our necks, and as crowns upon our heads; having the as-

surance, that for well doing we suffer these things from the hands of the rulers, through the lies and slanders of the teachers, who are in Cain's way of persecution, till they have fulfilled their measure of wickedness, and be laid waste as the wilderness.

This is our cause, and hereby it comes before you, by the light of Christ in your consciences to be judged, if your hearts be not altogether hardened, and your minds wholly blinded; and we lay it at your door to receive sentence from you, and without respect of persons hold forth our guiltless cause before you, not begging any thing from you, but herein to clear our consciences, that you may save yourselves from this untoward generation, whose root is corrupt, and fruit bitterness. While we have breath from the Lord, we shall bear witness against injustice, and all cruelty and oppression, and shall appeal to receive justice from the present power that now rules. In the name of the Lord we challenge our privilege of freedom, as being free-born, till we be accused guilty by the just law of equity, unto which we are subject for conscience sake, and not to any man's will. By word and writing, are we bound by the law of God, to bear witness against the unjust proceedings herein of the heads and rulers of Dublin, and shall seal our witness against them, and against their unrighteous decrees, is sealed in their cruelty against the innocent, with our blood if thereunto we be called."

EDWARD BURROUGH.

Dublin, the 26th of the Twelfth month 1655.

On the 23rd, Edward Burrough sent a general challenge to all the priests in Dublin and its neighbourhood, at whose instigation he understood he and his companion were confined, to give them a public meeting, in order to debate the doctrines of either, that so the honest enquirers after truth might be satisfied, who were right, and who were wrong. Of this paper no notice was taken, but the council after a few days, issued an order to the mayor of the city, that he should send Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, with all speed to England. About the last of the year, they were by force placed on board a vessel bound for Chester, at which they arrived the 2nd of first month 1656.

During the course of this year, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, addressed several epistles to their brethren in London and other parts of England, evincing much lively concern for their spiritual welfare and preservation in the unchangeable Truth. The excellent counsel and pertinent exhortation, they contain, render them well worthy of a careful perusal.

Several Epistles to Friends in London: written in the year 1655, *by Edward Burrough, some of which were subscribed by Francis Howgill, who was fellow labourer with him, in the work of the Lord.*

FRIENDS of God in the truth, whom the Lord is gathering as desolate stones to build unto himself a habitation; whom the Lord is bringing back out of captivity, wherein you have been held under the chains of darkness, in the land of the shadow of death, the Lord is calling you, and choosing you, to place his name in you, and to spread forth his glory among you. Therefore all dear Friends, whose hearts the Lord hath touched by his love, and by his power, be faithful unto God, who hath called you; and look not out at any thing that is mortal, to draw you from the obedience of the eternal light of Jesus Christ which shines clearly in darkness. Resist not the drawing of the Father, but take up the cross, and abide in it daily, that your wills may be crucified, in which the ground of enmity lodges. Wait in the fear of the Lord, in singleness of heart and in simplicity of mind, for the powerful appearance of the Son of God to be revealed in you, to destroy the works of the devil; for where he is not witnessed, the works of the devil stand, and the nature of the earthly man in the fall.

All of you whose minds are turned within, where the pearl and the lost money is to be found; dwell and walk in the pure fear and obedience to that Spirit of God which is made manifest in you, and made known unto you, and there will peace flow in from the presence of the Lord unto you, and refreshment and strength to the seed, and the pure will live, and the corrupt will die daily.

Beware, every one that have put their hands to the plough, that you look not back at any thing which you have left behind in the world, but press on in the strait way, which is the light, which gives no liberty to the fleshly man, but which judges and condemns all that hate it and turns from it. The light is the way that leads to life, and by it as you wait in it, the life will be made manifest, which is immortal, and your redemption will be witnessed. Dwell in the judgment and in the burning, that the dross may be consumed, and the pure may be refined, and the earthly carnal minds may be confounded and judged. The Lord is near unto you; wait for his powerful presence in his own light to see him, and in it to comprehend all the world, with all its profession, which leads not to God, but keeps in the separation from God. Your way is near; walking in the light you will see it, and in the light you will

see all the paths, and all the ways which lead into the chambers of death.

Look not out at words, for that which feeds there is for the famine; but dwell in the light, joining with the immortal principle, which receives nourishment from the eternal fountain, which the world knows not, nor comprehends. As you grow in the pure, and in the life, so you are unknown to the world, and your growth will appear by your obedience in the cross of Christ. [Leave] off stumbling at the cross; for such [as do] have no part in the eternal inheritance; but walk in the cross, which is life to the new man, and death to the old, and so through death life is made manifest, and the pure life of God arising in all, the world will be trampled upon, and denied by you. But such amongst you that choose the world, wrath from God I declare against you; and you who know the way, and cast off the truth, and for the love of that which is visible, turn from the truth, you cannot escape the damnation of hell.

So all dear and tender hearts, abide in the counsel of God, and let not the world overcome your minds, but wait for a daily victory over it, that so you may with the saints possess the eternal riches, and that in you which is carnal and corrupt may be overcome, by that which is eternal and holy, as you abide and walk in the truth, and grow up in the knowledge of the eternal God. So our joy will be fulfilled in you, and our rejoicing will be increased by you. Therefore walk and live in that which God hath made manifest in you, which is of himself; and the eternal God of life and power prosper you, and lead you up unto himself, to dwell and walk in his love for evermore.

Be not troubled at the rage of the world, nor at temptations, but stand in the will of God, which hath been declared amongst you; that you may all be established and guided by that which is not of this world; but by the principle of life, which is eternal, which judges all the fruits and grounds of darkness. Our love salutes you all who walk in the truth, and our prayers are for you, that life may spring up in you, to praise the Lord for ever.

We are servants unto you, and unto all the elect seed of God every where, for whose sakes we give ourselves to be spent.

EDWARD BURROUGH.
FRANCIS HOWGILL.

"FRIENDS, whose minds are turned to the Lord, by that which is pure, which comes from him who is the light of the world; all mind it, that with it your minds may be turned to him, from whence it comes, out of all the perishing things, and out of all the visible to the invisible, that so you may all come to know the word of the Lord, which endures for ever; which is as a fire and a hammer, which breaks down the mountains, and burns up and destroys all that is acted in that nature which leads into transgression, and into the curse from God. Therefore dear friends, who have tasted of his power, dwell in his fear, and keep your minds from gadding abroad, from that which hath discovered the lusts and filthiness of your minds, and turned your minds from these things and from that nature that rules in the children of disobedience. So you may all come to know the life, and that he may lead you, and direct all your minds in his fear and wisdom, that so you may be preserved out of those paths that lead to destruction, and out of all the deceitful profession of the world. In the light of Christ you will see the rise and ground of all deceivers, and dreamers, and all them that speak their own imaginations, and yet boast of great things, and strive and contend about words, and feed upon wind, and bring no fruit unto God.

"And all ye that are not of the light, and walk not according to the light, but are lending your ears to such who act and speak in that nature, you turn from your guide which is near, and lend your ears to the wicked, and so walk in darkness. But now you who have tasted of the love and power of God, which the world knows nothing of, in it dwell, and abide in that which hath convinced you, and in that which judgeth you, that so you may witness the fallow ground ploughed up, and the earth shaken, and the rocks rent, and the vail taken away, that so there may be a way for the pure to pass through the earth, and so the earth may waste, and wither, and decay, and the lions may suffer hunger, and the gods of the earth may be famished, and the lusts destroyed.

"All keep low in the fear, and wait in silence upon the Lord, to be near you to direct your minds, and stay and establish you; and as you have received the truth, so walk in the truth, we do charge you all in the name of the Lord. Be faithful every one to your measure, and improve and wait for power, and stand in the cross to the earthly, that whatsoever your minds have delighted in, in the first nature, may be denied and crossed. The cross is to the lust; and as you nourish the lust, and let your minds and wills at liberty, and deny the cross, then that which is pure is vexed and darkened, and so the deceit and lust get up again, and the guide is lost, and condemnation comes upon you. Therefore all be diligent in the work of the Lord, and watch over your

actions, and you will come to see satan hath many strong holds, and would spare the best and the fat; but in that which is a cross to all mortal, stand and dwell, that so you may be preserved and kept out of all the snares of the devil.

"And now take heed of judging the power of the Lord, and be silent and wait, that you may come to see in the light, and be partakers of the same. And all who have tasted of the power, wait, and keep out of imaginations, and thoughts, and false voices, that so the enemy may not be hearkened to, nor the deceit; but all in the measure wait upon the Lord in singleness of heart, out of all deceit; and form nothing in your minds; but all dwell in purity and uprightness.

"And all Friends take heed of carelessness, slothfulness, and sluggishness of mind, and of giving liberty to the flesh, and ease to the carnal mind. We charge and command you in the presence of the Lord, whose power is dreadful, that you meet together in silence, and wait, and none to speak a word but what he is moved to speak from the Lord. Take heed of adding to it, but only what you are moved; and take heed of striving and contending, or letting out yourselves to strange spirits, but every one keep in his own tent, and sit down under his own vine; and eat not that which dies of itself, but feed upon the eternal, and so you will be nourished, and grow up in wisdom and power, in that which is pure, that all deceit may be kept out.

"And all children and servants, be diligent in your places, more willing, more ready to labour in love and diligence, that so the name of God may not be dishonoured. And all you who have callings, throw off nothing hastily or rashly, but wait and flee not the cross, for if you do, you will be darkened, and the name of God dishonoured. Therefore all dear Friends, who have owned the truth, wait upon the Lord in diligence, that so you may grow in the life, in the power of the Lord, that nothing may be spared that is for destruction; and so God Almighty bless you all, and keep you out of all deceit, in the pure life which is made manifest, that you may have victory over all, and witness him who puts all under with it; if you wait, you will see him present and near you.

"The everlasting God of power keep you all; for great is our care over you, and our love is to you that abide in the truth, of which you are already made partakers; and when joy springs up, keep in it, and run not forth, and spend it not; and take heed of exalting, for then pride and presumption get up, if you keep not in his fear, and so darkness will come upon you. But all dwelling in that which is pure, you will be preserved out of all snares, and temptations, and your minds kept clear and pure, out of all things that defile; and so the everlasting God of life and power be with you all.

"Your dear brethren in the unchangeable love of God. EDWARD BURROUGH.
FRANCIS HOWGILL."

"DEAR and beloved Friends, in that which is pure, of God, and made manifest in you all, wait and abide; and walk in the light, which comes from Jesus, who is the Judge of the quick and the dead, and condemns all unrighteousness into the pit. Therefore all wait in that which is pure, which hath turned your minds from darkness to light, and from satan to God, and hath convinced you of all unrighteousness, and hath let you see all that ever you have done; behold, he is the very Christ. Mind that which is pure of God, which shows you the deceits of the heart; the light of the eye which discovers all the secrets of your hearts, and will show your present condition, and that which would lead aside; and temptation as it ariseth it will discover, and resisting it in the light, you will escape the pits and the snares which they who err from the light fall into.

"Dear Friends, great is our care on every side, and we are jealous over you, lest you depart from the simplicity of the gospel, and so the deceit lead and guide, and you come under condemnation. Therefore in silence wait. Be swift to hear, slow to speak; and all wait upon the light in diligence, and take heed of forward minds and wills, which would go before the light, and run before the guide. There is the deceiver and false prophet within, the same that is without, and therefore we charge you all in the name and power of God, to take heed of forward wills in speaking, lest your minds be drawn out from the moving of the pure [spirit] within, to hearken to words without, which are spoken from that which is above the light. This feeds the carnal reason, and the earthly wisdom, and lets in the enchanter, and so your minds being turned without, you feed upon the husk, and not the life. That nature that cannot live without words, is for the plague and for the famine, and must be famished and stopped.

"As the power ariseth in you, dwell low in it, and sink down in the same, and as things open in you, speak not forth, where your minds would run out, but as things open treasure them up in your hearts. All keep in that which separates between light and darkness; and be not hasty to do any thing, lest your wills betray you, and all keep in patience, for there the crown is obtained. Flee not from the trouble,

nor from that which judgeth; but dwell in it, and pray that your flight be not in winter. Despise not the cross, even the death of the cross, that all your iniquity may be nailed to the cross, and the righteousness may be set up within, and the land kept in peace.

"And dear Friends, whose hearts the Lord hath touched; meet together, in silence wait, and you will see the Lord present among you, and his power made manifest, and the earth broken up, and the fallow ground, and a passage for the seed. We charge you all take heed of many words, or feeding upon that which is torn, and dies of itself.

"We charge you by the Lord, that none speak without divine motion; for if you do, the false prophet speaks, and his words eat as a canker, and darken; and vail them that hearken to it. All wait to have salt in yourselves, and savour and discerning, that you may come to know the voice of the Lord from the voice of a stranger, and so you may be kept out of all deceit, for there thorns and briars, and the cursed fruits are brought forth. But in the light of Christ dwell and wait, and grow up in it, and walk in it, that you may come to know your Redeemer, and what you are redeemed from, and see him near you, and in you, else you are reprobates.

"The Lord God of life and power preserve you all, for we have kept nothing back, but are free from the blood of you all, and of all that hear us! but our desire to the Lord is, that what has been sown in weakness may be raised in power, and that you may grow up in the truth, and walk in the truth, that we may see the travail of our souls, and be satisfied; and if the Lord give us to see your faces again, we may rejoice in you, and with you. The everlasting God of life and power, keep you all in his wisdom and power, to have victory over all your enemies, that you may serve him in uprightness of heart, and be faithful to that of God made manifest in you all.

"Your dear brethren in the gospel of Christ committed to our charge,

EDWARD BURROUGH.
FRANCIS HOWGILL."

To be read at meetings of Friends in London.

FRIENDS of God, called by him out of the dark world, into his marvellous light; to all you who by the power of God are kept faithful, to walk and abide in the measure of the gift of God received; grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father of life, be multiplied in you, and amongst you, that you all may grow up in the power of God, out of darkness and the shadow of death, wherein you have been held captive in a strange land.

Dear Friends, our souls are poured out for you, that you all may abide in that which you have received and heard, which is the way and path of life, and righteousness, and peace eternal. Therefore, walk worthy of the calling, whereunto ye are called, and wait in the light by which you are enlightened, that all deceit in particular and in the general, may be seen, and judged. We bear you record, there is a witness of God manifest in you, and true desires which flow to God from you: therefore take heed to the measure of God, that by it you may hear the voice of God, and see his powerful presence; for by that which is manifested of God in man, God speaks, moves, and acts, and is known unto man.

They that neglect the measure of God, to walk in it, all their knowledge, experiences, and profession are for condemnation by that which changeth not. So all dwell in the measure which is the light, in the cross which keeps under and judges the fleshly man; so the understanding will be kept open to receive the mercies of God, and to walk worthy of the mercies received; but turning aside from the light, you neglect the mercies, and follow lying vanities, and err from the way of righteousness, and bring yourselves under condemnation. For no longer is God enjoyed by man, than while man abides in his counsel, in his fear, where the secrets of God are manifest and received by the light, which is the first entrance unto God, and the fulness of the enjoyment of God. Beware of the world, where all the temptations lie, to draw away your minds into the carnal and visible things, out from the light by which the life is enjoyed, and so death passeth over you, and condemnation cometh upon you, and the life be lost, and misery be revealed against you.

Large is the love of God unto you, in calling you and choosing you, and therefore forget not this love, but walk in it, up to God, from whom free redemption is manifest unto that which hath lain in death, overcome by the darkness. Follow not your own wills, nor the voice of the stranger and false prophet, which draws out into visibles here, and there; but have salt and discerning in yourselves, that you may try every motion, and every spirit, and may by that which is infallible and errs not, comprehend and judge that which is fallible and erring, which flourisheth for a time, but comes to an end and is withered. This your own knowledge and consciences will set seal to, who have been scattered upon the mountains in the cloudy and dark day; but now the light is breaking forth, and the day begins to appear; and all you who abide faithful shall see the glory of

the Lord, and shall enjoy him in the land of the living.

We charge you all in the Lord, that you who profess the truth walk in it; and as you profess a change, let it appear by putting off the works of darkness, which by the light are made manifest unto you, and testified against by the witness of God in you. Know this, that that which liveth in you which is contrary to God, witnessed against by the light of Christ, shall be as a prick in the eye, and as a thorn in the side for ever. Wrath is to be revealed upon him that spareth the best, and saveth the fat from judgment, for to the slaughter all must come, that life and glory may be made manifest. He that looks back by the way is not fit for the kingdom; and he that returns again to the pollutions, his latter end is worse than his beginning, and the judgment of God cannot be escaped.

Therefore wait in the power of God, and stand in the light, which is the armour against all temptations, whereby the darkness and death, and he that hath the power of death, is overcome, and all that love the light are guided by it. And all dear Friends, who have tasted of the love and power of God, and do witness the rending of the earth, dwell in the power and pure fear of the Lord, that so all deceit may be kept down, and under. Take heed of the false prophet's speaking, or suffering your minds to run out in the openings, and so you will speak that which is opened in the light.

We charge you all in the presence of the dreadful God of life and power, that you all wait in silence, and wait to have salt and savour in yourselves, to know the voice of Christ from the voice of the stranger, for till that be known in yourselves you are not able to judge. Therefore all wait in the light, which is the eye, which sees into the mysteries of the kingdom; and none to utter a word, but what you are divinely moved unto, or else that in every one's conscience will bear witness against you.

Be not hasty, when you see things open in your minds, dwell in them, and run not forth and speak, but treasure them up in your hearts, and take heed, and keep low in the fear of the Lord God, that pride and presumption get not up, nor any thing be exalted above that which is pure. Dear Friends, you are upon us as a great weight and burden, lest we should have bestowed our labour in vain, but we hope and trust the Lord will preserve you, if you stand in obedience to that of God made manifest in you, and so you will grow. Take heed of striving and contending, but judge that [spirit], every one in yourselves, that you may all grow up in the pure life of God. The everlasting power of God bless you all, and keep you in his everlasting love and power, and give the victory over your enemies, that you may come to witness eternal life made manifest in you, from God.

Your brethren in the work of the Lord,
EDWARD BURROUGH.
FRANCIS HOWGILL.

"DEAR Friends, in the everlasting covenant of life and peace whom we bear witness of, and unto whom we have declared and preached in season and out of season; yea, and have often come unto, in much weakness and fear, and trembling; and have not ceased day by day to watch over you, lest any should start aside from the hope of the gospel, which was declared amongst you in demonstration of the spirit, whereby your understandings came to be opened, even by the word of his power, which we directed you to wait in, and for.

"You are witnesses yourselves of the love and mighty power of God, which was made manifest among you; which made the heathen to rage, and confounded the wisdom of the wise. So dear children of light, of whom we have travailed in pain, and great burdens, that Christ might be formed in you; fulfil ye our joy, make our hearts glad in your growth up in him, who hath called and spoken to you from heaven by his Son, in the light.

"Your ears have heard, your eyes have seen, and you have been made to understand the mystery of the kingdom of God, which is a parable to all the world, and sealed, and cannot be read, but by you who continue and abide in the grace of God, which hath appeared to all men, which brings salvation to all that walk and abide in it, and leads to the entrance, and earnest, and the sealing of the spirit, until the time of the finishing trangression, and making an end of sin, and so the everlasting offering be witnessed, which perfects for ever them that are sanctified.

"Therefore all Friends whose minds are turned to the light, and do witness a change in you, by the working of the spirit, and now a door of hope being set open, abide in that measure every one, and stay your souls upon him, who is your hope; and keep low in the fear to the just principle of life; that you may have savour and discerning, to know the voice of Christ from the voice of a stranger in yourselves and in others, and so grow up in the discerning; and comprehend all spirits, and judge them by the light that makes all things manifest.

"And all meet together in your several meetings, and watch one over another; and be diligent in your measure, and take heed you neglect not; and none be of a careless mind to

meet and wait upon the Lord in silence; for such whose life stands only in words without, we deny, for their eyes and ears are without, and they would be ever learning, and that is the silly woman that is laden with lust. Take heed of taking liberty to the flesh; give no ear nor liberty to the earth, but in the cross dwell to the carnal mind, and so you will witness the plant of the Lord watered, and a growth in the immortal, and the seed you will see, which is one in all, which the promise is to.

"All be still, and cool, and quiet, and of a meek spirit, that out of boisterousness, and eagerness, and feignedness, and self-love, you may be preserved in your measures, up to God.

"If any be moved to speak a few words in your meetings—this we charge you all—that you speak nothing but that which is given, and in the sense, and in the cross; and do not add your own words, for then you will burden others who dwell in the life.

"Take heed of whispering, and back-biting one another, but if any see one to be overtaken, or walking disorderly, reprove such a one privately, and exhort privately, and bear and forbear one another; and so love will increase, and your joy, and your wisdom, and your strength will grow.

"The Lord God of life preserve you all in his wisdom: and take heed of imaginations or running out: do nothing hastily; but wait at wisdom's gate, that so you may do all things in wisdom; and all be faithful in your measures, and give up all freely unto the Lord, that he may take away your enemies, and bring you into everlasting righteousness.

"All Friends in your places, masters, parents, servants, and children in your places, be diligent in that which is just unto the Lord, that so the name of the Lord, by whom you are called be not dishonoured, but that you may all dwell single in the counsel of the Lord, in the light of Christ, which keeps you out of all pollutions, and out of that nature that starves you, and darkens you. The living God of life preserve you, for you are dear to us, even all of you, without respect of persons, who walk with the Lord; and we cease not to make mention of you to the Lord, and he hears us, that you may grow in the life of Christ Jesus, to follow the Lamb wheresoever he leads you, or moves you: for truly our hearts are bound to you in the Lord, by one everlasting cord, and if you make us sorry, who shall make us glad? for you are our crown of rejoicing in the Lord.

"We are your brethren, nay, your servants for Christ's sake.

EDWARD BURROUGH.
FRANCIS HOWGILL."

To all the beloved friends, and brethren, and sisters, who are made partakers of his eternal word of life, by which you are gathered into one light and power, in which is life eternal abiding in it.

DEAR Friends of God, who have received and heard the word, the immortal word with gladness and readiness, who are accounted worthy to receive the testimony of our Lord Christ; our love in the eternal life of God which endures for ever, which is not limited to nations, kindreds, tongues, or people, is shed abroad in all and to all that wait upon Christ Jesus, who is the light, the love, and the gift of the Father, which we are made partakers of, by which gift, eternal life and peace for evermore are witnessed, unto all them that continue and dwell in him, who is love.

Beloved in the Lord, our thirsting is great after you, that [you may be stedfast in] the truth you have received from him whom we declared unto you, contrary to our own wills, in much weakness, and much fear, and often in tears, and much trembling, and walking before you in uprightness, without fraud and dissimulation, as patterns and examples; and the Lord by his eternal working of his mighty power, made his own ministry powerful unto you, unto whom be glory for evermore.

So dear hearts, in the grace of God which hath appeared unto you, which did convince you of sin, and condemned sin in the flesh, by which power ye are saved from sin, and brings salvation unto you who walk in it; in it dwell and wait for the day star of Jacob to arise, and the babe of glory to be brought in you, and made manifest, that the government may be upon his shoulders, who rules in righteousness for ever. There is a crown before you; and therefore our dearly beloved ones, all wait, and press on to the work before you, in the cross, and give up all to be slain on the cross, and keep nothing back, for if you do, the Canaanite will vex you, and trouble you, and be a thorn in your eyes, to blind the eye, and so turn you into darkness.

All keep low in the fear, and wait, that the Head may be exalted and uncovered, that so he may bear rule who is not in the trangression, and so in the living hope which is come to you from him who is the life of men you may purify yourselves, and all the old leaven may be purged out. Wait for the faith of the Son of God, which is born of God, by which the just lives, and so the everlasting you will come to see. The everlasting God of life and power preserve you all in one, out of all jar and strife, pure to himself, in one, that you may bear witness to his name by your holy conversation, in

that great place; for I see there is more yet to come into the fold in that city.

Be diligent in your meeting together, and his eternal power and presence you will see, as you have done continually. Grow up in the life of God, and here you are unknown to the world. Salute us to all the church of Christ in the city, without respect of persons, whom we love and own in the life that never dies; and as many as are free, write to us, for a friend here were precious indeed; but none knows us here, nor are we known to any, but well known to the elect and precious, in whom we wait to hear from you, to be refreshed to hear of you, of the works of the Lord every where. The grace of God, by which you are saved from sin, be with you, and in you, to give you dominion over all: in it, we lie down with you, and are your brethren and servants for Christ's sake, to whom be glory for evermore.

EDWARD BURROUGH.
FRANCIS HOWGILL.

"DEAR Friends in the truth of God, without respect of persons, grace, mercy and peace from the everlasting Father be multiplied among you, that in the faith and love, and every good work, you may abound towards God and man, and may show forth the praise of the Lord, and walk as people redeemed by him, in all holiness and pureness, that your good works may be seen, and your light may shine before men.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, my love doth salute you all, who are kept in faithfulness to the gift of grace received, in which you walking, salvation it doth bring, and redemption it doth manifest, out of the world, and out of its nature, into the image and likeness of the Son of God. Therefore dear friends and babes of God, by the immortal word of life begotten and nourished, who wait upon the Lord, blessed are ye that wait to the end, till he who is the light of the world hath put all things under him, and he be exalted your head. If in that you dwell which from the beginning hath been heard, you need no man to teach you, but the way you know, and the word of life is your victory. So keep to the measure, that self-will and self-love may be judged, and your neighbour loved as self; and the living God, who is light, above all, who hath begun his work in you, and among you with his right hand will finish it.

Dear Friends keep nothing back, let not the best, nor the fat, be spared from the slaughter; but let the sword pass upon all, that your peace may be for ever, and your righteousness may never perish. Oh, how doth my soul long to know and understand of the growth and unmovableness in the truth manifested among you, and gladly received by you, even your crowns you laid down at the feet of the Lamb, and your glory and renown in the world! Ye are despised for the light's sake, but your reward shall be everlasting, and your inheritance shall never wither. I speak not to puff you up, but but that you may the rather be kept low in subjection to the light of the Lord Jesus, by which self, and that which would be exalted, must be crucified. This is the victory and precious faith which will purify you, and sanctify you throughout, from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, in that faith to stand as witnesses for the Lord God in that great city, and against all its pollutions and idol gods, which neither do hear, see, nor taste.

In wisdom, as examples one to another in love and unity walk, as children of the day, being past through the dark night where the works of darkness were committed; but now being separated from the world, join not yourselves any more to strange women, which entice from God, but sit under your own vine in peace, dwelling with the Lord, who is light, of whom you are become the temple and tabernacle.

Watch in diligence one over another, that as the day appears, you may edify one another, and may be made one in the light, which is Christ, upon whom you have believed, who unto you is precious, but a stumbling stone, and a rock of offence to all the world. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ preserve you, that by it you may walk in the pure religion, where your own will is not to be done. The power of God Almighty fill your hearts with joy, and peace, and love in him; and this is the desire of my soul, who am a labourer amongst you in the work and travail of the gospel of Christ. EDWARD BURROUGH."

On landing in England, they heard of a meeting to be held at Preston, in Lancashire, and being desirous to attend it, they left Chester on the 3rd of the first month for that purpose. The meeting was probably held on the 4th, for Edward Burrough says that they "made haste, much desiring to be there, which also was brought to pass by the hand of our God." At Preston they unexpectedly met John Audland and Alexander Parker, and the meeting was held to the great advantage of Truth. Recurring to the recent field of labour which he and Francis had been engaged in, Edward writes: "Truly great service for the Lord we had in Ireland, for near seven months; the particulars would be very large; but in short, there is a precious work begun

and seed sown, which shall never die." "Francis' dear wife, we hear, is departed this world, which will be a little hindrance to him at present, as to settle his children and the like; but truly he is wholly given up to do our Father's will, through great and many trials, and dangers and sufferings."

From Preston, Edward Burrough and companion proceed to Lancaster, and from thence to visit Friends in the counties still further north. Here, it appears, they parted for a while, Francis Howgill looking after his children, whilst Edward Burrough proceeded to London. Besides his labours in the ministry in that great city, he published the Epistles written by him in Ireland, and those prepared jointly with Francis Howgill. On the 6th of the third month he finished and dated a work, entitled, "A description of the State and Condition of all mankind on the face of the earth." Francis Howgill soon joined him, and they continued labouring together in gospel unity. A letter from Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, which was probably written early in the fourth month of this year, says; "In this city Truth hath dominion over all; none will stand now to dispute, but they turn away. We have about twenty meetings in a week; and ten or twenty miles about [there are] great desires; and if we can we go out, but we cannot stay; great is our care." "Edward Burrough salutes thee; he is almost spent: few know our condition."

From London they went to Bristol, and had a great meeting there on a first-day, (fifth mo. 27th), at which about five thousand persons attended. Soon after, Edward returned to London, and it was not long before he was joined by his faithful companion, and for many months they had sore trials and conflicts, in contending with some who had gone out from the Truth, and others who had never attained it. The ranters, a body of people acknowledged by no religious society, were a disturbance to all. Particularly were they so to Friends, whose places of worship were not in anywise protected by the civil authorities. These ranters would come into the meetings, screaming or singing with loud voices, interrupting the ministers in their solemn services, and at times using very indecent language and actions.

William Caton, who came to London about the 1st of the seventh month of this year, writes of the exercises they had in the city, from some who had left the Truth and gone into extremes, but adds that the faithful had comfort in one another. Although Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill had much suffering to endure in London, they yet felt sympathy for their brethren under suffering in other places. On the 19th of the seventh month they addressed a joint letter to Thomas Aldam and others in Yorkshire, on whom much abuse had been bestowed for their faithfulness. Francis Howgill held the pen. This communication bears witness to the unity and fellowship subsisting amongst them. They say,

"Dear brethren, we are with you in your bonds, in your reproaches and imprisonments, and in your rejoicings: your joy is ours, for we eat with you and drink with you at our Father's table, where there is plenteous nourishment for all those who wait in his counsel, and are obedient to his commands." In respect to things in London they say; "Dear brethren, our care is great; the harvest is great; who are sufficient for these things? Here are fields white unto harvest, and much of the power of God hath been with us. Great hath been our burden and our work since we came here, and our reward is great. Much have we been drawn out to administer in power and wisdom. We have exceeding great meetings of all sorts, and we labour and travail until Christ be formed in them. Pray for us that we may be kept in His power, [which] reigneth over all: by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions are stopped, kings are bound in chains; eternal living praises for evermore to Him who rides on conquering in power and great glory! Many are brought under great judgment and true power, and many have learned their own condemnation.

"The last first-day, (seventh month 14th), my dear yoke-fellow and I went in the forenoon to two of the highest notionists and the greatest deceivers in the city, at two steeple houses, where the wise of the city come; and I had great liberty, and spoke toward an hour: all were silent, and some confessed they never heard so much truth in power delivered. Many would have had me to their houses; but we lay hands on none hastily."

James Lancaster and Miles Halhead were at this time in London, but tarried not long there. The parliament had met on the 17th, but it was no longer a meeting of the free and independent representatives of the nation. Those only of its members who were approved by Cromwell and his council, were permitted to enter the House, or to sit therein. This high handed measure of arbitrary power occasioned great excitement throughout the community, particularly amongst those who were attached to republican principles. In this public agitation Friends took no part. In reference to it Francis Howgill says; "As for these things, they are nothing to us, we are redeemed from them. Praises to the Lord for evermore, who hath made us to reign above the world, and to trample upon it."

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY in the year of 1656, Edward Burrough was arrested at Kingston in Surry, and taken with nine of his friends, before the magistrates of that place. Under what pretence they were arrested the account left of the transaction does not show, but the magistrates tendered them the oath of abjuration, and because they refused to take it, committed them to prison. The persecutors knew that Friends conscientiously believed it to be unlawful for a Christian to swear, and the plan they frequently adopted of offering them the oath, was therefore an easy and sure means of furnishing a legal reason for casting them into prison. Edward was not very long in confinement. He appears this year whilst in prison, and out of prison, to have been diligently employed with his pen in defence of the doctrines and testimonies of truth.

Many of the clergy of the different denominations, were engaged in writing and printing against Friends; some of them out of fondness for religious disputation; some because they deemed their craft in danger, and others no doubt prompted by the persuasion that Quakerism was adverse to Christianity. Being in great measure outward in their views, and regarding religion as a system of forms and ceremonies, rather than the dedication of the heart to the Lord, and submission to the cleansing operations of his Holy Spirit, they could not understand the spiritual doctrines so earnestly advocated by our early Friends. They had no desire to find those to be true Christians, who denied the lawfulness of compelling any to pay for preaching, and who considered the receiving hire for such service as contrary to the commands of the Head of the church,—the giver of all spiritual gifts, and the alone paymaster of his ministers.

Friends' steadfastness in refusing to uncover the head in token of honour to men, which mark of worship they believed due only to God, their Creator, was construed into a disregard of authority, and a perverse infraction of the proper courtesies of life. Their plea for the immediate counsel and direction of the "Holy Spirit," the "light of Christ," the "light within," was believed by some, and declared by many, to be from a disbelief in the scriptures of truth, notwithstanding their constant denial of such an unjust inference, and their offers in all controversies with their adversaries, that their faith and practice should be tested by scripture authority, and that all which could not be thus sustained should be reckoned and accounted a delusion of the devil. Some deemed them socinians, because they did not so frequently hold forth in their ministry and writings, the benefits derived from the outward offering of our Lord Jesus Christ, as their opponents deemed needful. In reply to this charge, Friends said they were no socinians, that they steadfastly believed in the divinity, offices, birth, labours of love, propitiatory sufferings and death of the blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; and if they did not treat so much on these subjects, as some others did, it was because they were almost universally preached, and professed in Christendom, while the gift of the Holy Spirit, purchased for us by the death of Christ, and universally bestowed upon all mankind as their rule and guide, was scarcely upheld or preached by any; and therefore there was more need to direct the minds of the people, to this divine and saving light in themselves, that through obedience to its discoveries, they might be led out of sin, and brought into holiness of life and conversation.

Amongst those who took up the pen against the Quakers, was John Bunyan, who misunderstanding or misrepresenting his antagonists, zealously beat the air in his attack on a fancied unsoundness. Edward Burrough was not slow in replying to him, and having a better opportunity of knowing the truth, he was able to refute Bunyan's unfounded accusations.

Bunyan asserted that "Friends undervalued the Lord Jesus, God-man; and though they spoke much of Christ, did not savingly and rightly lay him for their foundation." On this charge Edward remarks; "We prize the Lord Jesus Christ, God-man, to be precious unto us, and unto all that do believe, and have owned Him alone to be the foundation, whom God hath laid for salvation to the ends of the earth. In his light are we saved, and therein do walk; and because hereof are we hated by thee."

Bunyan charged Friends with saying, that "salvation was not fully and completely wrought out for sinners, by that man, Christ Jesus."—To which Edward Burrough replies, "this accusation is clearly false and wickedly cast upon us; for there is not salvation in any other, nor is it wrought by any other, but by Jesus Christ. It is fully and completely brought forth by Him unto every one who believes and receives the testimony of it in themselves."

Bunyan said "Friends bade persons follow the light, that they brought into the world with them; telling them that the light would lead them into the kingdom, &c." Edward Burrough replies, "this is falsely laid down, [to say] the light that they brought into the world with them: But *this* is the truth of God and no lie, that to follow the light of Christ Jesus, wherewith he hath lighted every man that cometh into the world, will lead into the kingdom of peace and

ighteousness; for Christ saith, 'I am the light of the world, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'"

"Thou goeth on proving, says Edward Burrough," that "He is the Saviour, that was born of Mary;" which thing we never denied, and herefore I need the less to answer thee.

Bunyan. "How horribly are those deceived, who look on Jesus to be but a shadow or type!" Edward Burrough, "I know not any who do it, and yet thou sayest, of something that was afterwards to be revealed, &c. This hath some truth in it, which is this; the same Christ. who was born of Mary, who wrought righteousness in his person, by doing and suffering, who was and is the substance, was afterwards revealed in the saints; and this s no horrible deceit, to witness Christ revealed, or to wait for him to be revealed within."

Bunyan. "How are they deceived, who hink to obtain salvation by following the convictions of the law, which they call Christ, &c." Edward Burrough, "It is no deceit to mind hat which doth convince of sin, to lead to Christ, to take away sin. Thou art in the deceived state, who healest up falsely, and daubest with untempered mortar, and wouldst teach people to apply the promises unto salvation, while they are in a condition condemned in he sight of God, by the light in their own consciences, and will not own that which discovers sin; how then can they own Him, who takes t away, and purges from it by his blood."

Bunyan. "It is not of works, lest any man should boast, as those fond hypocrites, called Quakers would do."

Edward Burrough. "When did thou hear any of the Quakers boast, or see them live in hypocrisy? Will that faith which is without works justify? Must not every one receive according to their deeds, he that doeth good, life? he that doeth evil, condemnation? But such is thy feigned fancy of faith, who seeketh to be justified by it, whilst thou bringest forth the fruits of unbelief. Thou speakest of living by faith, which thou sayest is to apply the Lord Jesus Christ, his benefits, birth, &c. I say, if to talk of him, was faith in him and to live by faith, then few would want him. For many have got the words, who are without the life of righteousness through faith."

Bunyan. "How are they deceived, who own Christ no otherwise, than as he was before the world began."

Edward Burrough. "Did not the saints own Christ Jesus, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, for salvation? Is there any other Christ, than he who was before Abraham was? And is he not now glorified with the same glory, mind the same glory, which he had with the Father before the world was? Is this deceit, to own him as he was before the world was, for salvation? That was the very Christ, the Son of God, who was equal with the Father, which was in the beginning, and in time was made manifest in Bethlehem, and calls himself the Light of the world, that spiritual rock, which the fathers did eat and drink of, which followed them, that rock was Christ the salvation."

"Thou speakest of some who told thee to thy face, that thou usedst conjurations and witchcraft, because what thou preachedst was according to scripture." "To which I say, let the guilty be reproved; for we deny thy accusation to be true upon any of the Quakers, which some may think thou speakest of: so thy accusation rests between thee and them, and we are clear. For every truth which the scriptures bear witness of, we do own, and do not condemn any for preaching according to the scriptures."

Bunyan. "If every man hath a measure of the spirit of Christ within him, why say the scriptures that some are sensual, having not the spirit, and Christ saith, the wicked cannot receive it?"

Edward Burrough. "Some men are sensual and have not the spirit, because they receive it not. Some cannot receive it, because they believe not in him from whom it comes; yet is the measure of the spirit given unto every man to profit withal, as the scriptures saith. It is given within him to reprove him of sin, but few receive it. It is one thing in God to give the spirit, and another thing in the creature to receive it. He gives it to many that receive it not, to follow it, and to be guided by it."

Bunyan. "What is the church of God redeemed by from under the law? Is it something that is done within them, or something done without them? If it be redeemed by something that worketh in them, then why did the man Christ Jesus hang upon the cross on mount Calvary, without the gates of Jerusalem, for the sin of his people; and why do the scriptures say, that through this man is preached unto us forgiveness of sins?"

Edward Burrough. "The church of God is redeemed by Christ Jesus, who is revealed within all that believe. Christ Jesus wrought in them mightily, to will and to do; this is plain according to scripture. And the man Christ Jesus was hanged upon the cross on mount Calvary, because they wickedly judged him to be a blasphemer, and through their envy they persecuted him to death, because he bore witness against them; and as in their account he died upon the cross for an evil doer, this is one ground at least why he hanged upon the cross. And the scriptures say; that through this man

is preached the forgiveness of sins, because there is no other that can forgive sin, nor the blood of any other thing that can take away sin, but the blood of God, as it is written."

Bunyan. "Is that very man that was crucified on mount Calvary, between two thieves, whose name is Jesus, the son of Mary; is he the very Christ of God, yea or nay?"

Edward Burrough. "Yea, he is the very Christ of God, who was before the world was, by whom the world was made, who was made manifest from Mary's womb, and was persecuted to death by the Scribes and Pharisees, in whose steps thou treadest in asking subtle questions to ensnare the innocent, as they did."

On the 23rd of seventh month 1656, the Parliament published a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, to observe a day of fasting and humiliation, and seeking the face of God, through the mediation of Christ.

When Edward Burrough read this proclamation, he was led to consider the oppressive acts of the government towards tender consciences, and the iniquities which abounded among the people. The recollection of these stirred him up to take his pen in hand, and through the medium of the press, spread amongst the people his thoughts on the subject. He enumerates various causes of the divine judgment coming upon them, and then adds; "many more abominations cry for vengeance against some of you, who have had your hands deeply dipped in such oppression; and therefore this is a warning to you to break off these sins by righteousness and true repentance, lest your fasts prove only for strife, and to smite with the fist of wickedness. Clear yourselves and wash your hands from these abominations, lest the fruit of them be given to you to eat for food. Let this, O ye rulers! be acceptable counsel unto you, that the day of happiness may appear, and the long expected day of liberty may yet dawn through this dark night of bondage, which overshadows your heads that you cannot behold the glory of the sun. And herein shall you be established, and we shall have cause to bless the Lord for you, and with you; otherwise you shall fail, and evil shall be upon you, and upon the nation for your sakes."

"You that fear God, give audience, and keep yourselves pure from the iniquities, which the rest love to drink in; and though your power be shorter, and your voice lower than the uprightness of your hearts desire, be faithful unto God in bearing your testimony for him, and against all that which with the light of Jesus, you see to be contrary to him. Be awakened unto righteousness, judgment and mercy. The light is springing over your heads, and the day of the Lord is dawning out of darkness; a seed is sown in your dominions which cannot be rooted out, till it has overspread the earth with the precious fruit thereof; and though it be striven against to be plucked up, yet shall the branch and root thereof be everlastingly renowned, for it is the true Jew, and he that falls before it shall never rise up again."

Edward Burrough, in the midst of his numerous other engagements, found time to superintend the printing of various writings from the prolific pen of his friend, and father in the truth, George Fox. To some of these he prefixed or added a few lines. A preface written by him to one of these publications, entitled "A Testimony of the true Light of the world," bears date the 1st of the eleventh month, 1656. In this preface he says; "This is truth from the Lord God,—there is no other name given for salvation, but the name of Jesus; there is no other Christ Jesus, but he who lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Except this Christ Jesus be revealed by the Spirit of the Father within, salvation is not received by him. Therefore all Friends who have received the testimony of the light of the Son of God within you, and have believed the report of the Father, and of the Son, hold fast the word of that testimony and dwell in it, and walk in it. This is the power of God, which will keep you from all unrighteousness, and so from condemnation. If any turn from the light, they run into evil, and backslide from the Truth. Such shall bear their own shame and condemnation, in the sight of God, and all his children; for this is the message which was, and is, 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.'"

John Bunyan was still unable to understand Quakerism, and being stirred up by the reply of Edward Burrough, he came out in print with a "Vindication" of his former charges against the Society of Friends. Edward was not long in following him through the press with an answer, in a quarto of 64 pages, entitled, "Truth the strongest of all." This reply set forth the doctrines of the Christian religion in words, which to one who was prepared to understand the language employed, and to give credit to the author for sincerity, would have been sufficient to establish the Scriptural soundness of Edward Burrough and his friends. But John Bunyan was not in a condition to perceive it, and it is probable that the closeness of the reproofs administered to him, had a tendency to blunt his appreciation of the force of the argument.

Soon after this publication, which was issued from the press, in the twelfth month of this year, Edward Burrough left London to visit the brethren in Essex. Francis Howgill

being at this time in Kent. Edward soon returned to the city, where the difficulties connected with James Nayler and his ranting companions had not subsided. Appreciating the trials to which some of the newly convinced were subjected, because of James Nayler's fall, Edward wrote two epistles of encouragement to them. These he sent from London the 2nd of the third month 1657.

The first addressed "to all the called and chosen to faithfulness in Christ Jesus, and to such as are found worthy to suffer," contains the following; viz.

To all the children of light every where, who fear and love the Lord, who are begotten of God, and unto whom he is known in the spirit and in the truth, this is a testimony of the Father's love unto you. Grace, mercy, and peace, from him that lives for ever, the God of light and life, be multiplied in you all, that you may daily be renewed in strength, and girded with truth, and armed with the whole armour of God, and may be kept by his power until the day of salvation, to walk in subjection to Jesus Christ, witnessing the power and presence of God in you, and amongst you, giving you power to fulfil his will in all things. Thus into all righteousness, and out of all evil you may be led, and preserved unto the end; and in the end to show forth the praises of God, in this generation, as a people called of him, and redeemed by him for his great glory's sake; even so Amen, and Amen.

Dearly beloved, this is the message which came unto you, which is true, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all; the message of peace and reconciliation, and of glad tidings unto all that have sought the Lord, which we received of him, and you have heard. All that have received it are gathered to God, and are in covenant with him, and one with another, and are in that which reconcileth and joineth unto Christ Jesus the second Adam. He is the Lord from Heaven, the prince of peace, the Saviour and the deliverer, who is made manifest in power, and condemneth the transgressor, and slayeth the enmity, and raiseth the life out of death. This is he who kills and makes alive, even God who is light, who brings down one, and sets up another; who makes war against the mighty, and gives peace to the poor; and besides him there is none. He searcheth man's heart, and trieth the reins, and knows the thoughts, and every creature is manifest in his sight, who gives to every one according to his doing. This is he who standeth in the congregation of the righteous, even in the midst of us, and siteth Judge among the gods. Unto him must all the gods of the earth bow, and the inhabitants of the earth must tremble before him; and unto him every tongue shall confess, and the light in every man shall answer, when he ariseth to judgment, who is a swift witness, to condemn or justify all the children of men on the face of the earth.

This is the God of truth whom we worship, and who will be worshipped in spirit, and in truth, who is the God of Abraham, and his seed for ever; and with him there is no change, nor shadow of turning. He hath made known his name, and his power, and his wonderful works in this his day, and hath caused his voice to be heard in the earth, and the dead have heard, and now live.

And his name is exalted on high amongst all that fear him, and obey his voice; and he hath given his Son a covenant of light, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world with the true light of life, or condemnation, that all who receive him may come to the knowledge of the Father, whom to know is life eternal.

And this is the Christ, the Saviour, in whom we have believed, and whom we preach, who is the way, the truth, and the life, the foundation of God, which cannot be moved; the Word of God is his name, and there is no other name given for salvation. This is he who was dead, and is alive, and lives for evermore, and there is no other to be looked for. If any preach any other, let them be accursed; and if any bring any other message, let them not be received.

All you who have believed in Christ Jesus, who is the light of the world, and have received the knowledge of God, who is light himself and searcheth your hearts, I exhort you, and warn you all in his presence, to wait upon him, and to fear before him, and to walk with him for ever in uprightness of heart, which is of great price in his sight. Forget not his righteous judgments, which he hath made known, lest you wax fat through mercies, and rebel against him, and become disobedient and gainsaying, and so be destroyed from being a people; but be stayed upon the Lord, and let your hearts be established with grace. Be not tossed, nor shaken with any wind of doctrines of men, which is not from the life of God, nor reacheth to the life in you, but begets into idolatry, to worship other gods than he who is light.

Be not troubled at temptations, nor at sufferings, nor at reproaches, nor any other thing; but stand in the counsel of God, and in his long-suffering, and wait patiently upon him, in your measure of the grace of God received, which is sufficient for you, to preserve you, that you may receive victory over death, and over him that hath the power of it, to trample upon all that which is contrary to the life of God within

you, and without you. Neither be you troubled nor offended in Christ. If any among you deny the Lord, and backslide from his pure way, through an evil heart of unbelief, and so become disobedient children, and vex the righteous soul, such shall bear their own burden, and condemnation in the day of the Lord; and shall know, that truth changes not, but is the same for ever, though the deceitful-hearted through unbelief depart from it, and choose their own ways, and despise the counsel of the Lord, to their own destruction.

But be ye more watchful, and faithful, and valiant for the truth upon earth, unto the end; that you may be found faithful witnesses unto the name of Lord, in this crooked generation; and may receive the fulfilling of the promise of God, and may witness God within you, the Emanuel, the Saviour, God with us. This is the whole salvation, and there is no other to be expected, or witnessed, than this, that God dwells in us, and walks in us, according to his promise; and all that know this, need not go forth to the right hand, or to the left, but salvation is come unto us.

He takes away sin, and saves from it, and from condemnation; and who witness this are begotten by the word of God, and born of the immortal seed, and are new creatures. Now there is no condemnation, but the reward of righteousness and peace to us, who are not in the flesh, but in the spirit. Here we witness the Lord is our God, and we are his people, and he seeth no sin in us who are born of him, nor remembers iniquity; but his covenant is with us, and the kingdom is become the Lord's and his dominion is set up. Here God is all in all, where the prince of darkness is cast out; and this is the end and substance of all ministrations, which we bear witness of.

I exhort all you that are called of God every where, patiently to wait in the way of the Lord, and in his judgments, to receive this, and to possess it within you, that you may be worshippers of God, and doers of his will, and may have the witness, that you are accepted of him, and may know your calling and election sure, where nothing that defileth can enter, but that may be taken away and removed. And him you may feel and witness, whom satan hath nothing in, who is the second Adam, and cannot be overcome, but is greater than the first Adam, who was overcome (though innocent), and is lost from the presence of God. But he in whom there is no sin, and who cannot transgress, comes to seek and to save that which was lost in sin, and to bring back that which was driven away by sin. He is greater than innocency, and overcometh the devil, and is called the Son of God; and to him that overcometh, who is the light of the world, is all power given of the Father. And know him in you all to be greatest, who is not of the world, nor can bow to the devil, to give you dominion and authority over all the world, and the powers of hell and death, even he who sealeth up the old dragon in perdition, never more to deceive. He who witnesseth this, knoweth the election which it is not possible to deceive, or be deceived.

As every one of you have received him who is the Lord from Heaven, so let your faith stand in him, and walk in him; and let all your conversation be ordered by him, in all pure and blameless walking in the sight of your enemies, that it may be manifest that you are branches in him, and that you have received power to become the sons of God, and that you are heirs of the inheritance which shall not fade away.

And all you that witness this, your eye is open to see God, and you are cleansed from sin by the Word of God, and you have received peace with God, and glad tidings from him in your own souls; and this is salvation by the second Adam. Herein be established and settled, and look not for another; for there is not any besides this Saviour, and this salvation; but if any preach another, believe him not; and if any cry, lo here, and lo there is Christ, without you, go not after them, nor follow them, but know him within you, who is greater than all. Yea, if we ourselves, or an angel from Heaven, preach any other Jesus, than he that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; or any other salvation, than God with us, let us be accursed. For this is the gospel of our salvation, Christ Jesus within us the hope of glory, the power and wisdom of God to rule and reign in us, by which we are changed from death to life, and translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of his dear Son.

And now all Friends and elect of God, who are called and faithful, you that have received this testimony which God hath given of the Son, and which the Son hath given of the Father, which in faithfulness hath been testified in this generation; I exhort you all in the fear and counsel of the Lord, take heed to that which you have believed, and heard, and learned of the Father, which is the truth as it is in Jesus, and shall abide for ever. Be not removed from your hope, nor given to change, but mind the life of God in you all, which is immortal, and is but one, and it answereth to the Lord in judgments and in mercies, and one to another in that which is righteous and just, and witnesseth against all the works of the world, which are evil, and not wrought in God.

Ye that know this which is of the Father in you, dwell in it, and walk in it, and be not shaken out of it, nor removed from it, for it is the way of peace unto everlasting rest, where there is no sorrow, but righteousness, peace and joy in the

Holy Ghost. Every one in particular, have salt in yourselves to savour withal, that you may resist the wicked one in all his temptations, and may not join to anything which is out of union, and contrary to the life of God, and to the truth which you have received; that you may never be betrayed of your hope, nor of the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus, in which the Father is well pleased. Let the light of the world guide you in all things, that your works may be wrought in God, never to be condemned, nor you to suffer loss; knowing this first, that none are justified by him, but them that are led and guided by him; and to whom he is a Saviour, he is also a teacher, and he is given to teach in all the ways of truth.

Let your fellowship be in the life and power of God, and know not one another in words only, and in outward appearance, but witness one another in the spirit and in the truth, and have communion there, in breaking the bread of life, that Christ Jesus may be seen to be head in you, and you members to serve him, and one another, all receiving wisdom from the head, and virtue from the vine, Christ Jesus, that you may abound in love, mercy and peace, and all the fruits of righteousness unto the Father. Dwell in the fear and counsel of God, and be subject to his will, not despising the cross, which is the power of God, which slayeth the birth that is born of the flesh, which is not heir of the promise; but walk in the cross daily, that your understandings may be kept open, to try and discern all spirits, whether they be of God.

Believe not every spirit, for lying spirits may arise among yourselves, and go forth from the light, who are not in the truth, but in the feignedness and hypocrisy, with false visions, and lying imaginations, handling the word of God deceitfully, and corrupting and perverting the pure way of God; having the form, but not the power, having left the power and gone from the light. Such utter the words of truth without the life, and are but as the chaff to the wheat, and they are to be denied and resisted, and not joined to, lest innocency and simplicity be betrayed, and your faith made void, and so you be destroyed from the life of God, and death surprise you, and darkness enter your dwellings, and so unbelief, and doubting and murmuring, and lustings after evil arise in you, and you be perverted from the worship of the true God, and grieve his righteous spirit by bowing to idols, and following of other lovers; and so the true God, who hath brought you out of Egypt, and made manifest his power in you, be forgotten, and the faith of his Son made shipwreck of, and your latter end be worse than the beginning, and the name of the Lord be dishonoured by you; and then wo unto you, his wrath shall suddenly break out against you.

Wherefore hear and fear, and hearken unto the word of the Lord. He hath caused his light to shine forth, and his voice to be heard; he hath proclaimed his name amongst you, and hath caused his marvellous light to approach when you sat in darkness, in the land of the shadow of death. When you were lost, he sought you, and when you were driven away and scattered, he found you, and brought you home. When you were in your blood and no eye pitied you, he had mercy upon you, and bound you up, and healed you. When you were dead, he said unto you, live; and it was so. When you were led captive by the devil under the power of death, he broke the chains and set you free; and when there was none to help or save, his own arm brought deliverance and salvation, and the way of life and peace he set before you.

And now all this hath his own arm accomplished, that you should be a praise unto him for evermore. If you walk in the way which he hath set before you, and keep his covenant which he hath made with you, and fulfil his will, and walk in righteousness, in love, and unity, in meekness, lowliness, humbleness, and in soberness, and watchfulness, and in fear of his name; then shall his presence never forsake you, nor his outstretched arm cease to defend and preserve you. He shall go before you, and be your reward; and he shall be your God, and you shall be his people; and shall dwell in him; and he shall be your hiding-place, and he will be to you a father, and you shall be his children, and his blessing and peace shall remain in your habitations for ever and ever.

But if any of you turn aside for a thing of naught, after vanity, and deny the way of righteousness, and forget the Lord and kick against him, and follow the way and counsel of your own hearts, and worship other gods, and join yourselves to strangers, and make the cross of Christ of none effect, and turn from the light of Christ within you, and fulfil your own wills, and the desire of your own minds, and go out of the fear of the Lord into the liberty of the flesh, (which is not the liberty in Christ Jesus) and so seek yourselves, and strive for mastery, to be one above another, and surmise evil one against another, and the bond of peace be broken, and vain contention and strife appear; then shall the rod of God smite you, and his wrath be suddenly kindled against you, and you shall not prosper, but his countenance shall be hid, and the terrors of the Lord and lamentations shall possess you, and peace shall flee far from you. Such shall be cast out of the camp of the Lord, and shall have no part in the inheritance, but the blessing shall depart, and the curse shall enter, till utter destruction. If any of you deny the Lord, unto whom his way is made manifest, he will deny you, and you shall have no part in

you, and without you. Neither be you troubled nor offended in Christ. If any among you deny the Lord, and backslide from his pure way, through an evil heart of unbelief, and so become disobedient children, and vex the righteous soul, such shall bear their own burden, and condemnation in the day of the Lord; and shall know, that truth changes not, but is the same for ever, though the deceitful-hearted through unbelief depart from it, and choose their own ways, and despise the counsel of the Lord, to their own destruction.

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Holy Ghost. Every one in particular, have salt in yourselves to savour withal, that you may resist the wicked one in all his temptations, and may not join to anything which is out of union, and contrary to the life of God, and to the truth which you have received; that you may never be betrayed of your hope, nor of the simplicity which is in Christ Jesus, in which the Father is well pleased. Let the light of the world guide you in all things, that your works may be wrought in God, never to be condemned, nor you to suffer loss; knowing this first, that none are justified by him, but them that are led and guided by him; and to whom he is a Saviour, he is also a teacher, and he is given to teach in all the ways of truth.

Let your fellowship be in the life and power of God, and know not one another in words only, and in outward appearance, but witness one another in the spirit and in the truth, and have communion there, in breaking the bread of life, that Christ Jesus may be seen to be head in you, and you members to serve him, and one another, all receiving wisdom from the head, and virtue from the vine, Christ Jesus, that you may abound in love, mercy and peace, and all the fruits of righteousness unto the Father. Dwell in the fear and counsel of God, and be subject to his will, not despising the cross, which is the power of God, which slayeth the birth that is born of the flesh, which is not heir of the promise; but walk in the cross daily, that your understandings may be kept open, to try and discern all spirits, whether they be of God.

Believe not every spirit, for lying spirits may arise among yourselves, and go forth from the light, who are not in the truth, but in the feignedness and hypocrisy, with false visions, and lying imaginations, handling the word of God deceitfully, and corrupting and perverting the pure way of God; having the form, but not the power, having left the power and gone from the light. Such utter the words of truth without the life, and are but as the chaff to the wheat, and they are to be denied and resisted, and not joined to, lest innocency and simplicity be betrayed, and your faith made void, and so you be destroyed from the life of God, and death surprise you, and darkness enter your dwellings, and so unbelief, and doubting and murmuring, and lustings after evil arise in you, and you be perverted from the worship of the true God, and grieve his righteous spirit by bowing to idols, and following of other lovers; and so the true God, who hath brought you out of Egypt, and made manifest his power in you, be forgotten, and the faith of his Son made shipwreck of, and your latter end be worse than the beginning, and the name of the Lord be dishonoured by you; and then wo unto you, his wrath shall suddenly break out against you.

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And now all this hath his own arm accomplished, that you should be a praise unto him for evermore. If you walk in the way which he hath set before you, and keep his covenant which he hath made with you, and fulfil his will, and walk in righteousness, in love, and unity, in meekness, lowliness, humbleness, and in soberness, and watchfulness, and in fear of his name; then shall his presence never forsake you, nor his outstretched arm cease to defend and preserve you. He shall go before you, and be your reward; and he shall be your God, and you shall be his people; and shall dwell in him; and he shall be your hiding-place, and he will be to you a father, and you shall be his children, and his blessing and peace shall remain in your habitations for ever and ever.

But if any of you turn aside for a thing of naught, after vanity, and deny the way of righteousness, and forget the Lord and kick against him, and follow the way and counsel of your own hearts, and worship other gods, and join yourselves to strangers, and make the cross of Christ of none effect, and turn from the light of Christ within you, and fulfil your own wills, and the desire of your own minds, and go out of the fear of the Lord into the liberty of the flesh, (which is not the liberty in Christ Jesus) and so seek yourselves, and strive for mastery, to be one above another, and surmise evil one against another, and the bond of peace be broken, and vain contention and strife appear; then shall the rod of God smite you, and his wrath be suddenly kindled against you, and you shall not prosper, but his countenance shall be hid, and the terrors of the Lord and lamentations shall possess you, and peace shall flee far from you. Such shall be cast out of the camp of the Lord, and shall have no part in the inheritance, but the blessing shall depart, and the curse shall enter, till utter destruction. If any of you deny the Lord, unto whom his way is made manifest, he will deny you, and you shall have no part in

him, but vengeance in flames of fire will he render upon the disobedient, manifold more than if his love and way of peace had not been made manifest to you, and the light of the world is your condemnation for evermore, if you turn from it.

And in the presence of the living God, I warn you all, believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which brings any other message than what hath been declared from the beginning. Believe not him which crieth, lo here, or lo there is Christ without you, or that draweth from the measure of Christ within you, to hearken to, or to be taught by any other thing. For that spirit is not of the Father which preacheth any other Christ than he that is the light of the world, and lighteth every man that cometh into the world; or bringeth any other message, than that God is light in himself, and hath given his Son a light into the world. This is the true testimony of the Father, and of the Son; and he that testifieth any other message, is to be judged and denied. He is not a worshipper of the true God, but out of the truth, and in the error, and a deceiver, being deceived.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which ministereth to others that which it hath not learned of the Father, but hath the words without the power, and liveth not in the power of what it ministereth forth in words, nor is in what it declareth, but is in outward show, in the hypocrisy and feignedness, and reacheth not the life of God, but vaileth and covereth it; that spirit is not of the Father, but is to be denied, and not received.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is at liberty in the flesh, and maketh the offence of the cross to cease, which is exalted out of the fear of the Lord, in the liberty of the earthly, which crucifieth the life, and darkeneth the eye. That spirit will boast of joy and peace, and experience, and knowledge, and speak high words in the airy mind, and would lead you to glory above the cross, till you be past feeling the life; and that spirit begetteth into the love of the world, which passeth away. Beware of that spirit, for it is not of the Father, but to be condemned.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is hasty, and forward, and rash; for that goeth out of God's counsel and betrayeth the just, and striveth to be greatest, and to be above the weak, and despiseth him, and would be master, and not a servant, and would rule, and not be ruled in the meek and lowly government of Christ. That spirit will judge rashly and unsavourily, and condemn another in secret in what itself is guilty of. Beware of that spirit, for it is not of God, but to be judged with the life of God.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which seeks to have praise of men, and would beget divisions and make parties, which respects persons and glories in gifts and knowledge, and parts, more than in the giver, and admires men more than Him that gives the increase, and feeds of the knowledge in that nature which is to be famished, and glories in what hath been done by it, as though it had not received power from the Lord, and is exalted as though it bore the root, not knowing that it is borne of the root. That spirit spends its treasures amongst harlots, and despises the poor, and seeks occasion to glory over the weak, that it may be renowned; beware of that spirit, I charge you all, for it is not of the Father, nor to be followed, but to be condemned, and resisted unto death.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which preacheth not from the measure of God received, and to be manifest to it in you, and approved by it only; but speaks above the measure, and reaches not to the measure of the grace of God; which leads after words, and cries peace to the rich, and judgment to the poor, and the word of God is not divided aright, but heals up falsely, and daubs with untempered mortar, and cries war where God speaks peace. That spirit is a deceiver and a betrayer, and feeds but the ear, and not the life, and darkens the counsel of God by words without knowledge, and is not of the Father, but of the world, and to be denied and condemned.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is not subject to rule and order, and is not meek, and diligent, and long-suffering, but heady, and high, and untoward, seeking occasions against the just, and watcheth for evil. That spirit will not bear reproof, but is slothful and careless, surmising evil, and backbiting, and conforms in appearance, making a fair shew, but is not unto God, as it appears to man. It would go, and is not called; and will not go when it is called; and seeks for the praise of men more than God, and that is fruitless ground, and brings forth briars and thorns in secret, which chokes the seed of God. Beware of that spirit, it is a lover of this world; have no fellowship with it, for it is a deceiver, and is to be denied.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is tossed and unsettled, and is given to change, and is not established with grace, but hunts for the precious life, and seeks by flattery to beguile the innocent. This spirit is zealous for a moment, but is soon overcome, and brings not forth fruit to perfection, but withers, and its latter end is worse than the beginning. That spirit is exalted into presumption in peace, and cast into desperation in trouble, and the double mind lodgeth in it, and it is unstable in all its ways, and is a ground for the seed of satan, and to it there is no peace from God; and beware

of that spirit, for it is not of the Father, but to be condemned.

Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is more zealous than knowing, whose zeal is without true knowledge, and stands in that which is corrupted, that flourisheth for a moment, but cannot endure for ever. It hath no root in itself, but is furious and passionate, and not long-suffering. That spirit knows not itself, but would devour its adversaries with bitterness, and not gain by long-suffering; that is not the spirit of the Father, but must be denied in all.

Believe not that spirit which draws back into the world, into its lusts and liberty, and fashions which pass away. That spirit forgets God and draws back, for his soul hath no pleasure in it, but is vexed with it, where the cross is made of none effect, and the false liberty is walked in, which murders the life. That spirit is of the devil, and is to be condemned.

And now all friends of God every where, who know him, and are known of him, whom he hath gathered out of this untoward generation, be diligent in your callings, and keep your meetings in faithfulness, waiting upon the Lord, that you all may receive of his fulness, and may be nourished up unto himself, as trees of righteousness, the planting of his own right hand, to spread forth his name and glory, as a people saved by him. And this know and understand, that spirit is not of the Father, which confesseth not the Son to be come in the flesh, who destroys the works of the devil, and takes away sin. That spirit believe and follow which condemns sin, and destroys it, and takes it away, and so gives peace with God in your consciences, and leads you into all truth, and keeps you from all evil. You that witness this, the Son you know, and the Father you know, to dwell with you, and in you; and this is the first, and the last. Believe in him, and follow him, and look not for any other; and in this the Father of life and glory, whose dominion is without beginning and end, establish you, and preserve you: amen and amen.

The second Epistle addressed "to all that suffer for the testimony of Jesus, and for his name's sake," is as follows; viz.

The glorious God of truth hath appeared, and made known his way and truth perfectly in this our day, and hath chosen unto himself faithful witnesses, to testify of his name, and of his truth before rulers and people; and hath brought forth a seed which is not of this world, which cannot bow to the devil, but is heir of God's inheritance, though a sufferer in this world under the powers thereof. Many in this generation, who are called, and faithful, and chosen, bear witness unto the name of the Lord in sufferings and tribulations, whom he will honour, because they honour him, who is exalting his truth and his people through sufferings.

And now all Friends who are called to suffer for the testimony of Jesus, and for the exercise of a pure conscience, which you hold, be valiant for the truth upon earth, and faint not, but finish your testimony with joy for the Lord, and against all your enemies. Look not forth at afflictions and sufferings, but look beyond them to the recompense of reward; neither be offended in Christ, though ye are called to suffer for him, and for his name sake; but dwell in the peace with God, which is a sufficient reward. Take heed to your life which is immortal, that you may feel and enjoy it, and account that the present sufferings are not worthy to be reckoned with the glory that is to be revealed, and of which you have the earnest, even present peace with God. Look beyond your sufferings, and feel the life of God in you fresh and lively, which is more than all things, to carry you above all the world, and all its envy, which is against the seed of God.

Take heed of temptations, for the power of satan will work, and is near to tempt you in sufferings, to gain dominion over you, and to touch your life, and to cast you down. Therefore mind the life of God in you to have dominion, which satan hath nothing in, which is not given him to touch; and that is more than all; yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life to enjoy, when he is tried. You are tried by sufferings and tribulations, and your faith and patience are proved; therefore approve yourselves faithful unto the Lord, by long suffering and patience, that satan overcome you not. Though he may touch you, and have power to cast some of you into prison, and otherwise to winnow you, and to try you for your life; yet be faithful unto death, and you shall receive the crown of life eternal; and keep the word of his patience, that you may be delivered, and satan may bow under your foot.

And all you who suffer for well-doing, who hold fast the testimony which you have received of God, when your hearts are searched, you are blessed from the Lord; you shall possess your reward, which no man can take away, even the life, and liberty, and treasure, which satan cannot touch or spoil you of.

Ye that suffer because you cannot fulfil wickedness, nor the will of man, but are of the seed which cannot please man, nor bow to the devil; ye suffer for Christ, and for righteousness sake, who cannot walk contrary to the light of Christ within you, but rather choose to suffer under corrupt men and laws, than to transgress God's righteous law, written in your

hearts; you are chosen to fulfil the will of God by sufferings, and are not of the world, and therefore the world hates you.

All you that suffer imprisonment of body, or spoiling of goods, or travails, or any other thing, because you cannot pay tithes, this is the word of the Lord God unto you; you suffer for righteousness sake, and for the name of Christ, and unjustly, by the oppression of men, for well-doing, and not for evil; and the Lord will be your exceeding great reward. Look beyond your outward liberty, and know the liberty in spirit, in the Father, and in the Son, where is everlasting peace and freedom, which none can bring into bondage. Look beyond all outward treasure and riches, and see God's treasure, and possess it, which never waxes old, which none can spoil you of.

As witnesses for the Lord, and for his truth and covenant you suffer; and it is for a testimony against all your enemies, and against oppression and oppressors. For the cry of that oppression the land groans, and for ages hath done; but the Lord is now risen against it; for its cry reacheth to heaven, against the unrighteous exactors, whose cruel hands have heavily oppressed the just, and the poor in this particular. Your suffering is for a testimony against your cruel adversaries, whether priests or others, and against the unjust judges and lawyers, and their whole train of oppressors; for this end are you called to suffer, and to you it shall be made easy, if you abide in the counsel of God, till vengeance overcome your adversaries. Therefore lift up your heads, and fulfil the will of your Father in patience, and in faithfulness, till the Lord appear for you, who hearkeneth to the cry of the poor, and regardeth him that suffereth unjustly, and will recompense the oppressors into their bosoms; will break every yoke, and be a terror to all the cruel hearted.

And all you that suffer, who are moved by the power of the Lord to bear witness against the false worships, and against the false teachers, and idol temples, of which the land is full; and who are moved to testify against sin, in rulers, priests or people; whether your sufferings be imprisonment, or beating, and stoning, or other abuses or cruelties whatsoever, which the devil hath power to lay upon you; you suffer for righteousness sake, and for the name of Christ, and for well-doing, if in the wisdom of God you be guided, and the Lord will be your reward and peace forever. Lift up your heads, and rejoice in him, and abide in his counsel, ye that suffer herein for him, and for his name's sake. Your suffering is for a testimony against all this generation; against the idol worships and ways, which God's soul loathes, and which he will confound; and against the idol teachers, and false prophets, and priests, who preach for hire, and make merchandise of souls, against whom God's wrath is kindled, and upon whom his indignation will be poured. It is a testimony against the sins of rulers and people, which abound in this generation, till the measure of it be fulfilled through persecuting you, who warn them of the evil, and bear witness against their evil deeds, that God may be justified when he condemneth them.

He is risen against the worships, and ways, and teachers, and people, whose abominable iniquities have overgrown the world, and profaneness hath gone forth from them, through nations, rulers, and teachers, and people are all out of the way, and given to vanity, to covetousness, and idolatry; and the breath of the Lord shall consume all who do oppress the just.

Therefore Friends, be patient and content under all tribulations and suffering, and feel God's living presence near you, to overshadow you, and to be your hiding place; and know the life, which the wickedness and cruelty of man cannot touch or reach unto; and dwell in the power of the Lord, which moves to bear witness for him, and against all those abominations; and that will keep you above all the afflictions which can be cast upon you, and you will be on the top of your enemies, and the seed of the serpent shall hardly bruise your heel.

Wo unto the idol worships, and temples, and teachers, to all the hirelings, and deceivers, who feed themselves and not the flock, who abound in the world, and in this nation. The Lord is risen against them all, to pluck up by the root, that the branches may wither; and his arm shall watch over them, to overthrow them all, and to make them desolate, that the just may be delivered.

All you who suffer imprisonment, or finings, or reproaches, or any thing, because ye cannot swear for conscience sake; nor respect persons, according to the vain customs of the heathen, but are redeemed out of the customs and superstitions of men, which are of the world, and are evil, and not of God, nor justified by him; you suffer for righteousness sake and for Christ's sake, and are witnesses for God herein, against the superstitions, and wickedness, and pride, and high-mindedness of men. The Lord is with you, if you be ruled in his wisdom, and are faithful to him; and he will lift up your heads, till his and your adversaries be confounded.

I charge you all in the presence of the Lord, who suffer for righteousness sake, in these things, or in any other, who are moved of the Lord to bear witness of the truth, and against the deceits of the world, be not exalted in the

flesh in your sufferings, lest you forget God. Neither be cast down into sorrow, lest ye be overcome of the devil; but dwell in the measure of the power and life of God, which is above all, and more than all. Feel God's living arm to stay your hearts, to watch his own in you, to refresh you continually. Resist the devil on every hand, with the armour of light and truth, that your life may be preserved in dominion over all things, even the life which is not of this world in you, that it may not be vailed or overcome; for to enjoy the life of God with you is enough. If you pass through the fire, and through the water, it keeps you and carries you above all, [this I witness] and it is more than all outward freedom, or liberty, or riches, or treasure of this world.

Walk herein in boldness, and faithfulness, and patience, as you have us for an example in Christ Jesus, who are in jeopardy every hour; often in trials, sufferings, and dangers, and love not our lives unto death, for the testimony of Jesus, which we hold, and that his name and truth may be exalted in the earth; but, as the Lord moves, are carried through nations, among lions and devourers, such as seek our life for their prey, and yet the Lord is with us, our defence, and arm, and preserver above all. Therefore look you to the Lord in all affliction and distress, and know his reward with you, that your burden and yoke may be easy, and not hard; for his presence makes all things joyful. And know, that it is for the name of the Lord, and for his honour, and for his kingdom, which God will set up through suffering, for this cause are ye called to suffer; and neither your life, nor liberty, nor any other thing is to be measured or compared herewith.

So unto every one of you I am moved to write, and to warn you all in the fear of God, be content, and long-suffering, and patient, and finish your testimony with rejoicing, if ye seal it with your blood. Dwell with the Lord in his holy habitation of peace, out of respect to time, or places, or things; and give up yourselves, that his will may be fulfilled in you.

And think it not strange though you have fiery trials; neither be moved at any suffering without you, or troubled in spirit; neither let it break your peace nor fellowship with God by any impatience or murmurings, or temptations, for then will your sufferings be grievous to you, and the enemy within and without will have ground against you to overthrow you. Know it is that which ever was in all ages, and no new thing for the seed of God to suffer by the seed of evil-doers, for the wicked always strengthened their hands in cruelty against the righteous, and laid heavy burdens upon the just, and caused the innocent to groan under them, for a time, till iniquity was fulfilled, that they might be broken, and the oppressed delivered. And always the Lord exalted his name by the sufferings of his people, as we have a cloud of witnesses of our forefathers that went before, who did bear witness to the name of the Lord through faithful suffering. So it is no strange thing that hath happened unto you, but that which is common to all the saints, who enter the kingdom through tribulation. Blessed are you, if you be faithful unto the end, that you may reap the reward of your works, of your sufferings and patience, even the crown of life that never fades away; so the Lord God of life preserve you.

And all Friends every where, I am moved to warn you, dwell in love and unity, and fellowship one with another in the light, and in the spirit of the Father, and fulfil the law of Christ, and bear one another's burden and suffer with one another, that none be oppressed among you in any thing, whilst others are free; but that the burden of all things, and the care of all things, in relation to the truth, be equal among you, according to every one's freedom, and as every one is moved of the Lord, so to administer to one another's necessities, as members of one body, to the honouring of the Head, and spreading of the truth, that there be no complaining, but equality and justness, and the government of Christ ruling among you, and his wisdom in all things. Feed no excess, nor the lustful devouring mind in any; neither suffer the distressed to perish for want; but reach one to another in love, and like mindedness; suffering for one another, and all caring for the truth above all things, that God may dwell among you, and be known that he is in you of a truth. And in this, the wisdom of God guide you all, Amen.

By a companion in tribulation to all the saints every where.

EDWARD BURROUGH.

During this same month (3rd), Edward Burrough wrote a paper, which he terms, "A measure of the times," in which he takes a view of the glory of the first Christian churches,—their subsequent declension, and the final triumph of mystery Babylon, by which the true church was obscured or driven into the wilderness. In this, whilst describing the introduction of the Christian religion, and the glory of the primitive church, he says; "In the days of Christ and his apostles the power of the Lord was felt, and he got him a name and glory; he caused his marvellous light to spring forth, and his day to dawn, which many prophets and wise men had desired to see, but it was not seen by them. In that day his glory was spread abroad, his truth and way were exalted, his glorious gospel was declared through the

earth, and the sound of his marvellous works went forth into all the world. Judgment and mercy, righteousness and peace were witnessed among men, and life and immortality were brought to light through the gospel. The word of life, by which all things were created and by which they stand, was handled, seen, felt and tasted, and the Lord God was known to dwell with his people and to walk in them. His covenant was established, and his promises were fulfilled. Redemption, deliverance and salvation were revealed, even Christ Jesus, the Son of God, the Prince of peace! Many who saw God's glory, were witnesses of his majesty and dominion, and were gathered to him in the bond of peace, and were his sons and daughters, led by his spirit in the ways of truth and righteousness. God spake unto them from heaven by his Son, they were filled with the Holy Ghost and with power, and many went forth and declared through the nations the things of God's kingdom, which was come to them. Their weapons were mighty through God; strongholds were subdued, the powers of death and darkness were subjected, and the hearts of thousands were turned to God, and brought out of darkness into light. The mighty and the wise were confounded, the bonds of cruel oppression were broken, and they who set themselves against the Lord and his way, were scattered and brought to nought.

"In that day the Lord was with his people, while his people were with him. He loved them while they stood in his counsel, and gave them dominion over their enemies. They were a terror to the world, while the churches stood in the dread and terror of the Lord of hosts. Their feet trod upon the high places of the earth, and they were blessed, until they waxed fat and increased in treasures, and thought they had need of nothing. Then they forgot God, and rebelled against him: they became perverse in their ways, fell into error and idolatry, and left the way of truth, and cast the law of God behind them. The form grew and was exalted more than the power of godliness. As love waxed cold, iniquity abounded; and men became lovers of themselves more than of the Lord. The churches were corrupted, they lost the life and power of godliness, and became worshippers of idols. As Paul predicted that many should depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, and grievous wolves should enter, not sparing the flock, but seeking to devour it, making merchandize of souls through covetousness and filthy lucre; so it came to pass in that generation, and soon after his decease. Peter and Jude foresaw the entrance of false prophets, and John both in his epistles and the Revelations describes them more fully.

"The baptism of the spirit being lost or not known, several sorts of baptism were brought forth; as sprinkling of infants, with which the nations have been deceived by the false prophets. When the gift of the ministry, through the Holy Ghost, was lost and no more received, men began to make ministers, by learning arts and languages and human policy. They began to study, from books and writings, what to preach, not having the Holy Ghost, without which none are ministers of Christ. When men lost the knowledge of God, that their bodies were his temple, then they began to build temples without, and to set up false worships in them. Having lost the sense of God's true worship, which is in spirit and in truth, they began to worship in outward observances, which is not the worship of God, but superstitious and idolatrous. When the word of God was not received immediately from his mouth, nor the gospel by the revelation of Jesus Christ, as in the apostles days, they used their tongues, though the Lord had not spoken to them, and they said that the letter is the Word, the letter is the gospel, and it must be received by the scriptures, and by natural learning and arts; and none can be ministers of Christ, but those who are learned in the languages. When singing in the spirit and with the understanding ceased, then people began to introduce the form of singing David's experiences in rhyme and metre, and thus in the apostacy, the form grew as a substitute for that which the saints had enjoyed in power; shadows were set up instead of the substance, and death instead of life.

"Thus we see John's prophesy fulfilled, that the holy city was given to be trodden under the feet of the Gentiles; and we also know the time is now approaching, that the dominion of the beast is near at an end, and the saints shall possess the holy city. For he also foretold the restoration of the holy city, wherein new Jerusalem should be made manifest from heaven, and should be again adorned as a bride for her husband; the tabernacle of God should be with men upon earth, and the Lord would dwell forever with his people. This day is approaching nigh at the door, for the fig tree hath blossomed, and we know it is near at hand; the summer, wherein the glory of the Lord shall be revealed to all nations, and they shall know that he is the Lord God Almighty, who will take vengeance on mystery Babylon, that hath made all nations drunk with the cup of her abominations."

The popular preachers of that day, with an evident desire to stop the spreading of the religious principles of the Society of Friends, stirred up persecution against those who promulgated them. The severity with which jus-

tices, judges and juries treated the members of the new society was very great, and was often not only incompatible with the spirit of the Christian religion, but with a just interpretation of the laws of England, and the provisions of Magna Charta. Many of those who now suffered at the hands of bigotted Presbyterians and Independents, unconstitutional outrage and legalized oppression, had been actually engaged in overturning the regal government, because of its infringements of the rights of the subject. How deeply were they disappointed, in finding the great principles of civil and religious liberty no better secured, by the government they had laboured to set up, than they had been in the days of the Star chamber, and Episcopal domination. A revolution had taken place,—but it had brought to the Christian citizen a mere change of masters,—a substitute of another code of state divinity, by which to fashion his worship, principles and practice, leaving liberty of conscience as little protected as ever. Many found, and bitter was their disappointment at finding, that the power and the disposition to invade their rights, civil and religious, still continued, although the rulers had been changed. The king had given place to the Parliament,—the Parliament to the army,—the army to Oliver Cromwell;—a succession of power-holders, none of whom seemed disposed to support, upon a broad and Christian basis, the principles of religious toleration, or civil liberty. Cromwell, whilst he was ascending towards the supreme authority, professed great attachment to religious liberty. But when once he had grasped the sceptre of rule,—in violation of the oath he had taken when inaugurated as Protector,—and in violation, we must believe, of the convictions of his own conscience, he connived at, if he did not sometimes prompt, the cruel treatment which the members of the Society of Friends were, without justice, receiving at the hands of his officers. He knew the principles of the Society,—and having expressed his satisfaction with the declaration of George Fox, which showed that they believed it wrong to use the sword in any case, he could have been under no fear of their injuring his person, or unsettling his government.

The hireling preachers had greater cause of apprehension. The influence of the doctrines of the new society, was felt by them to be great, and increasing, and they knew that influence was operating against their pecuniary interest. The scripture testimony against preaching for hire, and against paying for preaching, either in money or in tithes of kind, was beginning to be understood by many, and with the powerful ministry of the Quakers, was drawing off numbers every where from the parish places of worship, and the gatherings of other religious societies where hirelings officiated. The loss of their flocks, and the bold and truthful denunciations against the immoral conduct which disgraced many of the clergy, stirred them up to acts of hostility and hatred against Friends. These priests appear, in many instances, to have been more eager for the loaves and fishes, the recompense pertaining to their office by human law, or by congregational agreement apportioned for hire, than to win souls to Christ.

Oliver Cromwell felt that his government was in its foundation unstable, and only to be maintained by vigilant watchfulness, supported by the prompt action of the military force. His policy was to cultivate the good will of those, who had the greatest influence to incite opposition to him among the people, and he did not choose to irritate the clergy, by protecting the persecuted Quakers from their power. Edward Burrough, who was well acquainted with the history of Oliver Cromwell, and who had closely studied his character, had with his pen called the attention of the Protector, to the vows he had made before he was exalted to power; and how he now permitted grievous oppression and cruelty to be acted in his name, even by those who were his enemies. He told him that he was not ignorant of the merciless proceedings acted against Friends; and as he did not restrain them, the divine judgments would overtake him, unless he repented. The first address presented to Oliver Cromwell by Edward, was written whilst he was in Ireland in 1655; and as the cruelty practised against his fellow members continued to increase; in the year 1657, he again employed his pen in various addresses, laying before the Protector a view of the state of things in England, in a strain of mingled entreaty and warning.

In one written early in the third month, whilst Cromwell was yet debating in his own mind whether he should accept the title of king, which the parliament offered him, the following passages occur:

"As one that hath obtained mercy from the Lord, and unto whom his word is committed, being moved of him, I do hereby in his presence yet once more warn thee, that thou fear before him, and diligently hearken to him, and seek him with all thy heart, that thou mayest know his will and counsel concerning thee, and mayest do it, and find favour in his sight, and live. Now is the day that his hand is stretched forth unto thee, to make thee a blessing or to leave thee a curse for ever." "If thou rejectest the counsel of the Lord, and followest the desires of thine own heart, and the wills of men, and wilt not have the Light of the world, Christ Jesus only, to rule thee, and to teach thee, who condemns all evil, then shall evil surely fall upon thee. The judgments of God, and the

day of his last visitation with vengeance, thou mayest not escape. Therefore consider and mark my words, and let this counsel be acceptable unto thee; let it move thee to meekness, to humbleness, and to fear before the Lord; assuredly knowing, that it is He that changeth times and things, and that bringeth down, and setteth up whomsoever he will; and how that thou wast raised from a low state, and set over all thine enemies." "And it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been strengthened against the righteous under thee, or that such grievous and cruel burdens and oppressions would ever have been laid upon the just, and acted against them in thy name, and under thy dominion, as unrighteously have come to pass in these three years. This thy suffering of such things is thy transgression, and thou hast not requited the Lord well for his goodness unto thee, nor fulfilled his will, in suffering that to be done under thee and in thy name, which the Lord raised thee against and to break down, hadst thou been faithful to the end.

"Again, consider, and let it move on thy heart, not to exalt thyself, nor to be high-minded, but to fear continually, knowing that thou standest not by thyself, but by another, and that he is able to abase thee, and give thee into the will of thine enemies whensoever he will. How hath the Lord preserved thee, sometimes wonderfully, and doth unto this day, from the murderous plots, and crafty policy of evil men, who seek thy evil, and would rejoice in thy fall, and in the desolation of thy family and countries! How have they, and do they, lay snares for thy feet, that thou mayest be cut off from among men, and die unhappily, and be accounted accursed! And yet to this day he hath preserved thee, and been near to keep thee, though thou hast hardly known it. The Lord's end is love to thee in all these things, and yet a little longer to try thee, that thou mayest give him the glory.

"O that thy heart were opened to see his hand, that thou mightest live unto him, and die in him, in peace. Beware lest hardness of heart possess thee, if thou slight his love, and so thou be shut up in darkness and given to the desires of thine enemies, and left to the counsels of treacherous men, who may seek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better cast thee down, and destroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy posterity a people miserable. But now, consider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou hast not answered the Lord, but been wanting to him, for all this, and hast chosen thy own way and glory, rather than his, and not fulfilled his counsel in raising thee. For the bonds of cruelty are not loosed by thee, and the oppressed are not altogether set free; neither is oppression taken off from the back of the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure consciences altogether allowed; but these dominions are filled with cruel oppressions, and the poor groan every where under the heavy hand of injustice; the needy are trodden down under foot, and the oppressed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint for true justice and judgment. The proud exalt themselves against the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious contemn the meek of the earth; the horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord's heritage, and they that are departed from iniquity, are become a prey to oppressors; and the cruel-hearted deal cruelly with the innocent in these nations. Many are unjustly, and wofully sufferers, because they cannot swear on this, or that occasion; though in all cases they speak the truth, and do obey Christ's commands. Such are trodden upon, by unjust fines charged upon them; and this is by the corruptness of some that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but turn the sword of justice.

"Some suffer long and tedious imprisonments, and others cruel stripes and abuses, and danger of life many times, from wicked men, for reproving sin, and crying against the abominations of the times, (which the Scriptures also testify against,) in streets, or other places. Some have been sent to prison, taken on the highway, and no evil charged against them; and others committed, being taken out of peaceable meetings, and whipt, and sent to prison, without transgression of any law, just or unjust, wholly through the rage and envy of the devil, and such who have perverted judgment and justice. Some in prison have suffered superabundantly from the hands of the cruel jailors and their servants, by beatings and threatenings, and putting irons on them, and not suffering any of their friends to visit them with necessaries. Some have died in the prisons, whose lives were not dear to them, whose blood will be reckoned in account against thee one day. Some have suffered hard cruelties, because they could not respect persons, and bow with hat or knee; and from these cruelties canst thou not altogether be excused in the sight of God, being brought forth in thy name, and under thy power. Consider friend, and be awakened to true judgment, and let the Lord search thy heart; and lay these things to mind, that thou mayest be an instrument to remove every burden, and mayest at last fulfill the will of God. O be awakened, be awakened, and seek the Lord's glory, and not thy own; lest thou perish before the Lord and men. Nay, if men would give thee honours, and high titles, and princely thrones, take them not; for that which would exalt and honour thee in the world would

betray to the world, and cast thee down in the sight of the world. And this is God's word to thee: What! shall the whole nation be perjured men, and thou the cause of it? And wilt thou transgress, by building again that which thou hast destroyed? Give heed unto my words, and understand my speech: be not exalted by man, lest man betray thee. Deal favourably, and relieve the oppressed! boast not thyself, though the Lord hath used thee in his hand; but know that when he will, he can cast thee, as a rod, out of his hand, into the fire; for in his hand thou art. If thou wilt honour him, he will honour thee; otherwise he can, yea, and will confound thee, and make thee weak as water before him. His love through my heart breathes unto thee: he would thy happiness, if thou wilfully contemn it not, by exalting thyself, and seeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart against the cry of the poor. This I was moved in bowels of pity to lay before thee, who am thy friend, not in flattery, but in an upright heart, who wishes well unto thee in the Lord.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

It is said that Cromwell in a public prayer offered up by him, when about to attack the Scottish army at Dunbar, declared that if the Lord would give him the victory that day, he would relieve the country from the great oppression of tithes. This promise in the day of his power, he had not fulfilled, and the members of the Society of Friends at this time, (1657,) were enduring great persecution, because they felt conscientiously restrained from paying for the support of a hireling ministry. In the fourth month Edward Burrough had an interview with Cromwell, in which he laid verbally before him the sufferings of Friends. The protector endeavoured to justify himself by saying, that all persecutions and cruelty were contrary to his will, and that he was not guilty of the injustice done to the Quakers. On reflecting on this assertion of Cromwell, Edward again wrote to him.

"Consider what the cause is, that what thou desirest not to be done, is yet done. Is it not that thou mayest please men; making it appear thou art more willing to do the false teachers of this nation, and wicked men, a pleasure, than to own the people of God, in relieving them, and easing them in their cruel burdens and oppressions, laid upon them by unjust men? For a word of thy mouth, or a show of thy countenance, in dislike to these cruel and unjust persecutions, would bind the hands of many bloodthirsty men. Therefore consider: thou canst not be cleared in the sight of the Lord God from them, being acted under thee, and in thy name: for there seems rather to be a favouring of them in thee, by forbearance of the actors of cruelty, by which their hands are strengthened, than any dislike showed by thee, in bearing thy witness, as thou oughtest to do, against them. For thou knowest of some in the city, and elsewhere, whom we know to be just men, who suffer imprisonment, and the loss of their liberties, because for conscience sake they cannot swear; and many others in this nation, suffering cruel things upon the like, or same ground; even for well-doing, and not for evil; which oppression might be removed, and their unjust sufferings taken off by thee, by a word from thy mouth or pen; and this makes that thou canst not be clear in the sight of God in these things, because not helped by thee, who hast the power to help them. EDWARD BURROUGH."

In the sixth month, as no action appeared to be taken by Cromwell for relieving those oppressed for conscience sake, Edward once more visited him by a letter of remonstrance and warning, in which he told him, that the good name Protector which he bore, was abused and subverted, through the great oppressions and injustice acted under it. He says, that several justices of the peace and others had been cast out of places of trust, because they owned the people called Quakers, though they had not refused to serve him and the commonwealth, and though no unfaithfulness to their trust had been proved against them.

In the seventh month he again addressed the Protector. In this letter he said, and Cromwell well knew the truth of the assertion, that many persons were plotting his destruction, some of whom, if they could take his life, regarded not the danger they might encounter in effecting that purpose. He adds, that as Cromwell was allowing tyranny and oppression, the Lord might permit other wicked men to plague the present wicked rulers, and suffer other oppressors to overcome the present enacters of oppression.

CHAPTER VII.

ROBERT MAYO, the priest of Kingston on the Thames, about the beginning of the year 1657, sent a message to Edward Burrough, requesting a visit from him. Edward accepted the invitation, and was told by Mayo to speak freely whatever he had against him. The priest also offered to meet him to dispute either in public or private, and challenged him to come to his steeple house and call him a deceiver if he dare. Edward was not easily frightened, and soon afterwards went to the place of worship where Mayo officiated. The priest, probably because Edward was present, made some assertions

which he perhaps deemed as antidotes to Quakerism; one was, "that Paul, as a minister of Christ, exhorted the saints to follow and obey a light, which was not Christ; nor the Light of the Gospel." Another, "that people ought to follow and obey a light which is not Christ, nor the Light of the Gospel." The third, "that a man may be a righteous man, and not a godly man." The fourth, "that the Light of Christ, which every man is lighted withal, John i. 9, is carnal, and darkness." The fifth, "that Christ was not the Word that David walked by."

After Mayo had finished his discourse, Edward declared these doctrines to be erroneous and damnable, and he who promulgated them was a deceiver. It does not appear that any attempt was made by the priest to defend the assertions he had made, but he commenced a suit against Edward for slander. Edward was arrested and cast into prison, but does not appear to have been detained there very long. The case was not tried until the fifth month in the following year, when we shall again advert to it.

On the 15th day of the sixth month 1657, Edward Burrough either wrote or finished a testimony concerning London. It contains a close reproof against treachery, flattery, hypocrisy, pride, wantonness and wickedness, as well as a warning to flee from them, and a tender invitation to come unto Christ Jesus, that salvation may be experienced. He says, "ignorance abounds in thy old men, and rudeness and wildness in thy youth. Thy people are without the knowledge of God, and perish for lack of knowledge. Thou art even as a wild untilled garden, which bringeth forth no pleasant fruit. Thy vines are as the vines of Sodom, and thy fruit is loathsome to the Lord's taste. Wild grapes and sour grapes are brought forth in thee, which the Lord hath no pleasure in. Ye bring forth fruit unto yourselves, and not unto the Lord; ye kindle a fire, and warm yourselves with your own sparks; ye sacrifice to your own net, and think to be heard for your much babbling and your many performances. Abundance of the first-man's wisdom is among you; it leads you, and guides you, and not the spirit of God. Through your own wisdom, which is devilish, you conform to the saints' words, and to their practices in outward appearance, and make yourselves like the saints, and bow unto your own images and likenesses which ye make, and are grown wise, and full of knowledge, but it is not the wisdom of God, nor the knowledge that will endure forever; for ye neglect the one thing which is only needful to eternal life. Your buildings are high, but they are not upon the true foundation, for many of you stumble at the corner stone. Your sprinkling children is a cheat, all that believe therein are deceived. Your singing of David's experience in rhyme and metre is a very lie unto you. Your worship is but idolatry, and it will not cover you in the day of the Lord. Though none be like unto thee, O London! in profession, nor any city hardly can compare with thee in respect of the multitude of thy gathered assemblies, and self-separates; yet all this will not avail thee, when the Lord searcheth thy heart, which is found not perfect, but full of vain glory, and lust and pleasures of the flesh.

"All ye that thirst for the Lord, and desire the knowledge of his ways, unto whom iniquity is a burden, which you desire to be freed from; who have long sought the Lord, and have not yet found him; who have prayed, and had no answer, and have been weary and heavy laden and found no rest; I say to you, save yourselves from this untoward generation. Come ye out of these abominations, that ye may be delivered from the wrath. Fear the Lord, and do not offend him in any thing. Stand in awe, and transgress not. Love righteousness and truth. Touch no unclean thing and the Lord will receive you. Meddle not with their worships, bow not to their images, nor sacrifice to their idol gods. Have no fellowship with them in their profaneness, nor yet in their hypocrisy; but hearken ye to the voice of the Lord, that ye may know his judgments in your hearts, and his law and covenant established with you. Depart from all iniquity, cast away all your idols, and forsake all your lovers. Give not yourselves to the ways and pleasures of this world, but give yourselves to charity, to soberness, and meekness, and above all things, be upright in heart toward God and toward man. Speak the truth one to another, and let no guile dwell in your lips, nor a deceitful tongue in your mouth. Cease from all vain glory, and vain customs and fashions of the world, which are evil."

Attached to this "Testimony concerning London," is the following, viz:

A Warning to all sorts of people.

Ye merchants and traders, and traffickers, and all ye that buy and sell, be plain and upright hearted; and lie not, swear not, dissemble not for gain unto yourselves, for that is cursed of the Lord, and the gain that is thereby received. Speak the truth every man to his neighbour; flatter not such with whom you deal by feigned words of guile, whilst secret over-reaching lodgeth in your hearts, to make a prey upon your neighbour or brother, for this is evil in the sight of the Lord; but speak the truth in all things, and let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, in all your common occasions, for whatsoever is more is evil. What is advantaged unto you through deceit, or lying, or multitude of

vain words? It shall be a curse unto you, and not a blessing to you, or to your children. Let the truth guide you in all your dealings one with another, and let the fear of God be in your hearts in all your enterprises both by sea and land.

I warn you all, seek not by any evil means to enrich yourselves, neither oppress one another in any thing wherein you deal; for you know not how long your time shall be upon earth, nor how soon the day of account will come, wherein every word and every work shall be brought to judgment, yea for every idle word shall ye give an account, and all those words are idle which are not spoken in the fear of the Lord; therefore live and act in the fear of God, that you may be blessed in all that you do.

And all ye whom the Lord hath blessed with riches and increase, see that you abuse not that which God hath blessed you withal, but in all things that it be used to the glory of the Lord, and not wasted in excess upon the lust of your own minds; for the creation is the Lord's, and all things are given by him, and taken away at his pleasure, and he maketh rich, and he maketh poor whomsoever he will. Therefore every man be content with his own, and covet not one another's, nor defraud one another to enrich yourselves, for it is cursed of the Lord.

And all ye handicraft-people, and labouring people, fear ye the Lord continually, and use no deceit, nor craft, nor policy in what you do. Seek not to blind men's eyes by fair outsides, neither to cozen and cheat the simple by slighty work; but let the truth guide you, and that will teach you to do for all men as ye would they should do for you, and this is acceptable in the sight of God. Let your commodities be just and right, and let all your labour be with a single heart, and do all things as in the sight of the Lord, and then you cannot do evil, if the fear of God be before your eyes. The evil in all things will be denied, and the corruption that is entered into all callings and trades, will be judged out; and be examples one to another of truth and righteousness; and cozen not, nor cheat one another, nor use many words, nor vain gestures, but own the Lord to be your teacher, who will teach you truth, to do it, and to speak it in all things.

And all ye young men and apprentices, learn ye the fear of the Lord, and take heed of temptations, lest ye be destroyed both soul and body by them. Learn not to dissemble, nor to defraud, nor take instructions how to cozen and cheat, but first seek the kingdom of God and its righteousness, and then all outward things shall be added unto you. Give not yourselves to any evil. Beware of wine and women, which steal away the hearts of many. Give not yourselves to vanity, nor fulfil the desire of your own minds in any thing. Covet not after riches, neither study how to be proud and vain-glorious. Give not yourselves to craft and human policies, nor to deceive any people; but fear God and keep his commandments, and be subject to your masters, and obey them in all things that are good, and be dutiful to them in that which is just and righteous, but deny them in whatsoever is evil. Learn not craft and policy from them, neither vice, nor drunkenness, nor cozening, nor any other thing which is evil, but rather reprove those things, than in the least to follow them. If you do the truth, and speak the truth in all things, and keep yourselves from whatsoever is evil, then will the Lord bless you outwardly, and inwardly, and the knowledge of God will be your crown in old age. Cease from all gamings, and vain sportings, and from all wantonness and vain pleasures, and from all the works of the flesh; for they that follow such things shall neither prosper in this world, nor be blessed in the world to come. Wherefore take heed unto yourselves all ye that are young in the world; be not overcome of evil, nor follow evil devices, but stand in awe continually, and offend not God, who gives you life, and health, and all good things.

And all ye masters and heads of families, this is a warning to you. Be examples of all good in your families unto your children and servants. Rule in authority in the fear of God, but not in tyranny nor a rigorous mind; teach and instruct in fear, and not in cruelty. Give no bad example in pride, vain-glory, drunkenness, dissimulation, or any other evil thing, but stand as a terror over all evil, and as encouragers of all good. Bind not the conscience of any under your power, curb sin only, and reprove not righteousness. Seek ye to be taught of God, and then may you instruct all under you in his way; be pitiful towards your children, and servants, and pass by offences rather than punish them with cruelty. And make not a prey upon your servants, to serve your own ends only, seeking your own good only, and not theirs; for such things are evil in the sight of God, and are to be condemned. Let no excess, neither let want be in your families, but that which is honest and right. Love that in all things, and follow it. Let not your anger and passion exceed when offence is given you, and do not correct in cruelty, but in a good understanding; and walk in the truth, and fulfil the will of God, and not your own, and this is of great price and acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

And all ye tavern keepers, and inn keepers, fear the Lord God, and oppress not your guests, neither feed the lust of any till they be drunk,

for that is cursed of God both in you and them, and that which he will be avenged of. Oh great is that abomination among you. Much of the good creatures is vainly and wickedly spent and abused in your dwellings. [You think] your advantage stands in the abuse of the creatures by excess, and the Lord is grieved with you because of that.

And all sorts of people, rich and poor, high and low, masters and servants, parents and children, buyers and sellers, tradesmen and labourers, hearken to the counsel of God, and seek to know his will to you in all things, that you may do it, in following all that is good, and denying all that is evil, that your souls may live. Let not the devil lead you, nor his temptations overcome you in any thing, but resist him in whatsoever he would lead you into, which is against God and contrary to him.

Repent of all evil that ever you have acted, and let the Lord be your guide, that you may not utterly perish, and your city be destroyed for your sakes. The Lord's love is towards you, and he waits to be gracious unto you, and desireth your return, rather than your destruction, and would heal you if you did wait upon him, and would bless your city, and make you happy in it, if you do his will, and deny your own.

I am a friend unto all your souls, and a publisher of peace, and of glad tidings to all that thirst for the Lord, and he hath given me power to warn you of all your iniquities and abominations, to deny them, and to warn you to follow that which is good. Oh that ye knew in this your day the things which belong to your peace, which now ye may know, before they be totally hid from your eyes, and there be no place for repentance, nor time of returning. This day will come upon many, and they cannot escape it, who now harden their hearts against the way of their own peace, and even scorn to be reproved for their transgression. Such my soul pities, who are going in the way of destruction, and run hastily into perdition. I have many times been made sad by reason of such, when I have measured the condition of all people; upon my bed, I have pondered what abomination was in thee, and what would be the end thereof, and I have desired nothing so much, as that I might faithfully warn thee, and free myself, and the Lord from the blood of all men. Deep thoughts have been upon me, concerning what the counsel of the Lord is unto you all, that I might manifest the truth, and discover the abominations, and I have not spared to cry repentance unto sinners, that sinners might be converted, and turn unto the Lord; and thus far I am clear of the blood of all men, and the Lord is clear, and if the wicked perish, it is because of their unbelief, and gainsaying of the Lord. This is the testimony which I give unto thee, and unto all thy people; O London, hearken and consider! this is the day of your visitation, and there is not another way to life, nor to escape everlasting death and destruction, than that which the Lord hath showed you. Blessed is he that can receive it, and they that deny it do utterly perish without mercy.

I am as a stranger among you, yet well known to the Lord, and the testimony of God concerning you shall stand for ever, for it is true, and shall not be confounded, though the wicked reject it to their own destruction.

EDWARD BURROUGH.

London, the 15th the of Sixth month, 1657.

Edward Burrough appears to have remained in London and neighbourhood, most of the summer of 1657, and was as usual industrious, both in his vocal labours and with his pen. In "a just and lawful trial of the teachers and professed ministry of this age," he draws a striking contrast between the hireling priests of his day, and the ministers of the apostolic ages. "The last were made ministers of Christ by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and by power from on high only; and what they ministered to others, they freely received from Christ, and had handled, felt and tasted of the word of life. The former are made ministers by natural learning, education, the knowledge of arts, and by the ordination of men." "The ministers of Jesus Christ went up and down through the world, declaring the word of the Lord freely in the market places, in the synagogues, and in the streets. They went from country to country, and were strangers upon earth." "The hireling priests settle themselves to preach at one place, receiving so much a year for what they do. The ministers of Christ sought to make people Christians by bringing them into fellowship with God, through conversion and a knowledge of the truth. Neither did they account any as such who had not experienced repentance, and their hearts changed by the Holy Spirit. The hirelings pretend to make Christians by sprinkling them with water while infants."

A priest in London, whose name was John Jackson, in 1657, published a book against Friends, entitled, "Hosanna to the Son of David." In this much was said about James Nayler and his fall, and the truth was held up in derision because thereof.

Richard Hubberthorn wrote an answer to the book, with the title, "The cause of stumbling removed from all that will receive the truth, and from before the wise men of London." To this book, on the 3rd of ninth month, Edward Burrough wrote a preface, in which he says: "Though the Lord's people be a suffering people, yet wo unto them that cause them

to suffer. And though he [John Jackson] and some others in their spirits were elevated, thinking thereby to trample upon the innocent, by that occasion happening concerning [J. N.,] yet it was not suffered of the Lord to be as an occasion to destroy his people, but as an occasion to try them, and to prove them, and thereby they are tried and proved, and the more settled rather than confounded. John Jackson and such like may glory in such things for a moment; because the appearance of it seems evil, yet the Lord will make their glorying void, for he hath ways enough to preserve his people. This we have found in many needful times. As concerning this thing, which was looked upon as a breach among us by many, yet it is over, and truth stands atop of it, and the beauty of truth appears through it all, for truth is more lovely when it is proved and purged."

In this year he also wrote a doctrinal work, entitled "A Standard lifted up, and an ensign held forth to all nations;" in which he sets forth some of the principles and testimonies of the religious Society of Friends. This work contains the following, viz:

Concerning the true God.

The true God is a Spirit, and is infinite, eternal, and everlasting, the Creator of all things, the life and being of all things, the power by which all things stand. All creatures have a being in him, and by him, and without him no creature is, or doth move upon the face of the earth. This is He whom we worship and fear, and obey, and he brings to pass by his counsel whatsoever he will, and nothing can prevent the purpose of his mind, but his counsel stands for ever. He is the righteous judge of all things, and before him must all mankind come to judgment, and the living and the dead by him must be judged: he is a rewarder of every one according to their deeds, whether they be good or whether they be evil. His greatness, power, majesty and dominion are over all and beyond all, ruling above all in the power of his own will, and who may say what dost thou? His eye seeth all and his presence filleth all, and no creature can be hid from his sight; he is near at hand and afar off, he searcheth man's heart and trieth the reins, and shows unto man his own thoughts—he justifieth the righteous and condemneth the wicked. He is light itself, and in him is no darkness at all. This is the true God whom we worship.

Concerning the Son of God.

The Son of God, who is called Christ, the Prince of peace and righteousness, is one with the Father in power and dominion, and was with him before the world was. By him the Father created all things, and without him was not any thing made that was made. He is heir of all things, and is the prince of the kingdom of righteousness, of peace and truth. He is the Word and power by which all things consist, and is the salvation of mankind, and the very life of the world. He inherits life and immortality, and is the Redeemer, Saviour, Deliverer and Restorer of the children of men. He is the very wisdom and power of the Creator, and the Father doth nothing without the Son, and by him, and through him the Father brings all things to pass. By him the Father will judge the whole earth and all the children of Adam therein. This Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is the life and light of the world, and hath enlightened all mankind. Every one that cometh into the world is lighted by him with the true light of life or condemnation; and what the Son doth, the Father doth also. He is at his right hand exalted, and is the very express image of the Father, and is the Father's gift into the world, and is given to all mankind that they may have life by him, and all that receive him have life and salvation. But many receive him not, and they that receive him not, perish, even because they do not receive him whom the Father hath given into the world; for he is the arm of God's salvation, and is the leader of his people.

Concerning the Spirit of God.

The Spirit is with the Father, and with the Son, is present every where, filleth all places, and is for ever and ever. He trieth all things, and revealeth the things of the Father and of the Son unto all that believe in the Son. He makes manifest, and searcheth into the deep things of God, and witnesseth the salvation of the just, and the condemnation of the unjust. He is not absent from any place, or contained in any one place. The Father and the Son work all things through him, and bring all things in heaven and earth to pass by him. He works in the hearts of the children of men, and in every one witnesseth of the Father and of the Son, to the justness, greatness, righteousness, and power of the Eternal Creator, that made all things by the Son through his Eternal Spirit, which is one with the Father and with the Son, and is the worker of their will and mind in all things. He worketh in the wicked to reprove them, and to witness against them, that God is angry with them. He worketh in the righteous, and witnesseth the love, and mercy, and peace of the Father unto them. He that can receive it, let him. This is the testimony of the spirit of God, and it leadeth into

all truth, and out of all evil, all that are guided by it; and it is given to be the guide and rule of life to the children of God.

Concerning Man, and all Mankind.

MAN was created in the image of God, and was without sin or evil brought forth, to do the will of him that created him, and was Lord over all creatures, to use them to the glory of the Creator, and all creatures were to serve him. But man transgressed against his Maker, offended and dishonoured him, and became degenerate, and grieved his Maker continually, and was driven out from the presence of the Lord. He is now a child of disobedience and of wrath, and an enemy in his mind against the Lord that made him. He is doing and fulfilling daily the will of the devil, and grieveth the spirit of God, and vexeth his righteous soul, and is subject unto the curse of woe and destruction.

Being ignorant of the life and power, and wisdom of the creator, to guide him and to preserve him, he follows the counsel of his own heart, which is evil altogether. Though he was made upright, yet hath he sought out many inventions, which are abominable unto the Lord. The ground in which he stands is corrupted, and all his fruit is unpleasant, even bitter and evil unto the Lord's taste. Man is fallen into the pit of misery and sorrow, compassed about with desolation, and is left without help from himself, or from any other creature, and this in short is the state of all mankind upon the face of the earth. Man was planted a noble vine, wholly a right seed, to bring forth good fruit unto his Maker, but he is turned into a degenerate plant, bringing forth cursed fruits, which the Creator hath not pleasure in. His best works are not accepted, and his evil deeds are condemned, because the ground in which he stands is accursed, because of disobedience.

Concerning the World in general, and the state of things as they have been, and as now they are.

DARKNESS hath been over the face of the earth, and thick darkness hath covered the people for many ages. The beast hath reigned upon the face of the whole earth, and all nations have been subject to his power and dominion. Even the kings and princes of the earth have given their power unto him, all the world hath wondered after him, as it is written; and the whole world hath worshipped the beast and his image. He hath power to kill all that would not worship him. Both small and great, rich and poor, have been subject to his government; and he hath had power to war against the saints, and to make war with them, and to overcome them, even all that would not worship him. The rule and government of the Son of God hath not been witnessed among men for ages, nor the true God known, nor manifestly worshipped in spirit and truth; but he hath been as a stranger among men, and they have been ignorant of his ways and judgments.

People have been doing that which is right in the sight of their own eyes, and God hath been forgotten days without number. The living fountain hath been forsaken, and many broken cisterns have been hewn out, which have not holden pure water. Great evils and continual abominations have been acted in the sight of God, and the measure of iniquity hath been fulfilling through many generations, and it is grown nigh to the full. The law of God hath been made void, and his grace hath been turned into wantonness, and all things have been out of good order. Kings, princes, rulers, governments, laws and decrees have been corrupt, and not right in the sight of the Lord. Oppressions, tyranny, and vain-glory have abounded in the nations, justice and true judgment have been neglected, mercy and truth have been strangers, the world hath been filled with violence, and the earth stained and polluted with oppressions, injustice and cruelties. The cry of the poor hath not been heard; every one hath sought themselves, and not the Lord, nor the good one of another.

The kings and princes of the earth have not been perfect nor upright before the Lord, but vain-glory hath abounded, and superstitions and idolatries have reigned over them, and unrighteousness hath abounded, and self-seeking. They have risen up one against another, quarrelling and destroying one another, to gain one another's dominions by craft, and policy, and strong hand, and the poor have been oppressed and trodden down, and thousands of thousands destroyed to fulfil the will, and lust, and pride of their hearts.

All this hath been evil in the sight of the Lord, and his soul hath been weary with it, by the destruction of his creatures, one by another. Rulers, teachers, and people have been out of the way, and subverted from that wherein God hath pleasure; and the prince of darkness hath ruled in his dominion, swaying his government, and things both of civil and spiritual concernment, have been out of the counsel of the Lord. Oh what cruel injustice and tyranny in civil government! What abominable superstitions and idolatries have been in (supposed) Church governments.

It is a vexation to the spirit of the Lord, to consider it, and the righteous soul hath long cried out and mourned under it; and because of this is the Lord of heaven and earth now risen

to overturn; to overturn kings and princes, governments and laws. He will confound and break down tyranny and oppression, under which the poor have groaned; and he will change times and laws, and governments. There shall be no king ruling but Jesus, no government of force, but the government of the Lamb, no law of effect, but the law of God. All that is otherwise shall be ground to powder. The kingdom of the most high shall rule amongst men, and the kingdoms of this world shall be changed, and shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ; and the Lord shall be known in the earth, to be the God of truth and of righteousness. Justice and mercy, and truth shall be exalted, and true judgment shall be set up in the nations, and the worship in spirit and in truth shall be established; for the Lord is gathering his numberless number, to stand before his throne without guile in their mouths, and without fault before him.

Concerning man's Restoration, Redemption and Salvation, what they are, and by whom they are wrought.

MAN'S restoration is a repairing and giving again that which he had lost by transgression. Redemption is a recovering, and a winning again, and setting free from that wherein man hath been held, even all the sons of Adam, because of disobedience. Salvation is a saving, keeping, and preserving from sin and death, and disobedience, and all the ways thereof, and also a saving from wrath and misery and condemnation, which are the effects thereof. By the Son of God, Christ Jesus, is all this wrought, manifested and witnessed; and restoration, redemption and salvation are only in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, and not in any other, and wrought by him, and by no other.

They are the free gift of the Father unto the sons of men, no way purchased by the works of the creature, or desert of him, but are freely given unto the creature, through the power and wisdom of the Creator, and only by Jesus Christ the Son of the eternal God, and by the eternal spirit are they witnessed in all that believe, and through the word of life are they handled, tasted, seen and felt, near at hand, in power, and not in words only.

Many profess them in words, and what others enjoyed of these things, but have not felt in themselves the working of the eternal spirit, neither have they the witness in themselves of being restored to God again, and of being redeemed by him from under the devil's power. Neither are they saved by Christ from sin and transgression, and so are not, nor can be saved from condemnation and wrath; for who abide in their sins, and in the state unreconciled to God, have not any part or portion in those things which belong to their peace; and without the knowledge of which, by the working of the eternal spirit, all mankind are everlastingly miserable.

Concerning true Religion, and the true Worship of the true God.

THIS is true religion, to be kept pure and clean from all evil, and from all that which would defile in the sight of the Lord, and to walk in his fear in all things. This is religion, to do good and to do no evil; to speak the truth, and to do the truth in all things; to do unto all men as a man would be done unto; and to love God with all the heart, and the neighbour as himself, and not to love the world, and ways and pleasures of it, nor to use deceit in words or actions. This is true religion, and the true worship of God; to be led with his spirit in all things, and to be guided in the truth at all times, and on all occasions. This is acceptable, and well pleasing unto God, above all words, and outward conformity, and set times, and days, and observances; for the worship of God is not in these things, but is without respect of days, places, or things. This religion and worship stands in Christ Jesus the second Adam, who hath lighted every man that comes into the world, that all men through him might believe, and by him have their consciences purely exercised toward God, and towards man in all things; and this is our religion and worship of the true God: he that can receive it, let him.

Concerning Justification and Sanctification.

JUSTIFICATION is freely by Jesus Christ in the sight of the Father, and not by the works of man's own righteousness. Such as are taught by Christ and guided by him in all the ways of truth and righteousness, are justified by him and none else, not in any word or work whatsoever, but in what they are led to fulfil by him. It is the new man that is justified, and not the old; he that is born of God, and none that are born of the flesh. Such cannot please God, neither can such be justified by him, for they are not taught of him, nor saved, nor restored, nor redeemed, and therefore are not justified nor cleared from condemnation in the sight of the Lord. Those who live in iniquity, and sin, and the ways and works of the world, which are evil, are condemned by Christ Jesus, and not justified, though in words they profess him, yet of justification by him they have no part.

Sanctification is by the working of the eternal spirit in the heart of the creature, which purgeth out and taketh away all unrighteousness. All the works and fruits of darkness it witnesseth against, and witnesseth unto Jesus, who takes away all sin and destroys the works of the

devil, that man may be holy and pure in the sight of his Maker. Every one that hath the witness of his justification, hath the operation by the eternal spirit of sanctification, and all that receive Christ Jesus who hath lighted every man that cometh into the world, receive sanctification and justification by him, and he unto us is made so of the Father. He that can receive it, let him.

Concerning the kingdom of Christ, and how it is set up.

The kingdom of God, and of his Son, is not of this world, but is from above, and stands in righteousness and in truth, in mercy and in peace, in true judgment and justice. This dominion is from everlasting to everlasting, and reacheth beyond all the world. Its government is love and unity and everlasting peace, and is perfect liberty to the just, and bindeth and chaineth the unjust. In it there is no oppresson but perfect freedom from all unrighteousness, and it consists not in word, but in power, to the bringing down of the kingdom of the devil, and to the breaking off the bonds of all injustice, and all ungodliness, which is the kingdom of satan, which hath long ruled in the world. That kingdom whereof Christ is king, which stands in righteousness, no unclean thing can have any part in.

This we believe shall be set up and advanced in the earth, but not by might of man, or arm of flesh, nor the multitude of an host, neither by policy, craft, nor by revenge, but by the arm of the Lord alone, through the suffering and patience of his people, and by faithful witness-bearing unto Jesus Christ, by doing and by suffering. By his will in all things in a pure life and conversation, and upright walking in the sight of the Lord, and by patient suffering under the injustice and oppression of men, and of their unjust government and laws, till they be overturned and confounded. And further we give testimony, that suffering in patience under the cruelty and oppression of the devil's government and kingdom, more reaches to overthrow them, than the rising to rebel in any way of outward offence toward them, or defence from them. The kingdom of Christ is near to come, and the kingdoms of this world shall be changed, and none shall have any part therein, but they that are redeemed out of kindreds, tongues, and people.

Concerning Governors and Governments, and subjection to them.

Governors, rulers, and magistrates we own, and do respect in the Lord; (and yet cannot respect any man's person whatsoever) such as be a terror to all evil in their government, and that fear God and hate covetousness, and delight in equity, in justice, and true judgment, who give diligent heed to try the cause of the poor, and will judge justly, without respect of men, who justify the good, and give praise to the well-doer. Such government and governors we reverence, where sin and iniquity are kept under, drunkenness, swearing, murder, quarrelling, and all the ways and works of the flesh are terrified, and a well-doer praised and justified. This government of men reaches to the witness of God in every man, and that answers to the justice and righteousness of all such governors and government, and these witness that they are of God.

But the witness of God in every man, beareth witness against all unjust men and laws, and rulers, and governments, which strengthen the hands of the wicked, and oppress the just where the making and execution of laws are in the power of proud men, and covetous men, who fear not God, neither hate covetousness, nor respect the cause of the poor; but rule by their wills and tyranny, and not by just laws in righteousness; but make unrighteous decrees to oppress the poor and innocent, letting the wicked go free. Such who uphold unrighteous worships and teachers, by oppression, and cause the innocent to suffer, and make them offenders, because of the exercise of a pure conscience towards God and man; such rulers and government we cannot be subject to for conscience sake, but do rather fulfil the law and will of God, though we transgress their wills, and unrighteous laws. Yet we do not rebel against them, nor seek defence from them, but patiently suffer under them, and bear their injustice and cruelty, without seeking any revenge, but leave vengeance to the Lord to whom it belongs.

This is our judgment, the government and laws which we cannot obey nor fulfil for conscience sake, we choose rather to suffer under for disobedience to them, than to transgress the righteous law of God, written in our hearts, by obeying them. So that what we cannot obey for conscience sake, for conscience sake we resist not, but suffer the punishment of it patiently, and herein are we subject to every ordinance of man, for conscience sake. In fulfilling the good, the just, and righteous; and in patience suffering under the cruelty and oppression of the unjust, and unrighteous. This we do and teach every where, subjection to every ordinance of man, and are not destroyers of true government, or rebellious against just governors, but are exalters of true justice and judgment in the earth.

Concerning the true Ministry of Christ, and the false Ministry, and the difference between them.

The true ministry is sent of God, and is the gift of the Holy Ghost, and it stands in the

power of the spirit of God, and not in the words of man's wisdom, that wisdom which is from below. It brings people to the knowledge of God, which is life eternal, and it turns people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God. It is freely received of God, and freely given forth of us. It proclaims peace on earth, unto such as are of a broken and upright heart, and it proclaims war against all the wicked upon earth.

It is a good savor unto God in setting the way of life and the way of death, before all people. The ministry of Christ is free, and cannot be bought or sold for money; it is without hire, and gifts, and rewards from any man. It is given freely into the world, and it ever was and is persecuted by the generation of the unjust, and by the powers of the earth. He that comes in the Father's name cannot be received of the world, but the world is at enmity against him in this generation, as ever; it converts people unto the knowledge of God, and many did, and many do receive the knowledge of God thereby, though some thereby be hardened against God unto destruction. The word of the Lord and the ministry returns not in vain unto God, but all by it are left without excuse, the witness of Christ in every creature being reached to, which gives testimony to the power, and to the truth of the ministry of Christ.

But the false ministers and ministry are not such; for their ministry is received by natural learning and arts, and is not the gift of the Holy Ghost, but stands in the wisdom of man's words, and not in the power and life of God. It profits not the people at all, neither do any come to the knowledge of God thereby, neither are turned from darkness to light, but teachers and people continue in the power of satan, and in the unconverted estate. The witness of God is not reached to, to bring to the understanding of things which are eternal, but people are ever learning by it, and never coming to the knowledge of the truth. But the blind lead the blind, and like teachers like people; all out of the way, given to iniquity and unrighteousness.

Such are they who preach for hire, and divine for money, and seek for their gain from their quarter, and through covetousness, by feigned words, make merchandise of souls, going for gifts and rewards, and teaching for filthy lucre, having settled places and so much a year. These are not the true ministers of Christ, but false ministers of antichrist and deceivers, and were never sent of God, and never bring any to the knowledge of God. Such we bear witness against to be of the devil, and that for many generations the world hath been deceived by them, who had the form of godliness, but not the power, and Christ's words and the Apostles words without the life. They have served themselves, and not the Lord Jesus; but now they are made manifest with the true light, which approveth the ministry of God, and disapproveth such who are ministers of antichrist. All that are in the light, and walk in the light, can receive this testimony, which is given by the spirit of God, to that ministry which is sent of him, which fulfils his will, and against the false ministry which is not of God, which runs and was never sent of him.

Concerning the Gospel of Christ.

The Gospel is the power of God, and it is sent of him into the world to reconcile people unto him, that have been in the enmity against him. It is peace to the poor in spirit, and judgment to the fat, and to the high-minded. It is to be preached to every creature under heaven without respect of people, nations, or generations. It is the manifestation of the love of God to the whole world, to gather people out of all unrighteousness, into the living way of life, peace and truth, to walk with God in purity and holiness, and to deny the world and all its ways, and works and worships, which are evil. By it some are brought to God, and to salvation, and life eternal; and some through disobedience to it are hardened against God, that they may be destroyed and condemned, who are reprobates, and believe not in him from whom the gospel comes.

It cannot be received by any other way or means than by the revelation of Jesus Christ in the hearts of his people, and many have the letter who know not the gospel, nor receive it. This gospel which is everlasting, have we received from God, and this is the sound of it which we give unto the world; fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.

Concerning the Word of God, and concerning the Scriptures.

The Word of God was in the beginning before any creatures were made, and by it all things stand and remain unto this day. The Word endures for ever, and by it all things in heaven and in earth are brought to pass which God doth. It is from everlasting to everlasting, without beginning and without end. It is powerful, dividing and discerning all things, even the secret thoughts of every man's heart. It is as a two edged sword, and as a fire, and like a hammer to cut up, to burn, and to beat down. The Word of the Lord reconciles man again to him, and this word is in the mouth and in the heart. The servants of the Lord handled, tasted, saw and felt the word of life, and from it spoke forth the Scriptures, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, through the eternal

spirit. They are a declaration of the word of life, which was in the beginning and endures for ever, and declare what the saints received, believed, and enjoyed. None can understand without the same spirit that gave them forth, and to such who have the same spirit the Scripture is profitable.

The Word of God, which was in the beginning, and which endures for ever, is not the Scripture which was not in the beginning, but the Scripture testifies of that Word, and that Word witnesses to the Scriptures, and they are not contrary one to the other, but gives witness each of the other. But many have the Scriptures that have not the Word, neither know it; but they that have the Word cannot but own the Scriptures, and this is the truth as it is in Jesus, testified to all the world by us, who deny them that hereof give any other testimony.

Concerning the Devil and Damnation.

THERE is a devil which is out of the truth, who abode not in the truth, but is a liar from the beginning, and the father of all evil doing, and the author of all unrighteousness, and whatsoever is contrary to God in thought, word and action. He is the enmity against God, and against all good, and by his power subverts creatures and things to another end, than that wherefore they were created, even to the dishonor of the Creator. He is the god of this world, the prince of darkness, and he rules king in all the children of the first Adam, who are in evil. He was the cause of the first transgression, and is the cause of disobedience to God to this day in all people, who are led by him, moving them to envy, wrath, pride, drunkenness, theft and murder, and all the works of darkness, sin, and death. He is the fountain and root of all these, and the leader and ruler in the exercise of them, and of every evil word and work whatsoever, which are contrary to God. He abode not in the truth, and he hath led all mankind out of truth, into all deceit and unrighteousness, and into every evil way; and he dwells in darkness, is out of the light, and is separate from the presence of God for ever, bound in chains of darkness and ignorance, and unbelief.

He hath power in the earthly part of man, and a law in the members, and he possesses him that is born of the flesh, and his covenant is with him who is not born of the seed of God. Those who are cannot sin. Such are in covenant with God and renewed into his image; but such as are not, the devil hath power to captivate and lead their minds into vanity, and their affections and desires into all that is evil, by which the spirit of God, the creator of all things is grieved, and his soul vexed. All murder, and deceitful works of the world, and whatsoever is contrary to God in words, thoughts, or actions, is of the devil, that wicked one, and from him.

All that follow his movings and work evil thereby, serve him and obey him; he is their god, and their king, and they are his people, and his subjects; he is their father, and they are his children; he is their root, and they are his offspring, and they bring forth fruit unto him, and serve and worship him, and not the true God that made all things. All such must be cast into utter darkness with him, and shall have their portion with him in the bottomless pit of darkness for ever and ever, where there is no end of woe, and sorrow, and misery. For in the anger of God, the worm dies not, nor the fire is quenched, and out of that there is no redemption for the unclean.

All such who are led of him who is out of the truth, and in evil, are judged and condemned by him who is the Truth, who judgeth righteously. The devil hath not ceased to work evil, and to draw the children of men into evil, for he continually tempteth to lead from God into rebellion against him. They that are led by him are destroyed, and shall not cease to have sorrow, wo, and misery for ever, as he hath not ceased to work evil. He liveth and moveth in the anger of God, and all his works are in it, and it shall be the reward of him, and all that obey him, in separation from God's everlasting presence, for ever and ever.

Concerning all creatures that God made.

ALL creatures that God made, in their creation and beginning were very good in his sight that made them, and unto man that was to use them, and no creature was evil or defiled in its creation. But man transgressing against his Maker, became evil, and did evil in the sight of the Lord, and being possessed with evil, and corrupted, makes all creatures evil in the exercise of them, corrupts them, and perverts them to another end than wherefore they were created, and by the creatures, dishonours the Creator, who should have honoured him by them. Thus they are become a curse unto man, and not a blessing, though in themselves are neither cursed, nor evil, nor defiled, but are become so unto man, because of his transgression and disobedience. For he being in the curse and defiled, all things are so unto him, and in his exercise of them he is wicked, abusing them upon the lust to satisfy his devilish mind, and ruling over them in oppression and cruelty, and hard-heartedness, and not in the wisdom of God, as he ought.

He subverts them from their pure virtue, feeding his lust in pride and voluptuousness,

with that which should keep him from hunger and nakedness, and so pleasing the lust in all things more than satisfying pure nature. This ought not to be, for it is out of the covenant of God, in which all creatures were made, and in which they stand, except the creature man, who is degenerated out of God's covenant, and subverts all things to his own end, and not unto the glory of God, while he continues in that state, unreconciled to God.

But man being restored and redeemed, and renewed again into covenant with God, through the condemning of the evil, then all creatures are restored to him and made blessed. The curse being removed out of his own heart, the creatures are no longer cursed to him, but good, and enjoyed and received in the covenant of God, in the life and virtue by which they were created.

By the wisdom in which they were made, man comes to order them, and exercise himself in them, and they are no more spent upon the lust, nor on the vain mind, nor ruled over in oppression. All that is condemned, and all creatures are seen to be the Lord's, and the whole earth is his, and the fulness thereof, and the abuse of all creatures is ceased, and they are enjoyed in the pure virtue to feed and to clothe the creature, and not to be destroyed upon the lust, but for the health's sake are they used to the glory of the Creator, and to the end wherefore he created them, and are pure as they were in the beginning, and the blessing is felt which is more than all creatures.

Concerning the new Covenant, and how man comes to the knowledge of God.

The covenant of God is unity between God and man, and a binding each to another, to serve each other. The one is bound to obey, and submit, and worship; and the other to bless, and keep, and lead, and preserve. This covenant is established with his own seed for ever, and there is no teacher but God. All are taught of him, from the least to the greatest who are in this covenant. His just law is written in their heart to condemn all transgression, and his pure spirit is put into the inward parts, to be the rule and guide of life in all things. None need to say, know the Lord, but all know him in the spirit, and worship and obey him, and follow him in spirit and in truth.

Such are come into peace and reconciliation with God, and the covenant with hell and death is broken. In this covenant there is no priest, or offering, but Christ Jesus the high priest of God, the one offering for sin; he takes away sin and makes intercession. In it is no temple, but our bodies are the temple of God, and he dwells in us, and he walks in us; and there is no circumcision, but the circumcision of the heart, which is the putting away of all the uncleanness of the flesh.

In it there is no means of salvation but Christ, the only way, the truth and life, and none comes to the Father but by him. He declares of the Father, and there is no light but the light of the Lamb. All that are saved shall walk in the light of the Lamb, and there shall be no need of any other light, no need of the light of the sun, or of the moon or of candle, but the Lord is unto them an everlasting light, and God alone is their glory.

This covenant is for ever, and cannot alter or change, but is sure unto the seed of his own inheritance. He that is born of the flesh hath no part in it, but is shut out from the knowledge of God, who is not known to the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God. The knowledge of God is received no other way but only by the revelation of Jesus Christ, and by the working of the spirit of the Father in the heart. He opens the blind eye, and unstops the deaf ear, and changeth the heart, and causeth it to understand, and he removes that which hath stood in the way between God and the creature, which hath caused ignorance in the creature, that the Lord could not be seen nor perceived.

Christ Jesus the second Adam lighteth every man, and all mankind that come into the world, with the true light. But some hate the light, and they will not come to the light, lest their deeds should be reproved, and their deeds are evil, and they are in a condemned state. Such cannot receive Christ, nor the knowledge of God. But such who love the light with which Christ hath enlightened them, they bring all their deeds to the light, and walk in the light, and their deeds are wrought in God, never to be condemned.

Such as love the light receive Christ, and the knowledge of God, which is eternal life; and none come to the knowlege of God, and of Christ, any other way, but through the light of Christ, and by the operation of the spirit of God. Evil is condemned out of the heart, and the heart is made clean by the word of God, and the knowledge of God is received into the clean heart, and not into the impure. For without holiness none shall see God, nor ever come to the knowledge of him; neither can the knowledge of God be received by the traditions of men, nor any outward observance in the will of men; but only by the teachings of the eternal spirit, is the living God known in the creature.

Concerning Faith.

Faith is the gift of God, and by it Christ is received and enjoyed. It is the substance of things hoped for, and the very evidence of things

not seen. It gives the creature to believe God in all that he hath promised. All that is acted and spoken in it, is well pleasing unto God, and that which is done without it is sin. It is the strength of the creature to act for God, in all things. It is that whereby the world is overcome, and all the powers of hell and death. It is the armour against the devil, and the defence of all the children of God. By it they overcome all their enemies, and through it they reign over all the world. It carries through all sufferings and tribulations with joy and patience.

Faith is an act of God in the creature. Through it peace and righteousness, and the crown of life, are received from God. By faith all things are received, that are received of God by any of his children. He that hath faith sees and feels the Lord's presence at all times, and through faith we do and suffer gladly for the name of Christ in all things. This is our testimony given by the spirit of the Father, of those things of which we have received the knowledge from God, who hath given us his treasure; and we have this treasure in earthen vessels, even the knowledge of those things which are eternal, which is not our own, but the Lord's, to give forth according to his movings, and of those things have we handled, tasted and felt.

Concerning what works are accepted of God, and what works are not accepted.

Whatsoever work man is moved and led unto by the spirit of God, and guided and ruled in the practice of, to speak or act by the same spirit, which moveth and leadeth into all the works of righteousness, and not unto any evil, this is acceptable in the sight of the Lord, and these works are well pleasing to him. Where the Lord goes before, and is the leader in all things; this man and his works who is led with the spirit of the Father, are justified and accepted of God. Not for the creature's sake, for He respects not the person of any, but for his own name sake, because they are wrought in him through faith, and moved unto, and guided in, by his own spirit; and they arise from God's righteousness revealed in the creature, and not from the righteousness of the creature.

For man being changed and replanted into the living vine, and the root being good, every work which springeth forth from it, is good also, and accepted of God, because the root is so.

But whatsoever works are brought forth by any creature, though the same in appearance, [as those] which are accepted of God from another, yet not being moved unto, nor guided in, by the spirit of the Father, but brought forth in the will and wisdom of the creature, which is from below, and acted in imitation, from the saints words; these works are not accepted and well pleasing unto God, but are an offence unto him, and sin against him. Even the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination unto him. If a man come before the Lord with thousands of rams, and ten thousand of rivers of oil, and if he give the fruit of his body for the sin of the soul, and cover the altar with tears, and is not led with a measure of God's spirit, none of all these works are accepted. Neither his preaching, praying, baptism, breaking of bread, nor any other observances towards God whatsoever, are good in his sight, but evil, and to be condemned, and the root from whence they spring; because man is in the enmity against him, and not changed out of the old root.

In that state he is not led with the Holy Spirit of the Father, and the root being bad, the branches are evil. None are accepted of God in any thing which they perform towards him, but such as are in Christ Jesus, the second Adam, and such are new creatures. So that it is not for the creature's sake that any work is accepted of, or an offence against God, but only for his name sake, and because of being guided, or, of not being guided, with the measure of God's pure spirit. Therefore are man and his works good, and accepted; or evil, and not regarded, but condemned of God.

Concerning man's state in the first Adam, before conversion, and his state after conversion, and what conversion is.

Man's state in the first Adam, in transgression, is a state of perfect enmity against God. Death reigns in every man, and he is possessed with blindness and ignorance, and unbelief, and is wholly imperfect to receive the things of God's kingdom, or to act any thing for God, acceptable to him. Man in that state is wholly dead to God, and insensible of the presence and power, and life of his Creator, for he is driven from God, and is not led by him. He hath no power to perform any good in the sight of God, but is possessed with evil, and led into all evil continually.

He is free from righteousness, and free to all evil, being the servant of the devil, and subject to him, and overcome of him every moment, and is led by him to transgress against the Lord. His heart is unclean, and out of it proceeds continually uncleanness, in all manner of words, thoughts, and actions, which flow out of the corrupt fountain, which grieve and vex the Lord and his spirit. He is dishonoured daily by man, through his abuse of God's creatures, who is a devourer and destroyer of them, and not a preserver as he ought to be, who abuseth them upon his lust, and not to the glory of the

Lord. He loves the creature, and worships the creature, and is gone after the creature, and hath forgotten God, that made him and all things, and hath lost his own dominion wherein he was set in his creation.

His state in his transgression is cursed of God, and without the peace of God, being in the enmity against him; and in all things he is wholly unprofitable to his Maker, and only profitable to himself, and to the devil. This in short is the state of every man in transgression before conversion. But his state after conversion is a state more blessed. For man is changed and renewed, and translated by the power of the Lord, through the working of the eternal spirit. Through conversion his mind is changed and his heart is renewed. The old is done away, and a new heart is given, and all things are become new, even every word and work.

Every intent and purpose of his mind is converted unto another end, and guided by another spirit, than before his conversion. Man is again returned to God, into the sense and feeling of his Maker, and into covenant with him, where he is blessed, and all things to him. Reconciliation is made with God, and the evil is judged and condemned, and sin is taken away, and blotted out, and not remembered. Man is become a servant unto God, and serves him only in all things, and not himself or any other creature in any thing. He hath received power to become a son to God, and hath received power over the devil and his temptations, and death is destroyed, and the effects of it are ceased, and the sting of it is taken away. Life and immortality are brought to light, and man is made capable to act in all things for the glory of his Maker.

God hath made Christ wisdom to him, to rule him and guide him in all things, and righteousness to cover him, and justification to him, to clear him in his sight; and the new man is brought forth; the creating in Christ Jesus unto good works is known, and the birth which is heir of God's kingdom is witnessed. Unto this man is the Lord become an everlasting light, and a sure hiding place; for he is not the servant of sin, but of righteousness, nor an offence to God in any of his works. But for his name sake, he is well pleased with him. He is his teacher in all the ways of peace, he is his helmet and his shield, and his hope of salvation; his shepherd to feed him and preserve him at all times.

Though he may be tempted, yet he is not overcome, for God is his strength. Though he may be tried, yet he is not forsaken of the Lord. Though he may be cast into the fire, it is not to consume him, for the Lord is with him. All things he receives as from the hand of God, and all creatures he enjoys in the covenant with God, and peace is in all his ways, for it is the Lord that works in him both to will and to do of his own good pleasure.

This is the state of the new man brought forth in conversion, which is a turning of the creature from the power of satan (which rules in every man, before conversion) to the power of God, who is the ruler of every man that is truly converted. This is the truth as it is in Jesus, which I have received from God; he that can receive it let him, and if any have an ear let him hear what the spirit saith. This conversion of the creature is wrought by the spirit of God through the ministry sent of him; and even for this cause have we received the ministry of God through the Holy Ghost, that we might publish these things abroad, that all people may come to the knowledge of them, and may taste, and handle, and feel of the same word of life in themselves, which will reveal the knowledge of these things to them, that they may have fellowship with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with the Son.

And now be it known to all the world, and to all people in it, that the Lord hath raised up a people, and brought forth a seed, to bear witness of his name, and of his dominion and power in all the earth. Of these truths, with many more, which are but one in Christ Jesus, hath God given us the perfect knowledge, even wrought them in us, and revealed them to us by the eternal spirit; and as that same spirit doth, and shall move in us, do we, and shall we, bear witness of these truths unto all people upon earth whatsoever, both by doctrine and conversation, holding forth the testimony unto others which we have received of God, that Christ may be exalted, and his kingdom set up in the world.

In comparison of this, that we may serve God in our generation, by bearing witness of these things, which we have heard and seen; nothing of this world, our liberty, our life, nor any other thing whatsoever is dear unto us. Yea, even for this cause, that the name of the Lord may be testified of, do we give up ourselves continually to suffer all manner of evil in words or works. We love not our lives unto death, that truth and righteousness may be exalted; and this is the cause wherefore we pass through many dangers on every hand, and are in perils often.

We are not, nor can be afraid of the face of any man, even that the Lord alone may be exalted, whose name, and honour, and truth, is more dear unto us than any other thing.

For it have we forsaken all, and counted it as nothing, in comparison of the knowledge of Christ and his truth, herein declared and witnessed to the whole world to whom it shall come; and the light of Christ in every one shall give

testimony to it, unto which I do commend myself and these truths to be witnessed.

And know ye assuredly, that God who is just and righteous in all his ways, setteth the way of life and the way of death before every man. He hath appeared in this generation, and caused his voice to be heard in the earth, and set the way of death and the way of life before you, and all that perish it is through unbelief; and because they despise the way which God hath prepared. He hath prepared a way for life and salvation unto all people, that all may come to life and salvation, and may not perish.

He hath not shut out any creature, but giveth to every one that cometh into the world, a day of visitation and a time of repentance and returning, that healing may be received from the Lord, who is the restorer of lost man, and there is not another. So that if man perish it is of himself, and not of God, who hath so loved mankind, that he hath given his Son, his own wisdom and his power, into the world, that all that receive him, Christ Jesus, may have everlasting life.

They that receive him not, perish, because of unbelief; whereby they are hardened for destruction. Unto such, our gospel, the gospel of God, is hid; whose eye is blinded by the god of this world, that they cannot see the things which be eternal, nor believe in him from whence life comes. Such are stumbling at Christ the foundation, and therefore shall be broken, and must not inherit the kingdom of God. Unto such, though they be wise in the kingdom of this world, are we become fools for Christ's sake; and our testimony cannot be received by them, nor approved of them, even them that seek after a sign, and them that seek after wisdom. To such we are not known, nor can our testimony be acceptable to them, which is not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of God's spirit, and in the simplicity of the truth. This is of great price with the Lord, even above knowledge, and all wisdom which is of this world, which comes to nothing; but the Lord will confound that, and bring it to nothing.

For the world by its wisdom doth not know God, neither can it receive the things of God, but is foolishness in the sight of God; and the wisdom of the world must be offended in him, and in the testimony which is given of him, and the princes of this world. The wise men must stumble and fall, the powers of the earth must be offended at him, that they may be confounded and brought to nought. All the heathen shall rage, and the people shall imagine a vain thing.

But what of all this? The testimony of the Lord is true which he hath given us to bear of his name, and of it we are not ashamed before the face of the whole world. We are armed to suffer for it, and not only to subscribe to the truth of it with our hand, or to declare of it with our tongue and pen; but also, if we be called to it, may seal it with our blood. Wherefore this is sent among you all, rulers, teachers and people, to give you the certain knowledge of what we hold and bear witness to, which is received of us from God, and borne witness of, to you by his spirit; even those things, with many others, which we have not received from man, but from God, are we purposed in the Lord to declare abroad.

He hath put it into our hearts to fulfil his will herein; for he hath spoken, who can but prophesy. He hath given the word, and many are they that publish it in faithfulness against the kingdom of the man of sin, which hath long been exalted in the earth over the seed of God, which the Lord is now gathering, and establishing his covenant with. Jerusalem that hath long lain waste, shall be made the praise of the whole earth, and the Gentiles, who have polluted her, shall be cast out, and the saints shall rejoice over all their enemies.

And know assuredly from us, who know the Lord, that God is doing great things in the earth; he is begun to work, and his arm shall bring it to pass. He will overturn, and overturn, till he comes to reign whose right it is, who will change times and things, even that which cannot be believed, though a man declare it unto you, is the Lord bringing to pass. The eye shall bless that sees it, and the heart shall praise that can understand; and behold the Lord comes quickly, and they are blessed that wait for him. His reward is with him, and his glorious work is before him, to be wrought by his own hand without the help of any other; who need not the help of man; and he that doth oppose him, shall be overthrown, confounded and destroyed.

All ye kings, princes, rulers and people whatsoever, know ye assuredly that we are not enemies against, but friends unto, all civil government, and to all just and righteous orders and decrees, and wholesome laws and customs of any commonwealth; and no way are we destructive to, or destroyers of the peace and welfare, and wholesome laws, which are according to God, of any nation whatsoever. But we are preservers of the peace of all people, and wait in patience for the establishment of justice and true judgment; that righteousness may spring forth, and the government of all nations may be according to the law of God.

Neither are we such who make void the just government of any nation or city. Neither are we such who through evil purposes, plot, or conspire, or contrive evil in our hearts against any governors or government whatsoever; but

sh peace and truth, and the fear of the Lord to all men and nations, and desire not the erthrow or evil to any people, or their vernment. We are subject to just governent everywhere by obedience to it; and subt to evil government by suffering in patience ıder it. So that righteousness alone we wait see set up through the world, and for that use suffer patiently under our enemies, not eking revenge against them, nor envying the rsons of any; but pity our enemies, and de-e their repentance rather than their destruc-n. Yet this we give all to know, that the ord will be avenged on all them who hate the ay of righteousness, and all that oppose the ord and his way, and despise his truth which hath revealed. They shall be confounded ıd broken to pieces, and shall confess to the ord, and his way, and his truth, in the day of eir destruction.

Again, let all the earth know, that against l unrighteousness, injustice, oppression, mur-r and drunkenness, and all sin whatsoever e do declare, and acknowledge ourselves to be ıemies against all sin, and they that commit

We cannot hide sin and iniquity in any, ıt give our testimony against it, and against l that live in it, without respect to men or aces. We cannot flatter any man in his ansgressions, but say, that lying, swearing, unkenness, covetousness, injustice, dissimution, hypocrisy, murder and envy, lust of the sh, pride and wantonness, and all the works the flesh whatsoever, are contrary to God, ıd of the devil; and they that live in them and ing them forth, are the servants of the devil, ıd must not inherit the kingdom of God, who ing forth those works, which grieve the pirit of God, and vex his righteous soul.

This is that government only, viz. the gov-nment of sin and death, which we declare ırselves enemies to, which is of the devil, and ot of God. This is that government which we stify against, and war against, by the sword the Spirit of God, and by his power, and not carnal weapons, or subtle conspiracies, or olent insurrections; for this way, and by this eans, shall not the government of satan be erthrown, or the kingdom of Christ ever be ıalted.

We are not such as disannul, or make void e covenant and bond of relations, or teach any to do, or give any example, by our practice, any subjects to be rebellious to their gover-ors; or children, to be disobedient to their ırents; or that servants be undutiful to their asters. But on the contrary, do say, and af-rm it, that it is the duty of subjects, to be obeent, and subject in the Lord to their rulers ıd governors, whether kings, dukes, or others, ho have rule over them; and also, that children should be obedient to their parents; and servants to be dutiful, and subject to their masters in the Lord, in all things; and that husbands and wives live in all unity and peace in the Lord.

Provided only, where rulers, parents, or masters, or husbands, require of their subjects, children, or servants, or any other whatsoever, that which is unjust, and contrary to God, and his righteous law; in such a case we say, that subjects, children, servants, and all other whatsoever are free. We say, where man requires any thing contrary to God, and God requires another thing contrary to man, the obedience to God is rather to be chosen, and the obedience to all men is to be denied. This is our judgment, which is according to truth, and is the mind of God concerning subjection and obedience, and the duty of relations one to another.

And lastly, know ye assuredly, that we do not hold and maintain any thing by conversation or doctrine, but the very same truth in word and practice, as all our forefathers did; but bear witness of the same salvation, by the same Christ, as they did, and are not setters forth of strange gods. For no other God is worshipped by us than he whom Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and all the rest of the servants of the Lord in every generation worshipped, served and obeyed. Neither are we such as do maintain heresy, error or idolatry, or the worship of any strange god, though hereof we are accused falsely, yet against us it cannot be proved truly.

We give the whole world to know, that no other end, or purpose, or design is in our hearts, but only to fulfil the will of God in all things, as it is to us made manifest. Even this is the resolution of our hearts, and the full purpose of our minds, to give testimony through the world, as we are moved, both by writing and declaring of these truths which to us are known from the Lord, that truth and righteousness may come to reign. This may we do as the Lord provideth way for us, not fearing the face of any man, nor being afraid of the threatening of high looks; and that we may finish the testimony given us of God, our life, or any other thing is not dear unto us. And all ye people every where, for your sake is this written, to give you warning, and true information of the work of the Lord, and what he is about to do, that you may hear and understand, and may receive the knowledge of those things which belong to your peace, and may be saved with an eternal salvation; or otherwise, through this are you wholly left without excuse, if you perish. And unto this was I pressed in spirit for many days, that all the world may be satisfied, what we are, and what we hold, and what the purpose of the Lord is.

I whom God hath warned, do warn all people upon the face of the earth, that you prepare, prepare to meet the Lord, for he is coming, and his day is nigh at hand, and his judgments shall be revealed in the earth, and all flesh shall tremble before him, and all the inhabitants of the world shall be confounded at his presence. The proud shall be abased, and the poor shall be exalted; the high and lofty shall be brought down, and the meek and upright shall be set up. Truth shall reign as king, and deceit shall utterly be confounded. They that now suffer all manner of evil, for the name of Jesus, shall possess everlasting freedom, and the dominion shall be in their hands, and they that now cause the just to suffer, shall go into endless captivity. The seed of God shall spring forth and flourish, but the seed of evil doers shall never be renowned. And between these two seeds is an enmity put, and they can never be reconciled. Each seed hath its fruit, the one is cursed and the other is blessed, and each seed is known by its fruit, and must receive from the Lord accordingly.

Quaking and trembling at the word of the Lord, by the servants of the Lord, we do own, when the power of God reacheth to the witness of God in the creature, which brings condemnation upon all high looks, and upon the lofty nature, which causeth the earthly part to tremble. We do own, and many of us do witness, the quaking and trembling which is by the operation of the Spirit of God, and the several operations by the one spirit we own; which brings down proud flesh, whose honour God will lay in the dust, and bring it to everlasting contempt. When this comes to pass, quaking shall not be a strange thing, nor the name reproached, as it is at this day by the proud spirits of men, who know not the work of the Lord, nor the operation of his spirit.

Moreover and beside all this, let all the world know, that our conversation, life and practice is one and the same with what we hold forth in words, and that we give as large a testimony of God amongst us, by pure conversation, as doctrine, and do deny them who give testimony in words only, and answer not in their conversation. That is hypocrisy, and our souls loath it, and it is abomination in the sight of the Lord, where he is professed in words, and not walked to in purity and righteousness of life. For righteousness being brought forth in the heart, works of righteousness will spring forth in the world; and where righteousness springs not forth in the world, and the fruits of the knowledge of God, it shows that righteousness is not in the heart, and that God is not known.

Also concerning our government, it is according to Christ, whom we own to be head amongst us, and no other head we have, or do bow unto, and we are but members of his body, joined to him, through the spirit, as head over us all. The greatest of us is but a member of Christ, who is the head alone. We have not another, neither can we be subject to any other government but his, or obey any government, but what is justly according to his, whose government must be set up in the earth, and for it we wait, and labour, and travail, and count nothing hard, but all things are easy to us, for this prize which is before us, even the government of Christ to be set up, and all governments of men established according to it; and this is our testimony which we give forth in words and practice, and if it be required can seal it with our blood.

Given forth by a servant of the Lord,
EDWARD BURROUGH.

Sometime about the ninth month of this year, Christopher Fowler, a priest at Reading, in Berkshire, challenged Edward Burrough to a public dispute. This challenge was accepted, but appears to have been conducted on the part of Christopher with little decency or decorum. Edward says; "many in that town may well remember how he hooted and clapped his hands in the pulpit, as if he had been hunting on a mountain, and also his ungodly speeches, and revilings toward me; calling me dog, villain, and such like names. When some of his own people reproved him for such words, he said: 'the worst words he had in his mouth were too good for me.'" The principal part of the dispute appears to have been, an attempt on the part of Fowler, to prove the scriptures to be the Word of God; whilst Edward endeavoured to show, that the scriptures are a declaration and witness of the Word of God, which Word, Christ Jesus, was in the beginning, and endures for ever. He says, that the worlds were made by the Word of God; and the scriptures did not make the world, neither were they from the beginning; having been commenced by Moses.

To the false charges and unsound doctrines of his opponent, Edward Burrough returned sound and cogent replies, so far as he could procure opportunity, but he complains, that liberty of speech was not fairly allowed him, Fowler endeavouring to persuade the mayor that he might insinuate his doctrine into the people. As Edward pressed him about tithes, he became very uneasy; three times went out of the pulpit, and finally went away.

After the dispute, Edward returned to London, where in the tenth month he finished a work entitled "the true Christian religion again discovered, after the long and dark night of apostacy." It commences thus: "Forasmuch

as Oliver Cromwell, called Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, chief ruler according to man, hath bound himself by an oath, and sworn, that he will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Old and New Testament of the scriptures; which oath he is bound to perform before the Lord and unto all men. Now it remains to be tried and proved, what the Christian religion is, and who they are in these nations that are of the true reformed Protestant Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the scriptures. There are abundance of sects and diversity of judgments, and many assemblies and gatherings of people, who are diverse in their ways, in their practices, and in their forms of religion in these nations, who do all profess the scriptures, and that their form of religion is according thereto. But this cannot be, for the scriptures, which were given forth by the one spirit of God, bear not witness of many true ways, or unto many true religions, but unto the one truth, and unto one true religion. It is the declaration of one way of life and salvation by one, Jesus Christ. There is no other name under heaven given for salvation, and they that believe on him, and receive him, these are they only that are of the true religion. They are guided by the spirit, and changed thereby from death to life; such have unity with the Father, and with the Son, and one with another. They are not of this world, but heirs of the kingdom of God."

"Therefore, come all sorts of people, and let us try and prove who it is that is of the true religion, and who it is he is bound to maintain and uphold by his oath. Come, I say, all sects and sorts of people, and appear to trial. Dare you join issue with me in this matter, and try your profession and practice of religion, whether it be according to the scriptures in the purity thereof, yea or nay? The Lord hath put it in my heart, to lay you all to the line of true judgment, and to prove you, whether you must be upholden and maintained in your religion, yea, or nay. Come claim your privilege; if your profession and practice in religion be according to the scriptures, then you may own your right, and the benefit of the Protector's oath. But if your profession and practice in religion be otherwise, and not according to the scriptures, then you must stand back, and defend yourselves if you can, for the Protector is not bound to maintain and uphold you in your practice of religion. And with this argument I shall try you all. Whatsoever is professed and practised for religion, for which there is neither command nor precedent in scripture, is not according to the scripture. Let this fall where it may, it is truth; and therefore all people come to trial, and receive your judgment by this rule.

"And first, the true religion is walking with God in purity and holiness; a performing of good to him, and not doing any evil: a belief in Christ, and receiving of him, and through the operation of his spirit to be changed into his image; and the body of sin and death put off, and a living to God in all things, and not a living to this vain world in any thing; but in all things to be guided by the Spirit of Christ. This in short, is a description of the true religion; and they that are of this religion shall be saved in the day of the Lord, and in equity and righteousness should be protected according to the oath before mentioned; or else the oath is not performed in justice, but rather broken through transgression. And first of all, as concerning that profession and practice in religon, which is most general in these nations, I mean such as sprinkle infants, and are sprinkled being infants; professing it to be the baptism into the faith of Christ; and that it is a seal of the new covenant, and of remission of sins, and that thereby people are made capable of union with Christ, and that it is a sign of regeneration, &c. This is practised and professed by many for religion; but this practice and doctrine are not according to the scriptures; therefore all ye, through all these nations, that are made Christians, and own your title in Christianity, and a right to fellowship with Christ; and that ye are joined to the church, and become members of Christ, because you were sprinkled when you were infants, and all ye that preach this for doctrine, and practice it for religion, you are not of the true Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the scriptures; this I do affirm. Therefore stand you by; for what you practice and profess, there is neither command nor precedent in scripture; if you could show any, you are now called, and a necessity is put upon you, to make use of your knowledge, if you would be protected in this commonwealth, in your practice of religion.

"Likewise you sing, and give to sing David's Psalms in rhyme and metre, professing it is to the glory and honour of God. Ye practice this as an ordinance of God, as a part of his worship, and as a part of your religion; but this practice and profession also are manifest not to be according to the scriptures; because it was never commanded; neither is there any precedent for this practice in the scriptures, in gospel times. Therefore in this part of your religion you cannot justly claim to be protected and maintained; because the Protector's oath reacheth not to uphold and maintain any such practices in religion, which are not according to the scriptures."

"Likewise, all ye, whose ministers preach for hire, and have hire for preaching, so much a year, and so much a sermon at a town, or a parish in a settled place; and who take tithes, and compel people to pay tithes by a law; such are not the ministers of Christ. And ye that uphold such for the ministers of Christ, are false in judgment, and blind in understanding; and are not of that Christian religion, which is according to the Scriptures in the purity thereof, neither ministers, nor people; for the ministers of Christ never acted any such thing. They were the false prophets, and false apostles, that preached for hire, and for gifts and rewards; neither did the saints and churches of Christ look upon them that acted those things, to be ministers of Christ; but on the contrary, declared them to be deceivers. So that all you people, and you professed ministers, that act those things that the false prophets acted; and you people that love to have it so, and give hire to your ministers for preaching, and consent unto it; none of you are of the Christian religion, as it is held forth in the Scriptures; because this part of your practice in religion is not according, but contrary to the Scriptures."

On the 18th of the eleventh month 1657, Edward Burrough had a dispute with Richard Goodgroom, at Drayton in Middlesex. The principal points in the controversy, appear to have been, whether the Scriptures were properly the Word, and whether Christ justified sinners as sinners; or in other words, whilst remaining in sin. In the first month following, another dispute was held at the same place, between the same parties, which appears to have been more public than the first. One point disputed on this last occasion, was the truth of a proposition, which Edward had laid down in the first, viz: "Temptations or motions unto evil, are not sin to any man, who doth not consent and obey to serve temptations or evil motions, and they are not sin to the man, except they be consented to by the man." In defending this proposition, Edward appealed to the experience of all sober people who heard him, "Whether many times there had not been evil motions in their hearts, presenting themselves, to which they had not consented; but the Lord had given them power over them, and they were not overcome of them? And whether they were ever accused or condemned for such motions which the Lord gave them power against? or, whether rather they had not peace and joy in the Lord, who had discovered to them, and given them power over the evil which had presented itself?" Edward says, "I also gave them that which I had witnessed concerning the thing, as a testimony, agreeing with the Scriptures, to that particular." "From ten years old, till many years after, many times I had evil motions arising in my own heart, which sometimes overcame me, and sometimes the Lord gave me to overcome them, so that I consented not to them, nor obeyed, nor followed them. When they overcame me and led me aside, then I was troubled and condemned of the Lord; for they were reckoned to be my sins, when I consented; and many times the Lord gave me power over them, and I consented not, but resisted them, and denied them, and then I had great peace and joy in the Lord, and no condemnation."

On the subject of Sanctification and Justification, Edward said; "Sanctification is a witness of justification, and no man can further know himself to be justified, than he is sanctified; nor justified, than he is restored."

We find little trace of Edward Burrough after this dispute for several months, but it is probable he spent the time principally in London and Kingston. He doubtless attended the general meeting of Friends held towards the close of the third month 1658, at the house of John Crook, in Bedfordshire. He probably accompanied William Caton there, who says he went with Friends from Kingston. In the fourth month he delivered, or caused to be delivered into the hands of the Protector, at Hampton Court, a letter, in which he proposes that Friends might have a public opportunity, of answering such objections as he felt, to their doctrines or practices. It was probably in the same month, that in company with George Fox and Nicholas Bond, he had a dispute with a Jesuit at the house of the Earl of Newport, in London. The Jesuit had recently arrived from Spain, in the suite of the ambassador from the court at Madrid, and in the pride of head knowledge, challenged all the Quakers to dispute with him. George Fox hearing of this, let him know that Friends would meet him. The Jesuit then restricted his challenge to twelve of the most learned Quakers. Soon he reduced it to six, and finally sent them word that not more than three must come. A discussion of much piquancy took place; but the letter-learned Jesuit, with all his subtlety, was altogether unable to stand against the honest straight forward simplicity of George Fox, and he most signally failed in the controversy. The following account of this interview is from the Journal of George Fox, viz.

"When we were come to the house, I bid Nicholas Bond and Edward Burrough go up, and enter the discourse with him; and I would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them. I advised them to state this question to him, "Whether or no the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and

spirit that they were in?" They stated the question accordingly: and the Jesuit affirmed, "That the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church." By this time I was come to them. Then we asked him, "Whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had?" He said, "No," "Then," said I, "If ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and Spirit that the apostles had, ye are degenerated from the power and Spirit which the primitive church was in." There needed little more to be said to that.

Then I asked him, "What scripture they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men; for all their several orders; for their praying by beads, and to images; for making crosses; for forbidding of meats and marriages; and for putting people to death for religion? If, said I, ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by scriptures wherever they practised any such thing?" (For it was agreed on both hands, that we should make good by scriptures what we said.) Then he told us of a written word, and an unwritten word? I asked him what he called his unwritten word? He said, "The written word is the scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spoke by word of mouth; which, said he, are all those traditions that we practise." I bid him prove that by scripture. Then he brought that scripture where the apostle says, 2 Thess. ii. 5, "When I was with you, I told you these things." "That is," said he, "I told you of nunneries and monasteries, and of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads, and to images, and all the rest of the practices of the church of Rome; which," he said, "was the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told then, and have since been continued down by tradition unto these times."

Then "I desired him to read that scripture again, that he might see how he had perverted the apostle's words; for that which the apostle there tells the Thessalonians, "he had told them before," is not an unwritten word, but is there written down; namely, that the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be revealed before the great and terrible day of Christ, which he was writing of, should come: so this was not telling them any of those things that the church of Rome practises. In like manner the apostle, in the third chapter of that epistle, tells the church of some disorderly persons, he heard were amongst them, busy-bodies, who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if any would not work, neither should he eat: which now he commands them again in his written word in this epistle," 2 Thess. iii. So this scripture afforded no proof for their invented traditions, and he had no other scripture proof to offer. Therefore I told him, "This was another degeneration of their church into such inventions and traditions as the apostles and primitive saints never practised."

After this he came to his sacrament of the altar, beginning at the paschal lamb, and the show-bread, and came to the words of Christ, "This is my body," and to what the apostle wrote of it to the Corinthians; concluding, "That after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and he that received it, received the whole Christ." I followed him through the scriptures he brought till I came to Christ's words and the apostle's. I showed him, "That the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death, that they were reprobates if Christ was not in them; but if the bread they eat was Christ, he must of necessity be in them after they had eaten it. Besides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ's body, then how hath Christ a body in heaven?" I observed to him also, "That both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread and drink the wine in 'remembrance of Christ,' and to 'show forth his death till he come;' which plainly proves the bread and wine, which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had been come, and was then there present, and it had been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then present with them, as he must have been if that bread and wine which they ate and drank had been his real body."

As to those words of Christ, "This is my body," I told him, "Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in scripture a rock. Is Christ therefore an outward rock, door, or vine?" O, said the Jesuit, "Those words are to be intrepreted;" "so, said I, are those words of Christ, 'This is my body.'"

Having stopped his mouth as to argument, I made the Jesuit a proposal thus; "That seeing he said, 'the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Christ; and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ;' let a meeting be appointed between some whom the pope and his cardinals should appoint, and some of us; let a bottle of wine and loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they would. Then set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine in a safe place, with a sure watch

upon it; and let trial be thus made, whether the consecrated bread and wine would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated. By this means, said I, the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savour and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church. If they change, decay, and lose their goodness, then ought you to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it: for much blood hath been shed about these things; as in queen Mary's days."

To this the Jesuit made this reply; "Take," said he, "a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other." Is this thy answer, said I? Yes, said he. Then, said I, by this the company may all be satisfied that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Have ye told people so long, that the consecrated bread and wine was immortal and divine, and that it was the very and real body and blood of Christ, and dost thou now say it will wear away and decay as well as the other? I must tell thee, 'Christ remains the same to-day as yesterday,' and never decays; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life." He replied no more to this, being willing to let it fall; for the people that were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it.

Then I asked him, "Why their church did persecute, and put people to death for religion?" He replied, "It was not the church that did it, but the magistrates." I asked him, "Whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers and Christians?" He said, Yes: "Why then, said I, are they not members of your church?" "Yes," said he. Then I left it to the people to judge from his own concessions, whether the church of Rome doth not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted, and his subtlety was confuted by simplicity.

On the 31st of the fifth month came on the suit of Parson Mayo, against Edward Burrough, for defamation. Edward demurred to the jurisdiction of the court to try causes "of a spiritual dependency," and showed as he thought, conclusively, from the laws of England, that those before whom he was brought had no power to try the case. In reply, one of the judges told him, they would overrule that, and would try the matter.

On the day of the court, when the jury were to be chosen, Edward told the judges that as it was doctrine which was to be tried, the jurymen should be such as had the gift of the holy spirit. The judges however took the ground, that the jurymen had nothing to do but to try whether the words charged had been spoken by Edward. When the trial came on, Edward Burrough easily proved that the priest had laid down the before-mentioned propositions, and then offered to show from Scripture, the doctrines therein contained to be unsound. The court directed the jury to give the priest damages, and they brought in a verdict in his favour for £100. At the next court, held seventh month, 25th following, Mayo by his council moved for a judgment on the verdict. Edward being present, was allowed to speak, and so clearly proved the truth of all he had said, and Mayo so lamely defended himself, that the court did not give the judgment. It remained for some time under advisement, but it is believed that Mayo never obtained any thing.

In the sixth month, Edward Burrough once more addressed a letter to Oliver Cromwell. It commences thus: "Know that there is a God that doeth whatsoever he will. All power is in his hand, and he bringeth to pass the counsel of his own heart, and he ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and setteth up: he killeth and maketh alive; and he changeth times, and seasons, and governments, and bringeth to nought the counsels of men; for all power in earth and in heaven is in him. All his doings are right, and his ways are equal, and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the potter. He can honour and exalt as he pleaseth, and he can mar, and break to pieces, and dishonour whensoever he will. Wherefore be humble, and low in heart before him, for he is the highest power, that subdueth all things under his feet. If he wound, who can heal? If he kill, there is none can make alive. Know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doth this, in whose hands are the issues of life and death; and he it is who can break thee down, and build thee up; who can wound thee, and restore thee: and bring thee to destruction, and say unto thee, return; and to know him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace, &c."

Edward then entreats Oliver to hearken to the word of the Lord, that his soul may come out of death and live. He says, "Fear the Lord God, before whom thy heart is naked and bare. He can mould thee and change thee, and fulfill his pleasure upon thee, even according to his own will; and who can say what doest thou? Now come to consideration, and let thy heart be more upright before him. Choose his way and counsel, that he may bless thee, and seek his face that thy soul may be satisfied by his word, and the milk of the word

may nourish thee unto life immortal. Mind his pure presence, which is life, even God with thee, Christ the Emmanuel, to dwell with and walk in thee, which is the promise of the Father.

First come to the principle of God, and feel the Word of God, in thy heart, that will beat down the nature into which temptations enter. The word will bring thee to war against and overcome all thy enemies, which would defile or betray thee. It will bring thee to know a birth immortal in thee, a crown immortal received from God, that dies not nor fades away. Then he who rules over heaven and earth will be thy shepherd to feed thee, thy teacher to guide thee; thy counsellor to direct thee in all things. Thy immortal soul will be satisfied with the bread that cometh down from heaven; the covenant of God and the sure mercies of David, will be revealed, and his promise be fulfilled in thee."

He then tells him what need he has of the wisdom of God; entreating him to remove oppression, and warns him to take heed of the teachers, who flatter, and yet hatch mischief against him; and also of the magistrates into whom great corruption had entered. He thus concludes: "Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou shalt have thy reward. Seek his honour and he will honour thee. Let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, power and presence in thee, to quench all that is contrary, then thou wilt be blessed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continuest in oppression the Lord will suddenly smite thee."

Oliver was too busy with his own schemes of family aggrandisement, to care much what persecution fell upon the Quakers, and the hands of the oppressing magistrates and persecuting priests were not staid. Soon after this he sickened, and great anxiety reigned throughout England as the tidings spread abroad, that it was likely to prove his last illness. Some of the fanatical preachers concluded he should not die, and very absurd petitions and remonstrances to the Most High were made by them.

Edward Burrough on the 1st of the seventh month, addressed the following letter to the Protector's family.

"Friends,"

"Remember, that by the Lord you were raised from a low state, and when he will he can abase you, and bring you down; he gave you the palace of princes, and threw out them before you.

"O, remember this, every one of you, and come to the witness of God in you, and be humble, and meek, and lowly, and let the Lord's fear be in your hearts; and be of a tender spirit, having your minds exercised in purity, in holiness, and in righteousness. Exalt not yourselves, nor be lifted up in your hearts in the pride and vain glories, and honours of this world, lest the Lord cast you down, and make your name and posterity a reproach, as he hath done to many before you. If you walk in the same steps, and do the same things, and become guilty of the same abominations, and suffer the children and servants of the Lord to be persecuted, as many are at this day, some unto death, shall the Lord spare you? Nay, he will cause you to feel his hand of judgment, and bring you down with sorrow. He will vex you in his wrath, and smite you with his rod more and more, till you learn his fear, and depart from all your iniquities. The Lord will deface your glory, and pull down your crown; and he will make you know, that he is Lord, that doeth whatsoever he will.

"Wherefore humble yourselves under the hand of God, and search your own hearts, and cast out the abominations that vex the Spirit of the Lord; and suffer not the people of the Lord's precious flock to be devoured, and made a prey to the wicked. Because of this the rod of affliction cometh upon you, and may suddenly break you to pieces; but mind the seed of God in you, which is oppressed. Wait to know the power of the Lord, which will redeem you out of sin and death, and reconcile you to God, and bring you into fellowship with himself, to enjoy peace and rest for your souls, that you may be made heirs of the inheritance of an endless life. This will make you truly honourable, and will be more satisfaction to you, and joy, and content, and true rejoicing, than all the worldly crowns and worldly glories; which will waste and consume away, and leave you miserable."

"The Lord hath warned you, by a friend unto you in the Lord. EDWARD BURROUGH."

On the 3rd Oliver Cromwell died, and outward lamentation and inward mourning were that day felt amongst many, whilst secret joy was indulged by not a few.

Oliver had named his son Richard to be his successor, and he was proclaimed Protector on the 6th of the month.

A few days after this, Edward Burrough addressed a letter to Richard Cromwell, chosen to be Protector, &c. of these nations; and speaking of the rulers, he saith thus:

"As for magistracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread and terror, and limit to evil-doers, and to be a defence and praise to all that do well; to condemn the guilty, and to justify the guiltless. But the exercise thereof at this day in these nations, is degenerated, and some that are in authority are greatly corrupted, and regard not the just and pure law of God, to judge only thereby; but oppress the poor by

injustice, and subvert the good laws of God and men to a wrong end and use, abusing authority, and turning the sword against the just. Hereby true judgment is turned backward, and the innocent made unjustly to suffer for righteousness sake, through the corruption of men in authority; and didst thou but know what we know in this particular, it would pierce thy heart.

It is frequent among some of the judges and magistrates, to commit a man to prison, and impose some great fine upon him, and to cast him into a dungeon, or hole, among thieves and murderers, for a long season; for no other offence, or breach of any law, but because he cannot put off his hat to them, and respect their persons, by the hat or bowing the knee. Many others also that fear God, and for conscience sake cannot swear upon a book, by kissing it, and laying hands upon it, because Christ saith, "Swear not all;" though they deny not to speak and do the truth in all things, as in the presence of God and all men; and many others, because they are moved to cry against sin, and declare against the iniquities of the times, in teachers, rulers, and people, that highly abound; perhaps in a market or steeple-house, or highway, or other places, as they are moved of God; others, because for conscience sake they cannot pay tithes, nor give money and wages to maintain a priest, or false teacher, that they receive no profit by; or to maintain a steeple-house, where the world worships in vain traditions, and not in the spirit and power of God. Many have been taken out of peaceable meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord; and some out of their inns and friends' houses; and many have been taken on the way, travelling about their lawful occasions; and some from their callings and labours. For these causes through the envy of wicked men, and without any just conviction of the breach of any law, or any lawful trial or examination, have hundreds of just men, being wholly innocent, been sent to prison, and lain many months, and some for years; or whipped, or put into the stocks, and greviously abused by cruel executioners of wicked men's envy or injustice. And upon such grounds only, and for such causes mentioned, and without the transgression of any just law, have and do at this day, many hundreds of faithful subjects suffer hard and cruel things, long and sore imprisonment, and cruel and sharp whipping, and stocking, and unjust banishment out of towns and cities; yea, friend, it is hard to be expressed, and large to be declared, how many of the Lord's servants do, and have suffered great injustice in these nations, through the abuse of good government, and degeneration of magistracy from its perfect state and place, whereunto it was ordained of God in the beginning, &c."

In this year he wrote a short statement of the principles of the religious society of which he was a member, as follows; viz:

A declaration to all the world of our faith; and what we believe, who are called Quakers. Concerning God, Christ, and the Spirit, thus we believe.

First, That there is only one true God, who is a spirit; and his presence filleth heaven and earth; and he is eternal and everlasting, the Creator and preserver of all things; that heaven and earth, and all things therein by him were framed and brought forth; and all things remain unto this day by his power; and whatsoever he willeth in heaven and earth, he brings to pass by his word and power.

And we believe, That this God only is and ought, to be feared, loved, obeyed and worshipped by all creatures; and no other thing besides him in heaven and earth.

And we believe, That his worship and obedience, and fear and love is to be given in spirit, even in what his own spirit moveth and leadeth his people unto.

And we believe, his true worship, required and accepted of him, is not by the tradition of men in outward observances, or set days, or places; but he is worshipped only in spirit and truth, without respect of time, places or things; and that none can worship him in righteousness, but his children, who are born of his spirit, and are led and guided thereby.

And we believe, That this God hath given his Son Christ Jesus into the world, a free gift unto the whole world; and that every man that cometh into the world is lighted by him, that every man might believe, and be saved.

And we believe, That he is given into the world, and no nation, country or people excepted; but unto all mankind is he given of God, and hath lightened them, and every man through the world, that believeth in him, and receiveth Christ, who is the wisdom and power of the Father, shall be saved with eternal salvation; and every one that believeth not in him, shall be damned, and shall possess everlasting misery.

And we believe, That salvation, justification and sanctification, are only in him, and wrought by him, and no other: for there is no other name given under heaven, but him alone, by which salvation is.

And we believe, All that receive him, and believe in him, are reconciled to God, and are made alive to God, to live to him in all things, and do receive the forgiveness of sins, and are set free from all unrighteousness, and from the body of sin and death, and have the witness of the spirit in them. The spirit of the Father they have received, and it witnesseth in them of the Father and of the Son, and of the things

that belong unto their peace. It is the earnest of the inheritance, and the seal of the promise of eternal life, and by it are the deep things of God revealed to mankind, and by it the Father and the Son dwell in the saints, and by it have they fellowship one with another; and the Father, Son, and Spirit are one. And this we faithfully believe.

Again, concerning Christ, we believe, That he is one with the Father, and was with him before the world was; and what the Father worketh it is by the Son; for he is the arm of God's salvation, and the very power and wisdom of the Creator; and was, is, and is to come, without beginning or end.

And we believe, That all the prophets gave testimony of him, and that he was made manifest in Judea and Jerusalem, and did the work of the Father, and was persecuted of the Jews, and was crucified by his enemies; and that he was buried, and rose again, according to the Scriptures.

And we believe, He is now ascended on high, and exalted at the right hand of the Father for evermore; and that he is glorified with the same glory that he had before the world was; and that even the same that came down from heaven, is ascended up to heaven; and the same that descended is he that ascended.

And we believe, Even that he that was dead is alive, and lives for evermore; and that he cometh, and shall come again, to judge the whole world with righteousness, and all people with equity, and shall give to every man according to his deeds, at the day of judgment, when all shall arise to condemnation or justification; he that hath done good shall receive life, and he that hath done evil, everlasting condemnation.

And we believe, He is to be waited for in spirit, to be known after the spirit, as he was before the world was. This is the knowledge unto eternal life, which all that believe in him do receive; and he subdues death, and destroys him that hath the power of it; and restoreth from death to life, and quickeneth by his spirit all that the Father hath given him. We believe such he justifieth and sanctifieth, and such are taught of him; but he condemns all that believe not, but continue in unbelief, and are not taught of him. And this we faithfully believe.

And we believe, That unto all people upon the face of the whole earth, is a time and day of visitation given, that they may return and be saved by Christ Jesus, who is given of the Father to call the worst of men to repentance; and the most ungodly of sinners are convinced by him of their ungodly deeds, that they might believe, and be converted and saved.

And we believe, Herein is the love of God manifested to all mankind; and that none are shut out by him before they were born into the world; but unto all men is a visitation given. They that do perish, it is because they do not believe in Christ; and his destruction is of a man's self, but salvation is of God, through believing in his Son, who takes away sin, and reneweth into his own image, that they may become heirs with him.

And we believe that there is a crown of eternal glory, and an inheritance of eternal life to be enjoyed for evermore by all that believe, and are chosen of God; and that there is an everlasting misery and destruction to be possessed by all that believe not, but continue in the state of reprobation, and are not changed from the ways of sin and death; but walk after the ways of their own hearts lusts, fulfilling the will of the flesh, in the evil of this world, and follow not Christ, the light of the world, that they may be saved. And we believe upon all such the wrath of God abideth, and that they have no part in the inheritance of God.

And we believe, That it is only he that is born again of the spirit, and that walks after the spirit, who is changed from death to life, and who is redeemed out of the world, and all its ways; that must inherit the kingdom of God. They only have a right thereunto, and none besides, even they that are washed and cleansed from all unrighteousness by the blood of Jesus, by which their sins are remitted. For his blood cleanseth from all unrighteousness and sin; yea, all such that walk and abide in the light, which Christ Jesus hath lightened the world withal.

And we believe, That the saints upon earth may receive forgiveness of sins; and may be perfectly freed from the body of sin and death, and in Christ may be perfect and without sin, and may have victory over all temptations, by faith in Christ Jesus.

And we believe every saint, that is called of God, ought to press after perfection, and to overcome the devil and all his temptations upon earth. We believe they that faithfully wait for it shall obtain it, and shall be presented without sin in the image of the Father. Such walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit, and are in covenant with God, and their sins are blotted out, and remembered no more; for they cease to commit sin, being born of the seed of God.

And we believe, The gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that it ought to be preached freely unto people, and Christ to be held forth unto all mankind, by the ministry sent of him. We believe this ministry is received by the gift of the Holy Ghost; and all they that receive it, are lawfully called to the ministry; and they may preach the Gospel of Christ freely, as they have received it freely. And this ministry is not of man, but of God,

and is made powerful to the converting of sinners, and to the bringing of people to God, and to the knowledge of his ways. We do not believe, that any man is a minister of Christ, without the gift of the Holy Ghost; or that the gospel can be received by natural learning or education.

And we believe, Such as preach for hire, and have hire for preaching, are not the lawfully called ministers of the gospel of Christ; such as are proud, and high-minded, and covetous men, who do not profit the people at all; such as have run, and never were sent of Christ, who calleth by his spirit into the work of the ministry; and as every one hath received the gift of that, his spirit, so he may administer to others.

Concerning rulers and governors, we believe, That there ought to be rulers and governors in every nation, city, country and town. They ought to be such men as fear God and hate every evil way; who will judge for God, and not for man; and will judge righteously, equally and justly, and will give true and sound judgment unto all men, without bribery, or respect of persons, not regarding the rich above the poor; but being a praise unto all that do well, and a terror to all evil-doers whatsoever; having knowledge in the pure law of God, and themselves continually exercised therein. We believe, that every law of man ought to be grounded upon the law of God; pure reason and equity being the foundation thereof, that God's witness in every man may answer to it. The law ought to be known unto all people, before transgression be charged or punished in any man.

We believe that every transgression ought to be punished according to its nature; and that the punishment exceed not the greatness of the transgression; neither ought any transgressor to escape unpunished; neither ought any upon false suspicion or jealousies, to be caused to suffer, without the testimony of true men, or the confession of the party. We believe, that the executors of the law ought to be just men, and not given to pride, drunkenness, or any other evil whatsoever. They ought to be chosen every year, or otherwise, by the consent of the people; and that no man be stopped of his free choice, except justly taxed.

We believe, that all governors and rulers ought to be accountable to the people, and to the next succeeding rulers, for all their actions, which may be inquired into upon occasion; and that the chiefest of the rulers be subject under the law, and punishable by it, if they be transgressors, as well as the poorest of the people. Thus true judgment and justice will be brought forth in the earth, and all that do well will have praise, and live in rest and peace; and all evil doers whatsoever may stand in awe, and be afraid of God, and just men, and the execution of just laws.

Concerning religion, we believe, That it is only the spirit of the Lord that makes men truly religious. That no man ought to be compelled to, or from, any exercise or practice in religion, by any outward law or power; but every man ought to be left free, as the Lord shall persuade his own mind, in doing, or leaving undone this or the other practice in religion. Every man, of what profession in religion soever, ought to be protected in peace, provided himself be a man of peace, not seeking the wrong of any man's person or estate.

We believe, That to oppose false opinions, and unsound doctrines and principles, seeking to convince them that oppose themselves, by exhortation, or sharp reproof, by word or writing, ought not to be counted a breach of the peace; or to strive about the things of the kingdom of God, by men of contrary minds or judgments. This ought not to be punishable by the magistrates and their laws. For we believe, the outward laws and powers of the earth are only to preserve men's persons and estates, and not to preserve men in opinions. Neither ought the law of the nation to be laid upon men's consciences, to bind them to, or from, such a judgment or practice in religion. We believe that Christ is, and ought only to be, Lord and exerciser of men's consciences; and his spirit, only must lead into all truth.

And we believe, That obedience and subjection in the Lord belongs to superiors, and that subjects ought to obey in the Lord those that have rule over them. That children ought to obey their parents, and wives their husbands, and servants their masters, in all things which are according to God, which stand in the exercise of a pure conscience towards God. But where rulers, parents, or masters, or any other, command or require subjection in any thing which is contrary to God, or not according to him, in such cases all people are free, and ought to obey God rather than man. We believe, That herein God will justify them, being guided and led by his spirit in all that is good, and out of all that is evil.

Again, We believe concerning election and reprobation, That there is a state of election, and a state of reprobation, a state chosen of God, and a state rejected of God, and that all mankind are in one of these states. All that are elected, are elected in Christ; and all that are out of him are in the reprobate state, bringing forth fruits of death and darkness, being children of wrath and disobedience, in the alienation and separation from God. They are in the transgression, unreconciled to God, the enmity ruling in the heart, being in the fall, and

not restored to God again, but ignorant of his power, and of his wisdom, having the understanding darkened, that they cannot see nor perceive the things that are eternal.

In this condition man's best works are sin, and whatsoever he doth, he cannot be accepted of God; for he is dead to God, and alive to all evil, bringing forth all his works out of that ground which is cursed. This is the condition of all mankind upon the face of the earth, in the first Adam, and this is the state of reprobation; and all that abide herein are rejected of God, and shall never inherit eternal life, but go into perdition.

Yet have all such a day of visitation, that they may return out of the state of reprobation; but hating knowledge, and despising the love of God, they continue in the reprobate state, and the wrath of God abides upon them. But they that are chosen of God, are delivered from wrath; for they believe in the light, and become children of the light, and are renewed in mind and heart, and receive the love of the Father, and become planted into Christ, the second Adam. They are chosen in him to bring forth fruit unto the Father, and all their fruit springeth from that ground which is blessed. For they are led by the spirit of the Father; and such are in the state of election, who are made heirs with Christ of the everlasting inheritance, that never fades away. And this we faithfully believe, That mercy is not showed to the reprobate, nor judgment to them that are chosen of God. EDWARD BURROUGH.

On the 22nd of the ninth month, Edward Burrough was at Kingston; on the 23rd, as he was entering London, at Charing Cross, he beheld a great multitude of people pressing upon one another exceedingly. Which ever way he looked, the whole streets were filled,—every window was crowded, and balconies and house tops were thronged. He could not well pass through such a crowd; and guards of soldiers, both foot and horse were on duty there, who stopped his horse and told him he must not pass that way. Tarrying but a short time he turned about and passed away, wondering what this great stir meant, and what it was which occasioned such excitement in the spirits of the people, as plainly appeared. He says, "I felt the spirits of men, women and children were all on fire." Although living in London, and labouring abundantly in his own vocation there, he appears to have had no notice of these pompous preparations for the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, of whom an image was to be carried along in view of the multitude. This was the day of the funeral, and this crowd was gathered to see it pass.

As Edward went on he turned his mind inward, seeking to know of the Lord "what this thing might be, what might be the end of it, and why was this gathering and running, and thronging of multitudes in this manner. Presently I perceived [says he,] that an image, an invented picture would be carried that way; and that all this pressing and stir, and the gathering of this great multitude, was only to see an image without life or breath. Then my spirit was grieved and my soul was vexed within me; and it ran through me, vanity, folly and madness. What is all this setting of guards, gathering of people in such thronging multitudes, and gazing of men, women and children, high and low, rich and poor, that are come together? Is all this but to see a dead invented image of wood or wax arrayed and decked with some foolish inventions?"

The idea of a carved or moulded representation of Cromwell being carried at his funeral, reminded Edward of the time when Oliver and his soldiers found pleasant work in the old parish steeple-houses, the rich cathedrals, whenever and wherever they were to be found, in breaking up and destroying carved images, crosses and other relics of popery. Hereupon Edward began, as he tells us, in "a testimony against a great idolatry committed," to talk to himself on this matter. He said, "I knew the man, when he was living, and had a knowledge of his spirit; and I am persuaded if it had been asked him in his life time, if such should be acted about him, such an image made like him, and laid for so long time in a sumptuous place and manner, and then carried by his friends, and children, kindred and army, I think he would have said; 'nay! What! make an image of me, and deck it diversly, and visit it; and then carry it up and down from place to place! This will be a shame to my children, a disgrace to my kindred, a reproach to my officers, and the whole army. The nation will mock and be offended, and may say, these are they that were once enemies to all images and dead idols, and pulled them down and brake them. Are these now making an image, and setting it up, wondering after it from place to place? If thus it be done, they at Rome may laugh us to scorn, and the papists may say, we have learned of them, put their persons from among us, banished and killed them, and set up their practices.' Sure he would have said this. I am certain the witness of God in his conscience might truly have said it."

In the tenth month Edward addressed the following to Richard Cromwell and his council:

"*To the Protector and his Council.*

"The Lord God will shortly make you know that we are his people; though we be account-

ed as sheep for the slaughter, yet our King of righteousness will break you to pieces, if you harden your hearts, and repent not. And though that love will not draw you, neither the gentle leadings of our God have any place in you, yet judgments shall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation shall lie upon your consciences, and you will be scattered and distracted to pieces. EDWARD BURROUGH."

In this year he also wrote the following Epistles, viz:

An Epistle to go abroad among Friends, in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and elsewhere among the flock of God.

FRIENDS, my love and life, which is not of this world, but is in the living God, doth reach unto and salute all you that are in the light of life, and in the truth itself, which changeth not, but endureth for ever, which we receive of God the everlasting Father, through the gospel, which came unto us in the demonstration of the spirit, and of power, changing us from death, which reigned over us, to life, in which we have power over death, and turning us from the power of satan, wherein we were held, unto the power of the living God, wherein we became fruitful, and a good savour unto him through the nations.

Dearly beloved, in the same truth be faithful unto death, in that which cannot sin, nor be overcome of the tempter, in which satan hath nothing, wherein only stand our fellowship and union one with another, as we abide in the living vine Christ Jesus, the light of the world, in whom you have believed unto eternal life, and have entered into the rest which is prepared. As you continue therein, you cannot be moved or shaken, but are as Mount Sion, established in the power, and life, and wisdom of the everlasting God, which condemns darkness, and all its works, and gives dominion and rule over all the powers of death and hell, which work in the children of disobedience, who know not God, nor receive the truth, much more in them who turn from the light and knowledge of the truth, into the liberty of the flesh, to serve sin, having made shipwreck of fear, and of faith and a good conscience. These shall bear their own shame and condemnation in the sight of God and man, and shall have no part with us in the inheritance of peace and righteousness; but the latter end of such is worse than the beginning.

Wherefore you that are in the covenant of peace, where sin is not remembered, nor committed, nor the unclean thing touched, dwell and abide in the life of God, and in his strength, which reigns over all the world, with its temptations, and over all false brethren, and over all deceitful workers, whose eye becometh darkened, and their heart hardened through the deceitfulness of sin, turning the grace of God into wantonness, and giving liberty to the unclean thing, which is accursed.

In the counsel of the Lord God walk before him, and keep yourselves pure and undefiled, and partake not of the deeds of the wicked, neither give place to the devil, to be perverted by him from the truth of the living God, which is truth in itself for ever, though the backsliders despise the way of it. Every one abide in your own, and know a measure of the strength of Christ Jesus in you, to defend you from the enemy, who seeks to beguile and to devour, and to divert from the perfect way of life and peace.

Dwell in your own measure of the grace of God, which is perfect, which is sufficient to teach and lead and preserve in all the ways of God, which the unclean cannot walk in. He that keepeth you, reproveth, and condemneth, and casteth out the devil, and all his works and workers, who abide not in Christ Jesus, nor in the truth, wherein we worship the Father, who are called of him, and are faithful and chosen followers of the Lamb, who taketh away our sin, and giveth power over it, and over the tempter, who seeketh to betray the Just One.

From the eternal God I warn you, every one know a hiding place in God. The day of great shaking cometh upon the garden of God. The beast that had a wound by a sword, whose deadly wound is healed, may live, and power may be given him for a moment, to make war against the Lamb and his followers; and satan may prevail to winnow you, and try you for your life. Therefore be armed with the whole armour of light, which manifesteth the mystery of iniquity, and the working of spiritual wickedness in high places, and which defendeth you from his power, out of the snare of the devil, in the simplicity, as it is in Christ Jesus, who is our rock and our strength, by which we overcome the fiery darts of the enemy, which come against us.

Dwell in the truth, that you may know the life which standeth in God, with whom there is no shadow of turning. He is the same forever, and keepeth covenant with his own elect, who cannot be overcome of the devil, nor deceived; in whom, you abiding, cannot sin, but are kept from being touched with the wicked one in the way, and in the truth, and in the peace of God, lively and precious in his sight, to serve him in fear and faithfulness.

If any go out from the light, the living way, they become as withered branches, to be cut off from the body, no more to have fellowship in the body, but are reproved and judged with that which keeps us in the body. Though

some go from the Lord, yet his faithfulness endureth forever, and his promise is yea and amen to his own seed, which keep covenant with him, and fulfill his law of righteousness and judgment. He that breaketh covenant let him be condemned, that the creature may be saved in the day of the Lord; for in them who draw back, God hath no pleasure, but is oppressed with, and his soul vexed. Therefore all walk in God's wisdom, which is pure and peaceable. Let not the name of our God be spoken against through any of you, who have been partakers of the word of truth, through any disobedience or ungodly walking; but rather deny your own liberty, than make it an occasion to the flesh, wherein satan's strength stands. So you will receive God's blessing, and his nourishment unto your souls, and will be preserved in faithfulness, not to end in the flesh, you that have begun in the spirit.

This in pure love towards you all, as a testimony of my love to the seed of God in you all, was I moved to write; as seeing in the light the day cometh upon you, of which some may not be aware; and I am clear thus far of the charge committed to me of God towards you, and am in the truth itself, which cannot change, and am in it your friend in the service of the Lord God. EDWARD BURROUGH.

A second General Epistle to all the Saints.

A servant of the Lord and minister of Jesus Christ, thereunto ordained and called through the powerful operation and gift of the Holy Ghost, unto all his brethren in the same life, who are born of God, and witnesses of his power; and unto all the saints and churches of Christ, who have believed and received the sure and faithful testimony, and are called with the heavenly call, to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes; who is given to you, and received of you, a light, a guide, and a teacher in all the ways of God. Unto you all that are scattered abroad in the world, whether in bonds or at liberty, whether strong men or children in Christ, I send greeting; and above all things desire and pray unto the Father, for your increase in the knowledge of him, and faithfulness in all his ways, and that the increase of his government may abound among you; and that grace, mercy and peace may be plentifully enlarged, that nothing may be lacking to you in any thing of that which maketh perfect; but that in Christ Jesus you may be complete, and through him you may receive power, and thereby be strengthened to do all things.

My dearly beloved and longed for, in the fellowship of that spirit which hath begotten you to be sons and daughters of one Father, and heirs and fellow-members of that inheritance of life, peace and rest, which abideth for ever. Oh, how I long to meet you all in this, and to find you perfectly settled and established upon the sure foundation, which God hath laid amongst you, beyond all doubts, and fears and stumblings, above the world and all its temptations, and above hell and death, and all the ways thereof, having all the powers of darkness subjected under you, serving the Lord in perfect holiness, walking in his strength and wisdom, showing forth his light in the world, as his redeemed people.

My desire is more and more kindled and enlarged towards you all, that you may perfectly attain to the knowledge of the great mystery of salvation, to wit, God dwelling in you! I say, my desire is, that you may know even as you are known, and that you may receive him as you are received of him; and that you may be a perfect body, growing up together, and springing forth in all good fruits of truth and righteousness unto the Father, who is glorified through your bringing forth much fruit. You very well know, that for this end he hath called you, and in this his appointed day caused his glory to shine forth, and hath visited and brought us to the knowledge of the hidden mystery of eternal salvation, which mystery hath been sealed up for many ages, and is kept secret forever, from the wisdom of this world.

But unto us that have believed in the light of the world is it clearly discovered, as at noon day; being revealed to us by the spirit which worketh in us the will and mind of the Father, and is powerful and mighty, and subdueth and breaketh down the hardness of heart, and through the working thereof every high thought is brought into subjection to Jesus.

This same spirit quickeneth and maketh alive to God, and changeth and reneweth into his image and likeness, and raiseth up from under the bondage of corruption, to live to God in all things in newness of life, old things being done away, and all things being made new through the working thereof. In this same spirit is the Father alone worshipped, and by it God is known; and his promise is fulfilled, it witnessing in all things unto the Father, and is the earnest of the inheritance which fadeth not away. By it know we the deep things of God, which the world by wisdom knoweth not; and thereby are we sealed and bound up in covenant with the Father. This is known to you that are children of the light, and hereof you have the witness in yourselves, and of God you are approved, and not of men.

And all ye my brethren, who are called into the work and ministry of the gospel, unto whom the word of the Lord is come, and the gospel of Christ to you committed; dwell in the life of God, and feel his power and authority. Live

in the same life of which you minister to others, that you may bring people to God, and may effectually turn them from the dominion of sin unto the dominion of Christ Jesus, that people may be guided out of darkness into the marvellous light. Cry aloud, spare not, proclaim the mighty day of the Lord in all the earth; and fear ye not, neither be ye dismayed at the face of any man, but be bold and valiant for the truth upon earth, and give your testimony as you have received from God.

Preach Christ Jesus the light of the world unto all people, that they may receive him, and be converted, and live. For blindness and darkness have covered the whole earth, and all have gone astray from the Lord, as sheep without a shepherd. Therefore awake ye them that sleep, and cause the deaf to hear, and the dead to rise, that such as have strayed may be gathered. For this is the fullness of time; he is now seeking his sheep that have been lost, and bringing them home that have strayed; and you, as instruments in the Lord's hand, hath he chosen to this work.

Therefore go on in the strength of the Lord, and preach the gospel of peace, even the power of God, that sinners may be converted, and the wounded healed, and the weak may be strengthened, and they that are ready to die may be restored to life and salvation. This is the work of the Lord, whereunto you are called; therefore all who are called unto it, be faithful unto the end, and not only by word, but by life and conversation also, hold forth the way of life. For you must feel that in yourselves, of which you minister to others; and you must hold forth in life, the same which you minister in words; and thereby shall you be made manifest to that of God in all people, and God's testimony shall answer for you. See that in all things you divide God's word aright, not crying peace to the wicked, nor healing up the wound falsely; but that true judgment in all things may be brought forth by you to all people; judgment to the fat, and bread to the hungry. They that are naked must be clothed, and they that are falsely covered must be made bare.

Improve the gift which God hath given you, to him only, and not unto yourselves. Be not hasty to utter words before the Lord, but wait for power from on high, that the way of God unto salvation, may be faithfully and truly held forth by you unto all people. Faint not, though your burdens and trials be many, but bare all things patiently. Love not your lives unto death, that the good work of the Lord may be accomplished, which he hath begun by us, and made prosperous and powerful in our hands unto this very day.

Our cause is good. We seek truth and righteousness, that it may be established in the earth, and people may be brought unto God. Unto this God hath called us, and hath owned us in it, and will never forsake us; for the work is his, and the power is his, and whatsoever he will, he bringeth to pass; and therefore why should we doubt, or be weary? For we shall see the travail of our souls. The scattered shall be gathered, and a remnant of the seed shall be brought in, which is scattered in every nation, as dry bones, unable to live. How shall we hide that treasure which God hath given us, from them that perish for want thereof? Or, how shall we rest satisfied till the scattered sheep be brought home to the fold? Our hearts are troubled to see so many thousand walking in thick darkness, and to see the seed of Israel devoured by the destroyer.

Therefore my brethren, let us put on strength, the Lord is with us; let us make war in righteousness for the Lord, against all the powers of darkness. Let us continually be armed to do and to suffer all things for the name of the Lord, that people may be instructed in the right way. We know no man can have power over us, but what is given him from above, and all that comes to pass against us is not worthy to be compared with the crown of glory, and that inheritance of which we have already received the earnest, and had sealed with the spirit of promise. The Father's name is written upon us; therefore in all things unto which he hath called you, be faithful and obedient, that his work may be accomplished.

And all ye children and babes in Christ, that are begotten of God, and are thirsting and seeking after him in truth and righteousness, he whom ye seek is coming to reign amongst you, and his dominion shall be set up and enlarged, and the desire of your hearts shall be fulfilled. Righteousness and truth shall meet in one, and judgment and mercy shall be exalted. Wait upon the Lord, and feel his power and his presence continually, that you may grow as plants of righteousness, and may partake of the heirship with Christ, being crucified to the world, and become dead to all its ways, and no more you to live, but Christ to live in you.

Through the light which he hath enlightened you withal, hath he given you an entrance into the inheritance of the Father. As you walk in the light, you grow into fellowship with the Father, and with the Son. Abiding in the Son you cannot sin; for he keeps you from the wicked one, and he hath no power over you that abide in Christ, who is the power of God, and the salvation of all that believe, and a condemnation of all that believe not. Therefore all you that are convinced everywhere, hearken to the voice of the Lord, that your souls may live. Mind the power of God, and the workings thereof in your hearts, which con-

quereth hell and death, and subdueth all the powers and ways thereof.

Every one be obedient to the Lord, as children of one Father, that of his fulness you may receive, and be filled therewith. Meet together in every place; and as the day approacheth exhort one another, that you may grow up in unity as members of one head. Mind always the testimony of truth, and walk therein, and you cannot stumble. Have not respect to persons, but to the truth only; for persons may change, but the truth abides for ever. So let not an evil eye look at evil, when it comes to pass, to take occasion thereby against the truth; for then you stumble and fall. I say again, have respect only to the pure testimony of truth which is sure, and cannot err or alter, though man may change and err. That is the testimony which is held forth for salvation, even the testimony of God, with whom there is no shadow of turning.

Therefore all take heed unto yourselves, that you give not, nor receive, any offence against the Lord, and against your own souls; but know the seed of God in which stands the election, where the covenant of God is sure, and unalterable. A birth you must all know to be brought forth in you, which must inherit, and that is it which is born of the spirit, and doth obtain the promise. It is not that birth which is of the flesh, which works by willing, and running, and thinking. That obtains not the promise of God, neither is salvation showed unto it, but in patience, and in long suffering is the victory received, over all the powers of darkness which make war against the kingdom of God.

So all Friends, dwell in that which stops and limits all strife in the mind, and gives you victory over it. None must glory in the flesh, for that glory must be confounded; but let him that glories, glory in the Lord, in the spirit, and not in the flesh. And take heed that none of you abuse your liberty, which is in Christ Jesus, neither turn it into fleshly bondage, and thereby the just come to suffer, and the fleshly part come to rule above the seed of God; but dwell in the cross which suppresseth every high thought, and whatsoever is against God, in the first motion. Thereby you will be preserved from the enemy, which watcheth for evil against you, and seeks occasion against the way of the Lord. Mind that which keeps you pure; for it is the pure in heart that see God, and it is he that is of clean hands and of a pure heart, that inherits God's holy mountain.

And as concerning your afflictions, and sufferings, and trials, and persecutions; and whatsoever is laid upon you by the Lord, or by task: I say, bear all things patiently, and endure the things in long suffering. These things are but a moment, and they are not worthy to be compared with the price of God's inheritance; and if you dwell in the counsel of the Lord, all these things will be turned unto your good. In all trials and sufferings, the Lord's arm will be revealed, and these things must come to pass, that truth may appear in its beauty, in victory over all that doth oppose it. Vengeance is the Lord's, and he will repay; for he doth inquire after our blood, though no man lay it to heart, or consider the cause or unjust sufferings of the innocent, who are become a prey to the ungodly and unjust men, till God arise to plead our cause. Afflictions and sufferings are but to try and prove.

They are not to confound or destroy the Lord's people, and therefore in patience they must be borne, and the life of God felt, which gives dominion over all these things. And receiving all things as from the hand of the Lord, then in all things your peace will remain, and God's testimony will witness peace and acceptance with God.

And of all injustice, and abuses and cruelty acted upon you by any, at any time, keep account of it, and draw up in short and plain words, the occasion and manner of it, and at every quarter sessions let a true declaration of all unjust sufferings be presented in prudence and singleness of heart to the justices, or grand jury, by such as are wise and faithful. Appeal to the witness of God in them in such cases, that that of God in all men may witness for us. Let this be done, as cause is seen, at every sessions, in the wisdom and authority of God, that in all things justice and true judgment may be sought after, and in patience waited for, till the Lord alone, our King, and Judge, and Lawgiver, comes to reign over all his enemies; when all that now suffer for him, shall reign with him.

A servant to the churches of Christ,

EDWARD BURROUGH.

To the elect and chosen seed of God in London.

To the elect and chosen seed of God, most dear and precious, who are redeemed to God, and joined in covenant with him, and have tasted, and felt, and heard of the love and peace of the Father; and to all the faithful and called of God, who are partakers of the power and presence of an endless life. In particular unto you the flock of God, in and about London, who fear the Lord, and wait upon him, and over whom he is the chief Shepherd. The salutation in the Father's love, by me a brother and companion unto all the children of Sion, and chiefly unto you a friend in heart; and nothing more desiring for you, than your increase in God, and that grace, peace, love and fellowship from the Infinite Father of heaven and earth, may be largely increased, and abundantly multiplied amongst you, and in all your hearts,

that you may shine forth in the beauty of the Lord, and the garment of righteousness and truth may be spread over you all; and that the spirit of holiness may rest upon you, that the fruit thereof may greatly abound in you, and spring forth from you, whereby the Father, who hath begotten you, may be glorified through the nation, and among his saints through the world. My soul wisheth, that the fear of the Lord may be amongst you, and his terror upon all your enemies, Amen.

Dearly beloved, and much desired after in the Lord, the spirit of the Father is upon me, to put you in remembrance of these things of the greatest price, which belong unto your peace, which have been hid from you in the time of darkness, but now are revealed unto you, whereof your eyes have seen, your ears have heard, your hands have handled, and your hearts have perceived. Be not unmindful thereof, but take heed unto the precious treasure of life eternal, which the Father hath given unto you; I mean the knowledge of himself, who is manifest to dwell in you, and to walk in you, and to lead you, and to guide in all his ways of peace and truth. This is a treasure more desirable and of greater price, than the glory of the whole earth. Yea, it is peace to the soul, and gladness to the heart, and refreshment to the life, to feel and witness the teaching of the spirit of the Father, leading into all truth, and preserving out of all transgression.

Wherefore I beseech you all, let this be your whole desire, and the full practice in your life. Then shall the countenance of the Lord shine upon you, and his face shall make you glad, if in all things you look unto him for counsel, and wait upon the teaching of his spirit, which dwelleth in you, which the Father hath given unto you, because you are his children. This he requireth from you, that his own spirit in you, which hath begotten you, may be the root and moving cause of all your works and words, and herein will you receive acceptance with him, and peace from him, and righteousness in him, and everlasting joy by him continually. This is the inheritance, unto which you were begotten heirs, to possess for ever.

Therefore let your love, unity and fellowship be in the spirit, and let your knowledge, judgment, meeting, and waiting be in the spirit, and let your ministering and receiving be in the power of God, and in the spirit, and so shall you never suffer loss or condemnation; but all your works shall abide the fire, and shall not be consumed when the trial of all things comes, and the foundation of every work is discovered. I say again, if the spirit of life, even the spirit which quickens to God, the second Adam, who is the quickening spirit, be your guide, your leader and teacher in all things, then you shall have perfect peace with God, and your fellowship will be increased, and his presence shall go before you, and his righteousness shall be your justification and defence, and his covenant of life and peace shall be confirmed unto you.

There shall be no more going forth, but the tabernacle of God shall remain with you always, and his habitation shall be in you forever, and the promise of the Father shall be sealed unto you, and his mark, and express image written in your foreheads. He that quickeneth shall live in you, and not you unto yourselves; and hereby shall all know that he is your God, who liveth in you in power and dominion, and that you are his people who live unto him in truth and righteousness. This is the covenant and the promise to be waited for by you all, that you may be married to the Lord in righteousness and loving kindness, and your Maker may be your husband, and you subjected under his power, to rule over you, and to govern you in the way of peace.

And now, dearly beloved, mind that word of God which hath begotten you from death to life, and to be heirs of his inheritance of life. Feel the word which is quick and powerful dwell in your hearts, always dividing in you between the precious and the vile, and as a hammer and a fire, beating down, and burning up that ground and fruit which is in the disobedience, from which the cause of condemnation springs. So shall you be saved from every appearance of evil, and shall not be overcome thereby, nor led captive at the will of the enemy, but shall be saved from sin, and the wages thereof, and no condemnation shall be unto you, if your hearts be kept clean and undefiled, by the word of God which is pure, and sanctifieth, and is but one in all his children.

It begetteth unto one life, and to be of one mind and soul, and by it dwelling in the heart, is the increase of God received; though by the ministering of it, one may plant and another may water, yet it is the Father that gives the increase, who is greater than all. Unto Him the ends of the earth must look for salvation, and unto him must you all look, to partake of the increase of his hidden treasure daily, that you may be refreshed as the heritage which he hath chosen, and may grow therein, as plants planted by his own right hand, growing from strength to strength in him, and renewing your strength in him may not faint nor be weary.

And forasmuch, as mighty hath power and presence of the Lord and his love great unto [illegible] his voice to be heard, wh[illegible] to raise you unto life; and had the taste and feel[illegible] seen the way of life you should walk the[illegible]

[illegible] fe[illegible]ere, [illegible] see your [illegible]ments, and [illegible] all this [illegible]h con-

you all in the name and by the spirit of the Lord, therein to continue unto the end, having your faith established in the power of God, and your building standing on that true foundation which can never be moved or shaken, that perfect victory over death and the grave may be yours, and the powers of darkness may be trodden down through the obedience of the cross, whereby victory is obtained over all the world, and the affections and lusts thereof condemned. But such as go from the cross, perceive not the power of God, neither can overcome, but are overcome of the enemy, and shipwreck is made of faith, truth, and a good conscience, and the latter end of such is worse than their beginning; for the Lord is dishonoured, and their condemnation will be great.

Wherefore, my friends, be watchful and be armed with the strength of Christ Jesus, and feel his strength in you to resist the wicked one, that he may not touch you, to betray you of your life and peace, and bring you into condemnation; for I am not ignorant of the many temptations which are near unto you in that place. I say again, feel the strength and arm of God reaching to you, by which you may do all things; and dwell in his life and power, that ye may overcome by the Word of God, and by the testimony of Jesus. Then will your peace be increased, and your fellowship with God. As you overcome the enemy which would subvert your minds from the obedience to the truth, your rest in God will be sweet unto you, as you dwell where nothing can make afraid; sin and transgression being removed far from you, not having a place in you, but the life reigning which satan hath nothing in.

This is the freedom of the sons of God, who are redeemed unto him, to live in him, who being dead to sin, cannot live any longer therein; but are washed and separated from all the works of death. Death having lost his sting, cannot hurt or wound you; and the grave having lost its victory, it cannot overcome you who do witness this; for transgression is hid, and iniquity is put under, and life itself reigns through righteousness over all. Here the seed is brought forth, in which there is no iniquity seen, nor transgression charged against it, for it sins not; but rules over the sinner, and fulfils the righteous law of God, and doth his will in all things; and for this you must all wait to feel God's promise perfectly fulfilled in you, and sealed unto you by the Eternal Spirit.

Friends, feel the life of God in your own particulars, even the bread of life which comes down from heaven, which nourisheth the birth that is immortal unto eternal life, never to taste of death; and therein have fellowship in the covenant of life, and be at peace with God, and one with another. That is blessed of the Lord, where brethren dwell in unity, showing love, kindness and subjection one to another, being of one spirit, and like minded, serving one another in love, not exalting yourselves, nor accounting yourselves one above another, for that must come down with shame. But every one approve yourselves to God in all things, and be known to him, and not unto the world. Let his spirit witness for you, and approve you, and not man; and let the work of the spirit springing through you be the evidence unto all people, that you are by grace what you are, for this is well pleasing unto God, that his spirit witnesseth for you, and that love, unity and humility are amongst you.

None think of themselves above what the spirit of the Lord witnesseth, and worketh in them. Thus a sweet savour will be amongst you to the Lord, you being kept in his wisdom and counsel, in good order, and subject unto him, walking as examples of righteousness, to edify one another, and to be a strength one to another; and in all your conversations to be manifest to God's witness in all people. Thus shall you have praise of God, and be approved of him, and he will justify you in the sight of all your enemies. I write this unto the faithful, who do not minister self, but self your servant for Jesus sake.

And as concerning disorderly spirits, who are not subject to the wisdom of God, or to the law of Christ, such have no part with us, but are judged with the life of God, and cast out. Such as are not faithful in the Lord's treasure, and hear the word, but do it not, having the words, without power, and hold the truth in unrighteousness, have no reward in God, but their iniquity stands uncovered, and their transgression is manifest, and not hid. For death reigns through disobedience, and they are not circumcised in heart, but live in the flesh, and their portion is of this world, and the inheritance of life is not their heirship; for the birth which should inherit it is not brought forth, but an untimely birth, which receiveth not the possession of life.

But, Friends, dwell in the dominion over such, and in peace above them, and be not troubled, but believe in the truth, and bear all things patiently. Be not offended in Christ, though hitherto you have seen occasion of stumbling, yet the Lord will remove them, and the path of life hath been plain before you. To such as walk in the light there is no occasion of stumbling, but offences are seen through, and beyond, and the ground thereof judged. Therefore be diligent in the work of God; that is his work which his spirit calleth you unto, and that is his worship which his spirit leads you in, which exerciseth your hearts always to God.

Keep your meetings in the dread of the Lord

over all your enemies, that the weak may be strengthened, and the lambs fed; and watch over one another, as the family of God, among whom his dwelling is, who is the good Shepherd, that keeps his flock, and feedeth them unto eternal life, whose presence and arm be amongst you for evermore. Feel Christ the power and wisdom of God to reign in you, and govern you all. Farewell.

EDWARD BURROUGH.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON the 18th day of the first month 1659, whilst passing through Warwickshire, Edward Burrough fell into deep meditation on the sufferings and wrongs which his brethren in religious profession, were at that time enduring in England. Whilst thus engaged, he says; a cry ran through him, "The Lord will be avenged! the Lord will be avenged upon his enemies! He will avenge the cause of his people." The feeling which accompanied this opening was such, as to seal on his mind an assurance of its truth. He meditated upon it for a time, and the remembrance of the unjust and grievous persecutions which the infant society was undergoing, awakened a sympathetic feeling, so that his heart was much tendered and broken. Whilst in this state, he received this command; "Write unto the rulers, and yet once more warn them of that recompense, and of that indignation, which is at hand upon them, even a just recompense for all their deeds; and as they have done, even so shall it be done to them; as they have sought to destroy the generation of the righteous, even so shall they be destroyed from off the face of the earth; and as they have unjustly judged and condemned the innocent, so shall they be condemned, and justly judged of the Lord; and as they have cast the bodies of the poor lambs of Christ into prison, and been a snare upon them, even so shall they be ensnared, and into captivity shall they go. And as they have caused the goods and possessions of the innocent to be spoiled, and made a prey, even so in like manner shall the curse of the Lord spoil their substance. And as they have done, so shall it be done unto them; and as they have meted to others, so shall it be meted to them again." "And I saw a great misery and desolation nigh at hand, even the sword of the Lord; and that it should slay them; and I beheld it was made ready for the slaughter; and in the sense of these things a sadness fell upon my spirit, considering the desolation and the judgment that is at hand, to be executed upon the cruel oppressors."

Edward Burrough's prediction of trouble, to the then rulers in England, was amply fulfilled when under Charles the 2nd, the late persecutors were persecuted in their turn; when Episcopal priests, drove Presbyterian and Independent preachers from the parish steeple-houses; when the judges of king Charles the 1st were put to death, and fear and terror caused the chief leaders in the late commonwealth to hide in secret places, or to flee the country.

Passing on into Somersetshire, he had a meeting at Glastonbury, at the Market Cross. To this came Samuel Winney, the priest of the parish, attended by a band of drunken men with a drum. The priest addressed himself to Edward, and demanded by what authority he came there to preach? He received a prompt answer, couched in the scripture language, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God."

Edward then returning the query to him who put it forth; asked him to prove his call to the ministry from scripture. This question Winney was not pleased to hear, and did not feel prepared to answer; so he retired from the field of contest, leaving his drunken followers to dispute for him. This they did after their manner, by beating on the drum, by hallooing with strong lungs, and by knocking the Friends about in a rude and barbarous manner.

Leaving Somersetshire, Edward returned towards the eastern part of England, and soon felt a religious obligation to go over to Dunkirk, on the French coast, a town at that time in possession of the English. For many days he says, it appeared to be his duty to "visit and warn the papists, the jesuits, friars, and that whole company of idolaters," and "to sound the mighty day of the Lord among them." He went to Dover, and being accompanied by Samuel Fisher, who felt a similar religious concern, took shipping on the 6th of third month, and reached Dunkirk, on the 7th.

On arriving at this place, at which they were both strangers, "We waited in the will of the Lord, says he, to be guided by his wisdom what to do, and how to act and speak to his glory." The next day as they were walking the streets, the mayor of the place came to them, and demanded their names, and the business which had brought them there. To these questions the Friends gave "sober answers, and a reasonable account." It was soon known throughout the town, that two Quakers had arrived, and much curiosity was felt by the inhabitants, as to the occasion of their coming. The deputy governor Alsop, with his council of officers, sent for them, and conversed with them for some hours. The Friends were treated kindly, but Alsop told them, "he thought there would be danger attending their stay in that place. He was fearful lest divisions and

contentions should arise amongst the inhabitants, and the safety of the English garrison be brought into jeopardy." This result he probably thought would follow, if the principles and practices of the friars and jesuits, should be openly and honestly assailed by the Friends, in that Roman catholic city, the inhabitants of which were sunk in gross superstition. Alsop requested them to depart from the place. In reply, they frankly told him, that as they apprehended they had been divinely led there, they could not obey his command to depart, until they felt Him to lead them away, who they believed had sent them thither. Some preachers were present at this interview, probably army chaplains. One of them wished to enter into a public dispute with the Friends, on the call to the ministry, but the want of time, and the challenger's want of patience, prevented the discussion of the matter, although Edward much desired it.

On the 11th of the month, the two visitors addressed a letter to the deputy governor and his officers, in which they call themselves, "travellers in the labour of the gospel of Christ Jesus." They say, they came to Dunkirk "to be made manifest openly in the sight of all men, in our doctrines, principles, and practices, which are of, and from the Lord, and fully agreeing in all things with the scriptures of truth, which were given forth by the Spirit of Truth, as the holy men of God were moved." They add, that they came there in love to the souls of the people, and principally, as far as the Lord had shown them, "to discourse with the jesuits, friars, and priests, and to discover to them the errors of their ways, and the falseness of their worship; and to testify unto them, in the fear and power of the Lord, concerning their church, that it is not a true church of Christ, but a false church, come up in the apostacy."

They further say, they did not come to cause grief or disturbance to any; but add, "we dare not promise to you, nor ourselves, what we will do, or what we will not do; only this we say, if the transgression of any just law can be charged upon us, we refuse not to suffer what shall be imposed; and this we do believe, that the Lord will so help us, and order us by his Spirit of Truth, and carry us in meekness, and righteousness, towards you, while we stay amongst you, be it weeks, or months; that you will have no just occasion against us, by any offence ministered by us." They add, that if any offence is taken by the unthinking, without just occasion given, the shame and comdemnation will be on those who take the offence.

"We do give unto the Lord, and cannot unto men, the exercise of our consciences, say they, to be obedient unto the teachings of his Spirit in all things. If he commands to do, or not to do any thing, and you the contrary, we must obey him, though we disobey you, for it is better to obey God than man. When he bids speak, in what place or season soever, we may not be silent, for to keep our consciences clear in the sight of God in all things, by obedience to Him, is our care and study. No other promise can we make for ourselves, but to do and speak amongst you, as the Lord our God shall move us and lead us. And this testimony we do bear for the Lord, he doth not move us, nor lead us to do any thing, saving to what is just, good and holy, which may tend to the happiness and peace, and welfare of your souls and bodies also." In conclusion, the Friends offered to have a public dispute on the true call to the ministry, with the priest who had spoken to them on that subject the evening before.

The same day they went to the convent of the Capuchin friars, and in the garden belonging to the establishment, had a discourse with the chief man among them. The subject first spoken of was, the Light of Christ, wherewith all men coming into the world are enlightened. After this, Edward and his companion spoke to him of the mighty day of the Lord, when all would be searched and tried, and all popish idolatrous ways and worships would be destroyed. The next day, the 12th, Edward addressed a few queries to the Capuchin friars. He wishes them to tell him, "whether there was such an order of men and women as themselves, in the primitive church? Whether they can find authority from Jesus Christ for their worships, idleness and practices, unprofitableness to God and to man? Whether they are willing to have their religion tried by the scriptures? And if they are not, whether any are bound to follow them? Whether the world in your hearts, and the world's nature, even the root of lust, the root of pride, covetousness, and the love of this world and it vanities, and the root of idolatry, are subdued in you? To the light in your consciences I speak. What is the root of all these things? And what is it that subdues it? Is it an outward abstinence by the force of locks and doors, and bolts, or self-separated and secret places, that subdue the world's nature in men and women? Is it by such means that Christ gives victory over sin, and overcomes it in his people? Or is it not by the power of God in the heart only?"

"It doth not appear to me, that you have denied the world, as the apostles did. Where had they any such seats in the finest and fattest places of the cities and towns, as ye have? Such great, fine houses and gardens, and such revenues by the year as ye have, staying all their days in a great house, and spending their time in sloth and idleness as ye do? They

went up and down the world preaching the gospel, and had no certain dwelling place, but followed the Lamb of God in the spirit, and did not settle themselves in fat places of the earth, continuing all their days as ye do. Therefore we judge ye are out of the life, and not in the spirit the apostles were in, but in a form of righteousness and holiness, without the power."

He further desires to know of them, whether they have come to Christ Jesus in themselves? Whether they expect to be free from sin in this life? Whether they believe that men may come to be restored by the second Adam, into the same estate as was lost by the first Adam? In concluding he says; "If you be in the perfect truth, and would convert others to your religion, be plain with us and use your best spiritual weapons in your zeal towards us, and defend your cause, and appear for your God. If you doubt of your ways and practices, and be not able to defend your religion, then let your mouths be stopped, and turn from idolatry."

Whilst they remained in Dunkirk, they had various interviews with the Capuchins, the friars of the Recollects, and with the jesuits. They called to visit the nuns, but these after hearing a few words, interrupted them, to inquire whether they were of the order of those called Quakers. Receiving an affirmative answer, the nuns retreated from them, saying, they must not hear them. The Capuchins were light and scornful, and soon growing tired of the Friends and the truths they promulgated, they declined giving them an opportunity of conversing with them. The rector of the jesuits would not meet them, until Lockhart the governor of Dunkirk, who had been absent when the Friends arrived, had returned to that city. Lockhart spoke to the rector, and he then consented to see Edward and Samuel. He was subtle and crafty, and at first very high in spirit, apparently despising his opponents. But the truth in their mouths was too strong for him to contend against successfully; and after a discourse of three hours, he pretended that he had other business to attend to, and making his escape, refused to have any discourse with them afterwards.

On the 20th, Edward addressed to the jesuits, priests and friars, a paper, containing assertions to this effect:

1st. That the Romish church was not the true church of Christ.

2nd. That the constitution of the church, and the chief part of the forms of its worship and ordinances, were of man.

3rd. That there had been a general declension in the world, from true faith and doctrine, &c.

4th. That antichrist had reigned for generations.

5th. That the true church was yet in the wilderness.

6th. That compelling persons by outward law to conform to certain religions, and to persecute and kill them for matter of conscience, was a worship of the beast.

7th. That none are members of the true church, but such as are changed and renewed by the power of the Lord God in the heart, and are joined to Christ the head.

8th. That the time is coming, when Babylon shall be thrown down.

Many meetings Edward and his companion had in the town, and much service in the English army, with very little disturbance. Edward says; "I must commend the spirit of our Englishmen for moderation, more than the men of any other nation. I did many times clear my conscience among them, as they were men, sons of Adam; and in relation to an eternal state, did direct them to the way of happiness, out of sin and wickedness. That as they were sons of Adam in transgression, they might come to be healed, come unto Christ the power and wisdom of God, and might be saved."

Understanding that one of the chaplains had spoken against them, when they were not present, they proffered to discourse with him. He evaded the proposition, but told them, that if they would state some of their principles in writing, he would answer them in dispute in some public place. In conformity to his request, they prepared the following brief propositions:

1st. That Christ hath enlightened all men with a light, sufficient to bring them to salvation, if they follow it.

2nd. That God hath given Christ to be the Saviour of ALL men.

3rd. That none are justified by Christ and his righteousness, without them, but as they have received Christ and his righteousness, and witnessed them revealed in themselves.

4th. That the saints of God may be perfectly free from sin in this life, so as no more to commit it.

5th. That the national ministers and churches, not only of papists, but of the protestants also, as they now stand, are not true ministers and churches of Christ.

6th. That the scriptures are a true declaration, given forth from the Spirit of God, by holy men of God, moved by it to write them, and are profitable; but are not the foundation, nor the most perfect rule of faith and life, to the saints.

These propositions the Friends tell the priest in an accompanying note, they are willing and desirous to discourse upon, with him and any others in a public place, "provided it may be in the spirit of meekness, and moderation, and

that all fair and sober dealing may be amongst us, and the fear of God." The chaplain, it appears, did not wish to engage in a controversy with them, and endeavoured to shift the responsibility of refusing it from his own shoulders, saying "the governor was not willing."

Soon after the 20th, they took shipping for England, having performed at Dunkirk, all the service their divine Master laid upon them. Before the end of the month they had a meeting at Sandwich in Kent, in the parsonage house, where they met with George Fox and Ambrose Rigge, who were at this time holding meetings in that county. Edward and his companion held one also at Dover, in a great house, situated in the market place, belonging to Miles Temple, a captain of the town band. This was a good meeting, but when it was over the rabble set fire to the house in which it was held, intending to do the strangers an injury. The Lord preserved them, but the building was consumed. The two Friends then held a public dispute at the steeple house, with William Russell, one of the priests. The dispute was principally managed by Edward Burrough, and it was satisfactory to the Friends of Truth, who had reason to believe that it was the means of convincing some present. From thence Edward Burrough proceeded towards London, which he entered with George Fox on the 16th of fourth month.

A priest of Sussex having sent to a member of parliament, a manuscript containing a number of railing accusations against the Society of Friends, with the design of secretly prejudicing their cause, and the paper coming to the knowledge of Edward Burrough, he wrote a reply, entitled "Satan's design defeated," which is contained in his Works.

Richard Cromwell, in conformity with the wishes of the officers of the army, and against his own judgment, had dissolved the Parliament on the 22nd of the second month, and the political horizon in England began to give evident tokens of a change. He felt his power diminishing, and he had no mind through blood to build it up.

Edward Burrough had written an address to the Parliament just dissolved, exhorting them not to suffer "the exercise of pure consciences to be trodden down," "to remember the cause of God and of his people, to remember the groanings of the poor, and give ear to the cry of the oppressed, to relieve the guiltless sufferers, and break the bonds of iniquity, and let the oppressed go free. Do this lest ye perish."

In the fifth month, Edward Burrough delivered, or caused to be delivered, the following address to Richard Cromwell and his brother Henry, who now felt that their power and influence had departed from them.

To R. C., and H. C.

"Friends, Yet once more hath the Lord given me somewhat to say unto you, in love to your immortal souls. You had a glorious day of visitation, and many precious warnings from the mouth of the Lord, by his servants; but you rejected the counsel of the Lord against your own souls, and made no account of the servants of the Lord, which were sent unto you; but caused them, and suffered them to be persecuted by your power, and they were made a spoil and a prey to their enemies all your days.

"You sought yourselves, and your own honour, and you were exalted in pride and vainglory, and forgot God, who raised you up from a low estate, and you had no respect to the cause of his people. Therefore this is justly come to pass upon you from the hand of the Lord. Not that I rejoice in it, or glory over you because of it, only I tell you what is justly happened unto you, that ye may learn the Lord's just judgments in these things, like as formerly I warned you of it.

"It could not be otherwise but that the Lord would avenge the cause of his people upon their persecutors, and the injustice done unto them upon you, in whose name and power it was acted. In every generation he hath had respect unto his people's cause, and did avenge their cause in his season. This I well remember, I was once moved to speak in the name of the Lord unto your father, That these things that came to pass in his days, the cruelty and oppression of the Lord's people, would be recompensed and repented of in his children's days. I saw the cruelty and injustice that was done in his name upon the people of God, could not escape unpunished in a generation. It is now come to pass in a measure, and will be more and more, even for his transgressions and your own. All of you had a day and a time, wherein you might have done something for the Lord and his people. You had a price put into your hands, that you might have improved to the Lord's glory, and to your own renown, to have been a blessing unto yourselves, and to the people of God in these nations. But your day is over, and night is come upon it. Your price is taken from you, and given to others, and you cannot now work or act on the Lord's behalf, as once you might have done. You have sought honour to yourselves, and you reap reproach. Because you have despised the counsel of the Lord, therefore the snare hath caught you, which was laid for others.

"These things I say in pity for you, rather

than in boasting over you; neither do I commend that spirit which acteth in too much severity towards you, which upbraids you, rather than seeks to amend you. That is not my way. As for you, come unto the fear of the Lord God, that your iniquities may be pardoned; and seek peace with God, and reconciliation, and seek after the kingdom that endures forever. While ye have time, seek after a crown immortal, and wait to know that which will make you heirs of that inheritance which never fades away. The Light in your consciences, which Christ hath enlightened you with,—which lets you see sin, and convinceth you of your evil deeds;—that Light must you own to be your teacher. You must become subject to it in all things, or you have no part in the kingdom of God."

About this time Friends at Sabridgeworth, in Hertfordshire, were suffering much insult and abuse from the rude rabble, who were encouraged in their evil actions by Thomas Hewit, a magistrate known as a favourer of King Charles. The meetings of Friends for religious worship in that place, were much and frequently disturbed, brickbats were thrown amongst those assembled, to the endangering of life and limb, and filth was frequently cast upon them. The meeting house was almost destroyed by the mob, and when an account of this outrage was made to the said Hewit, he ordered his servant to turn the complainer out of his house. At one time he came as the captain of a company of volunteer disturbers, determined to stop Friends from entering their meeting house, and it was not until he had had a smart brush with some of the Commonwealth soldiers, that he and his party withdrew. The tories now deemed that the signs of the times were favourable to the coming in of King Charles the 2nd, and they began to talk and to act boldly in many places.

Edward Burrough, about the close of the sixth month, being in Hertfordshire, attended the meeting at Sabridgeworth. Whilst going to it, he was much covered with dirt thrown upon him by the mob; and seeing Hewit just then passing in his coach, he went to it and complained to him as a magistrate of the abuse cast upon peaceable people in his jurisdiction. Whilst engaged in laying the matter before the squire, one of the rioters came near and jerked off his hat, and another threw a rotten egg on his bare head. This so pleased Hewit, that he could not forbear smiling, although his coach received some of the unsavoury contents. One of the early Friends, after detailing the various acts of outrage committed on Friends, with the sanction and approbation of this magistrate, remarks; "He that disdains to be the servant of Christ, will stoop to a worse office."

From Hertfordshire, Edward returned to London. Here again he was full of business, labouring for the good of the religious Society of which he was a member, and of every individual of it, as he found opportunity;—preaching the Gospel as his Master gave him the word, and defending the doctrines of truth with his pen. On the 12th of the seventh month, he addressed the Parliament then assembled—the Long Parliament having again come into power—in a communication characterized by great plainness. It commences thus: "To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, the present authority of these nations assembled at Westminster. A presentation, by a faithful friend to the nation, in the name, and by the spirit of Jesus Christ, King of Righteousness and Peace; that you may take off oppression, and free the people from all their cruel bonds, that have been imposed upon their bodies, estates and consciences, in the days of the reign of Antichrist. That truth, justice, and righteousness may come nigh unto us, and the kingdom of the Son of God be set up among us; that you and we, may at last be free subjects of Christ's kingdom, where righteousness, truth and peace may run down, and be established for evermore." He acknowledges that during the long time that Parliament had borne rule in England, many cruel laws had been made void, and the kingdom of Antichrist had received many a wound. "There have been divers times the fair blossoms of the glorious appearance of truth, righteousness and peace. There have been fair promises and pretences made by many of you, as if the kingdom of Jesus had been at our door, ready to have entered our nation, whereby many good hopes we had, to have been made a perfectly free people ere this day, from the chains of Antichrist, and the false church, and from every branch thereof. But, alas! the glorious work of reformation hath been interrupted before our eyes, and the precious buds and good appearance of glorious fruits, have withered and been blasted in our sight. Our good hopes have perished,—our freedom hath been intercepted through the evil doing of unfaithful men. Antichrist's kingdom hath not been rooted out, nor the oppressive laws of the false church wholly broken down." "The cause of this hath been from some unfaithful men, that have neglected the good work of the Lord, once intrusted with them; and have sought themselves, and their own honour, and interests, and have sitten down at ease and rest in the flesh, glorying in the spoil of their enemies, and have thereby become unfaithful and unprofitable in carrying on the Lord's work.

Some have been of a sincere mind for a season, and made a good progress towards the attaining a kingdom of righteousness, and removing all oppressions; yet, when they have begun to seek themselves in this world, and to take unto themselves the honours, and titles, and possessions of their enemies, and so have been guilty of their enemies' sins, the good work of the Lord by them could not prosper." He then goes on to point out the yoke of tithes, and the forced maintenance of ministers, as some of the oppressions of Antichrist not yet abolished.

The long Parliament and the officers of the army could not agree, and many persons were in favour of a new Parliament; but Richard Cromwell had been removed from Whitehall, and with his brother Henry were now private men, and no power had been vested in any one to dissolve a Parliament. It seemed therefore impossible for a new election to take place, unless the body then sitting should vote themselves extinct, and make provision for the meeting of a new one. This they were not likely to do. The whole nation was agitated, and whether there was any supreme authority in England, and if there was, where it was to be found, was a matter of doubt and disputation. In the ninth month, Edward Burrough published an address, which he styled "A Message to the present rulers of England, whether Committee of Safety, so called, Council of Officers, or others whatsoever." He had felt a concern to speak the substance of this to the rulers but no way had opened for it.

"Friends,"

"My Master is a high, and mighty, and powerful prince, and very honourable; and fear, reverence, respect, and subjection belong to him alone, from you and all mankind. He is wise, and understanding, and of great strength, and his dominion is from everlasting to everlasting. He can do whatsoever he will in heaven and earth, for he rules with his iron rod over the world, and whatsoever he saith, it is done; for his word is an everlasting command. If he saith to a man, live, it is so; if he saith to a man, die, it cometh to pass; and if he give peace to a man, or a nation, none can make war; and if he make war with a person, or in a nation, no man is able to make peace. For why? He hath all power in his hand, and to him all judgment and authority is given; he is the Son of the living God, the everlasting Creator.

"He was, and is, and is to come; his eye beholdeth all things, and his arm compasseth heaven and earth; and what his purpose is, he hath always and will ever bring to pass. If he sets up rulers, they must rule; and if he pull them down, none can hinder. Whom he will, he honoureth; and if it be his pleasure, he bringeth men to shame. If he break a nation down, none can build it up; and if he confound powers and authorities in the kingdoms of men, they all fall as withered grass before him. Behold, ye men! He is so great and mighty, and of so great authority, that whatsoever he saith, it is done; and whatsoever he willeth, it cometh to pass. None is able to resist him, and overcome his power, when his pleasure is to accomplish a work.

"By him all things are that be, and all things live that have life, and through him all things move; and of his fullness, every creature in heaven and earth receives. And this, my Master, is altogether honourable in birth and otherwise, and altogether mighty in all his works. He is just and merciful, full of goodness, righteousness, and truth. All virtue dwells in him, and his judgment and mercy, his authority and meekness, and his wrath and his love, they are companions: and what are ye before him? Or how shall ye be able to resist him, or to turn backward what his purpose is, concerning you, and this nation? For ye have no being or breath without him.

"Behold ye men! Ye are verily as the dust before the wind, so are ye to him, soon blown away, and your place not found. As the grass before the mower, so are ye before him, soon cut down, and withered, and your beauty utterly extinguished. As a potter's vessel under an iron rod, even so are you to him, he can immediately break you, never to be bound up; as a drop to the fountain, so are you to him, soon dried up and made nothing. Wherefore, ye men, ye mortal creatures, ye ignorant persons, sons of a transgressor, ye dust and ashes; for thus you are in comparison of him, this mighty prince; hearken to his message, which cometh to you from him. Hear and fear, and be not stout-hearted against the Lord God, that is about to speak unto you.

"As for this little island of England, wherein your present place and being is, it is an island which the Lord hath shown great favour unto in ages past, and in this present time. I must tell you, he hath a purpose of love towards it, and to honour it in the view of the world, though through great tribulation. He hath an intent of great good unto it; for he hath a seed, a precious seed in it scattered abroad, and he hath a people that fear his name, and have walked in his ways, and he hath made them, and elected them, and what they are, it is by him; that he may dwell among them, and have the whole government over them all.

"Yea, he hath a speedy purpose verily concerning this nation, and he will purify it in judgment, and refine its inhabitants through the fire of tribulations, that it may be pleasant

to him, and fit to do his will. He hath a purpose to work some great thing in it, I must tell you, as he hath said unto me so to do. He will have his name exalted and reverenced in this island; and his terror shall be sent out of it through the world, and his branch from it shall spread over the earth. He doth purpose in his season to take it into his own hand, and to sway the government thereof with his own sceptre, and to set up righteousness alone, and to overthrow all oppressors and oppressions; and the kingdoms of this world must become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ.

"True it is, such hath been the coming to pass of time and of things for many ages bypast, that my Master hath been, as it were, banished from the nation, and hath not been suffered to enjoy his right; but hath been expelled, even, as it were, by the force of satan and antichrist, who hath long usurped authority over the inhabitants of this nation. In my Master's absence, lamentable injustice, cruelty, unmerciſulness, tyranny, and oppression have been exercised upon the inhabitants; and the poor creatures have been held in great slavery by their rulers, that have ruled by the dragon's power; and been kept in great blindness and ignorance, and under great oppression, both in body and spirit, by antichristian teachers, for these many years.

"While the great King hath been absent, and, as it were, gone into a far country; even all this time hath antichrist and the devil ruled and reigned, and have made and executed oppression, and tyrannical laws and decrees, both in church and state. All the nation hath been out of right order, and laid waste and barren of good fruit, and it hath been as a wilderness by reason hereof. Men that have ruled for many years, have not ruled singly by my Master's authority, but by another power; though not without the knowledge of my Lord, neither as though he had not power to have done otherwise. But for his own pleasure he hath suffered it thus to be, and let men go on to rule and govern in their own wills, and after their own lusts; and people have walked wickedly towards him, and towards one another; and all this he hath suffered. Not as if he gave toleration for it; for his messengers now and then, and his witness in people's consciences, have been reproving their ungodly ways. He hath often showed his dislike by divers ways, and tokens, and many judgments, and strange overturning, to the way and proceedings of both rulers, prophets, and teachers of this nation; but yet they have gone on against his mind, and contrary to his will, notwithstanding his reproofs and judgments. Not that he had not power to have executed his pleasure in wrath upon them, and to have destroyed them altogether, and have made the nation a heap, and as nothing long before this day. Power was in his hand to have done it; but he hath been long-suffering and of great patience, and borne all things, and taken the injustice, and cruelty, and wickedness and idolatry, and all unrighteousness that hath abounded in the nation upon himself, and suffered under it, and borne it for its season, while woful and lamentable oppressions have been practised in civil state, even hellish laws, and devilish executors of them.

"Merciless tyrants have borne the sceptre, and reigned for many years over the inhabitants, and in church and state have been heinous idolatry and superstitious vanities committed in a high nature and measure, and even all men, and states of men, and orders of men of every degree have been abominably corrupted in the sight of my Lord, even from the prince to the beggar, even rulers and subjects, teachers and people, judges and prophets.

"They have been corrupted both in heart and hand, and they have dealt falsely and wickedly towards him and towards one another; even to the great displeasure and vexation of him and his blessed spirit, and to the high provocation of him to their own destruction, if his long-suffering had not prevailed. All this while he hath lain as it were asleep, and at rest in himself. He hath left men to try them, what they will do, and he hath given them a day. Many kings and rulers, he hath let them have a little time, to see how they would use it, but they have abused it, and not ruled for him, nor accomplished his work nor fulfilled his will, but acted even in defiance of him, and of his power, and to his great dishonour.

"Alack! I must be plain with you: my Lord hath been utterly exiled, and greatly dishonoured, and highly provoked and vexed by reason of such proceedings, as have been in this nation for these many years, through the corruption of all sorts of men in place and power, who have not ruled for him, but for the devil to their own corrupt ends. He hath suffered men to go on in their course for a season; some as it were appearing on the stage for a time, and suddenly cast down again for their iniquities sake; and his hand hath been in all these things, though very privately and secretly, not known and discerned by the sons of men; yet hath he ruled over the kingdoms of men, and pulled down one, and set up another.

"And to forbear the several actings and proceedings of many by-passed ages, and to come to this generation, and to speak of things that have happened within these few years, and of the changing and overturning that hath happened in this nation; such was the cruelty, tyranny, oppression and idolatry both in church and civil state, that the people of this nation

were held under, in the days of papal power; such, I say, was the exceeding height of the cruelty and tyranny of that time, that not any that feared or reverenced my Lord, in any measure, could scarcely live, or have a being in the nation.

"Even against every man that did but incline towards him, and desire the knowledge of his ways, hell's mouth was opened, and they were swallowed, and many of their lives taken from the earth, by the hellish power that had in that day usurped authority in this island. When thus it was, then he looked down from heaven, and his bowels of compassion were opened, for the sake of the oppressed people that desired after him, in so much that he broke and threw down the power of their oppressors in some measure, as it stood in papal authority, and when the iniquity of that power was filled up, he took vengeance upon it.

"And I must tell you, it was he that brought it about, even the destroying of that power in this nation, and freeing the nation from it, though the men that were instruments in the cause were not his servants, otherwise than as Nebuchadnezzar served him. For he hath a secret way to have a service from the wicked, and such is his power, that he can turn the wickedness of the wicked to his glory, and he can make a rod to whip his adversaries, and burn it when he hath done, and he hath often destroyed one wickedness by another.

"But to leave that, though he did in some measure, free the nation from much tyranny and cruelty, in the casting out popish authority, yet alack! the nation in a few years was nearly as much violated by injustice and cruelty, under the succeeding power, as ever it was once under the papal power. Though before, there had been some small reformation and change in outward appearance, though little in ground and nature; yet oppression, and idolatry, and superstition, in church and state, and all profaneness and wickedness among people were grown so high, like as it had been under the papal power before. All that desired after the Lord, and were weary of iniquity, and of the then present oppressions and idolatries, were persecuted, and slain, and destroyed; and injustice and cruelty exercised upon them, even almost to the rooting out of righteousness, and to the grieving of the Lord's spirit.

"Then, because of the cry of the people, and the oppression of the nation under that authority, my Lord looked down again; and even for his name's sake, and for his seed's sake, he had compassion on this nation, to set it free, and to break off its oppressions. In a great measure he did deliver the people of this nation in many things, and there was a part of reformation wrought, and much pretended, and looked for. All this came to pass through him, and my Lord did accomplish it, however the instruments by which he wrought proved deceitful, and became oppressors, as others before them.

"And though there was in this nation a day of great troubles, and wars, and contention, and great strife, and the wasting of much blood and earthly treasure, and none of these things, I must tell you, fell without the ordering of my Master's hand: yet so it was, and came to pass, that after this nation was restored to peace, though much unrighteousness and injustice was removed, yet there was much also left behind. Men that he had used as instruments in his hand, in a good work, and to whom he had given wisdom and understanding, and appeared in much mercy and in great deliverance, yet they even turned to seek themselves, and became corrupted in the spoils of their enemies.

"When peace and plenty abounded, the Lord was forgotten again; and then the land fell under oppressors, and began again to cry out for freedom, even when other horns of the first beast sprang up, and went on each of them, after his fellow. And though one horn hath striven to break another, yet after one hath been cast down, another hath risen, and made an image to the first; and ruled and reigned by the same spirit and authority, derived from the dragon's power in cruelty and oppression; and made laws and executed them to the dishonour of the Lord, and to the great oppression of his people, and to the filling of this island with injustice and cruelty, even from one generation to another, until this day.

"Thus up and down have times and seasons been altered, powers and authorities changed and altered, statutes, laws, and decrees, changeable and alterable; for as the iniquity of one power was filled up, that was cast down, and another had its day, till the measure thereof was also filled up, that it might partake of the same judgments.

"In all these overturnings, breakings-down and overthrowings, the very hand of my Lord hath been, though secretly, and not discerned; yet his power hath brought about and suffered all these things to come to pass. And who shall charge him with injustice? Or, who shall say, 'What hast thou done?' Or, 'Why hast thou done it?' For, as I have said, he is a high and mighty prince, and can do whatsoever he will. He is the supreme power and authority, who rules and reigns in and over all the kingdoms of men.

"What though he hath used wicked men as an instrument to accomplish his work, and made the wicked his rod; and even brought it to pass, that one wickedness should destroy another, and one oppressor break down another,

and the kingdom of antichrist confound itself; yet what of all these things? All flesh must be silent before him, and all people and the whole earth must be subject unto him; for the government and dominion over heaven and earth is his, and all power and dominion belongeth to him alone, and all judgment is in his hand, to bring to pass whatsoever he will, and by whomsoever, as he pleaseth.

"But now, my friends, though I would not be tedious to you, yet must I tell you the truth, and faithfully deliver the Lord's message unto you. As concerning this last overturning, there was something of the hand of my Lord in it. He can, and will bring forth his own work and praise by it, and it shall be for the good of all his people, that wait upon him, though there was much ambition and corrupted ends in the instruments, and neither part were perfectly single to the Lord in their proceedings, but their work was tainted with the false idolatrous spirit of self-seeking. Yet notwithstanding, the Lord may bring forth his government and his pleasant plant, through and beyond all this, even out of another root, which yet appears not among either of them; and righteousness may arise in the nation, contrary to both of them, out of another stem, and he will set up his kingdom, and in the meantime leave one potsherd of the earth to break another.

"And as for you, that now sit on the throne and bear rule, whether committee of safety, so called, chiefly, though it is not without my Master, for he hath the knowledge of it at least, yet you are not the only men of his choice, truly called of him to the place of government, neither is your government the government of the Lamb, neither must it be forever established by him; its foundation is not blessed, nor can its building be prosperous. For why? Alas, it is but another horn of that fourth beast, that hath been made to rule over the world, and upon the earth for many generations. It is hitherto but a very little refined from the last, and is of the last, even as the eighth was of the seventh spoken of by that servant, Rev. xvii. 11, and it may also make war with the Lamb and his followers for a little season, and it may have a small measure of injustice and persecution to bring forth in the land, even till the words of God be fulfilled, and his kingdom be fully come, the way of which is but yet preparing by all these overturnings.

"And this your present government originally is leavened with the spirit of the old dragon, that hath killed the saints, and drunk their blood, and how should the Lord establish it? Nay, your kingdom may prove but small and little, and full of uproars and troubles, and little peace, and satisfaction and establishment in it to yourselves, or the people under you; but confusion will attend it, and fears will compass it about.

"This I must tell you, as you are men, you have your day of trial what you will do, as many others have had before you; and something you may and ought to do, if but to make the false church, more naked, and to scourge her, more than some others have done. Indeed my Lord requires something more of you, (as such,) to do, than others before you could do. You have a price put into your hands, which you may improve to the Lord's honour, and to the nation's good, and to your own happiness.

"If you will be faithful to the Lord, to do what he requires of you, and if you become meek and humble men, and fear his name, and deny yourselves, and not seek your own honour, nor any earthly advantage to yourselves; if you do thus, then my Lord will show mercy to you, and you shall not suddenly fall before your enemies, though many may rise up against you. Your days shall be lengthened, and the purpose of the Lord may be turned to your longer continuance, and not to your sudden destruction. If you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then shall you be honoured as men if not as an authority, and you and the nation preserved in peace, and the force of the wicked shall be turned backward, and you shall not suddenly fall.

"And the late sundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the steps of those that God hath cast out, lest you come to the same end of confusion and misery. For, as concerning that assembly of men, that last sat on the throne, something was done by them in their day and time, and in both their assemblings, in some things they served my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to smite his enemies. Yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were destroyed, but rather joined themselves to fight against the Lord and his people, and were hastening on towards the way of oppression and persecution. It was time for the Lord to remove them, and to lay them aside as an empty vessel, sometime useful; and to break them as a rod, sometime of service to be a scourge upon his enemies.

"And when the day of their trial was over, which God gave unto them, being no longer, at present, fit instruments for his hand, then he cast them into the fire. This his purpose came to pass upon them; so that they and the whole nation may be contented, and yield themselves subject to what he hath done concerning them. For they entering into the very same spirit of wickedness, of oppression and persecution, which the Lord had once reproved through them, and cast out by them; then was a rod raised up against them, even as they had been against

others and they were dealt withal as they had done to others. This was in the justice of my Lord's hand; and what hath mortal man to question his proceedings.

"And though some of you, (present rulers,) be looked upon as great traitors and tyrants in your dealings towards them; and doubtless the men of that party will seek vengeance against you, even by preaching and praying, and they will curse you in the name of their God, and seek continually your destruction, as such as have taken away part of their strength, and cast down their idol. But alas! all this is nothing; for the Lord doth not account as men; for these things must needs thus come to pass, for the furtherance of the kingdom and government of Jesus Christ, that it may arise through all. If you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them should not be reckoned in account against you, neither by God, nor good men.

"But if you of the army be always treacherous and disobedient towards him, and abuse your power, and disregard your price that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honour, and such self-seeking matters, and the cause of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppressed sufferers under you, as they have long been; even then shall you be cast aside with shameful disgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you in judgment. You shall be smitten more than any before you; your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your souls from the pit, nor your persons from the violence of men, no, nor your necks from the axe.

"If you be unfaithful, and continually treacherous to the cause of God, then shall you be left to the will of your enemies, and they shall charge treachery and treason upon you, and your persons and estates shall be given for a prey to your enemies; and you shall not deliver yourselves, neither will the Lord deliver you from the execution of merciless men; for my Lord shall leave the cruel hearted to plead with you.

"Wherefore, that you may be warned, I advise you to be faithful. Let not the cause of God fall, nor the cause of his enemies prosper before you; for there is no other way whereby you can be preserved, nor any other defence shall you ever find from the wrath of the Lord, and from the fury of your devouring enemies, than your faithfulness in God's cause. Therefore relieve the oppressed, and take off all oppression, break down all unjust laws, and set all people free from unjust burdens, and let all oppression cease, both in church and civil state, and even all oppressive laws, and unjust judges, and evil men in power. Let all these be removed, and the nation clean quitted and discharged, even from all men and laws whatsoever, that have held under oppression the persons, estates, and consciences of the good people of this land. Let the nation be corrected, and all orders and places of men, and laws and decrees be purified.

"This my Lord, the great King, requireth, and he will suddenly have it brought to pass in the nation, if not by you, then contrary to you, and to your utter destruction. This is the very substance of my message to you, that my Master hath given me to say unto you; and on his behalf I am come to claim of you my Master's long lost right. Let him have his right, from which he hath long been banished. I demand it of you, all ye whomsoever, that seem to bear rule in the nation. I charge you in his name let him have his title and prerogative, let him be Lord and King, wholly in his own kingdom. Let him have the exercise of his people's consciences by his own Spirit in all things relating to his worship and service; and let him have the full authority by his Spirit in all things pertaining to church and ministry, and faith, and religion.

"Let his Spirit have the alone authority to persuade and dissuade people from, or to, such or such ministry, worship, and practices of religion; and let all forced maintenance to ministers, and tithes, be speedily taken away. Let all laws and decrees whatsoever, made and practised in the days of antichrist, upon the bodies, estates, and consciences of the people, in oppression and unjustness about church and worship, and religion, be utterly repealed, and made void, and never more be in force in this nation. But let my Lord be sole ruler and governour, and have the full authority in his own kingdom, in all things whatsoever pertaining thereunto.

"And let no man henceforth hereafter be intrusted with the liberties of the members of Christ's kingdom, as they are such, nor to judge over them in any matters of faith and worship, but give that right and privilege wholly unto the Spirit of Jesus Christ. Unto him only it pertaineth to be whole judge, and to have full power in his own kingdom; and until you give him the right, and deliver up unto him his own kingdom, and the exercise of peoples' consciences in all things about religion, you shall never prosper, nor any that cometh after you, that shall in any measure abridge my Master of his proper right, from which he hath long been banished, as I have said. Till his right be given him, in the case aforesaid, he will dash one man against another, and none shall ever be established; but horn after horn shall be broken, and one power after another brought into confusion.

"And, therefore, ye men, do not strive with him in this matter, but yield unto him the exercise of your own consciences by his Spirit in you, and let him do so unto all others, even as ye hope to prosper, and upon the penalty of his sore displeasure upon you in this world, and in the world to come. Let just men, and righteous men, and meek men, and men that have the fear and wisdom of God in them, without acceptation of birth, or otherwise; let such men have the power and judgment committed to them, to determine in things between man and man. Down with all the false-hearted flatterers, that have ruled for man and not for God, and for themselves, and not for the good of the people; cast all such out from you; for the good among you is choaked by them. Down with all that judge for rewards; and away with all hireling rulers, that execute the law for money, and will not plead the cause of the poor without great fees. Down with all that will not serve places of trust without so large stipends.

"Away with all these things out of the land, for they are heinous oppressions unto men, and great abominations in the sight of God; and the land hath long groaned under the weight and burden of these things, and the earth is weary of them, and my Lord requires their utter dissolution, as being iniquities fully ripe, and having the guilt of so much cruelty, injustice and oppression lying upon the nation because hereof. Therefore this is the Lord's season to destroy them, and remove them out of the land; and if you be the instruments in such a work, it will be your greatest crown, and your perpetual honour.

"The Lord's purpose is one way or other to cleanse the land of all these and other oppressions whatsoever, that the people of this land may be a free people from all the heavy yokes of antichrist, which have long sorely pressed them down. And the purpose of the Lord is to break the yokes of oppression and tyranny from off the necks of his people; and therefore it is that he overturneth, yea, and will overturn, all men and authorities that shall oppose his work, and none shall be able to stand before him.

"The presence of my Lord is more dreadful to a nation, when he shows himself in wrath, than any multitude of armed men; and wo is unto you, if you be found opposing of him; and if you seek to stop his work, you shall not cumber the earth very long, nor oppress the nations many days. Wherefore consider, cursed will you be, if you be unfaithful in what you have to do on the Lord's behalf; for your hour passeth over, that is allotted you; and will be suddenly expired, never to be recalled, and then you cannot work.

"And whereas there is a great cry about ministry, for sending forth and maintaining, and encouraging a godly ministry, as you say:

"Now to this I do answer on my Lord's behalf, and I must tell you plainly; as for a true godly ministry, truly called and sent of God, such a ministry, and such ministers you can never be able to hinder. The Lord will send them out, maintaining them and preserving them, whether you will or no; and while you are troubling yourselves about such a matter, you are but meddling with things above your line, and out of your jurisdiction, while you act in such a case. For it belongs to his government to send out ministers, whom, and as he will, and to maintain them and defend them according to his own pleasure, and all this without you.

"Such ministers, truly called thereunto, and sent of the Lord, will not seek to you to be sent forth, or maintained by you, they will not be beholden to you in such a case; but even without you, and contrary to you, must they be sent out and maintained. So that the Lord will have a ministry in this nation purely of his own, and not of man, nor by man, and such a ministry you shall not be able to hinder.

"And I must tell you plainly, as for these men called ministers, in this nation, the way of their setting up, and sending forth, and the way of their maintenance, and the way of their standing and defence, and in every particular of their being such, they are the greatest and most woful oppression in the nation. Even the most abominable and unjust cruelties and tyrannies are acted through them, as any other thing in the nation; and they are, (as such aforesaid,) the woful cause of the nation's groaning under merciless dealing. There is upon their account, the guilt of blood, injustice, and oppression lying upon this nation. Their iniquities, their iniquities, cry for vengeance upon their own heads; for they are full, they are full, and the measure thereof is near finished, and God's eternal vengeance is their next reward from the eternal God.

"What shall I say of them, but this? The earth is oppressed by them, the inhabitants groan under them, and the righteous God is vexed through them, and they are the very men of high indignation and fierce wrath, and all their practices, as such, are the fuel of his anger, to be consumed by the fire of his jealousy. The nation is weary, and its inhabitants, and the Lord is weary, because of these men.

"And is this the ministry cried up by you as godly and pious? &c. Are these the men that the nation must be forced to maintain in their pride and idolatry? Is this the ministry that must be encouraged? Well, if these be the men, and this the ministry which must be established and encouraged by you, in so doing

you shall never prosper, but thereby gain the displeasure of the Almighty unto you, to bring a curse upon all your doings, even because hereof. For I must tell you, the hand of my Lord is against them, and whosoever shall seek to defend them shall not prosper in their doings, because their oppressions, cruelties, deceits and abominations, are nigh finished and fulfilled.

"Wherefore take heed unto yourselves, for this is my Master's advice unto you: let this ministry alone, and join not yourselves to Baal, lest you perish, neither take part with antichrist any longer, neither be ye fighters against the Lamb and his kingdom; but free the nation, and let all its inhabitants be freed from the cruel tasks and yokes of such men, and such a ministry as aforesaid. Uphold it not against the Lord, for if you do, you shall never be established; this is from the mouth of my Lord unto you.

"And, last of all, my Master hath a people in this nation, even a suffering people, that have borne the burden of the cruelty and injustice, and wickedness, both of rulers and teachers, who have, as it were, trodden them down, and made them a very prey to their devouring mouths. The very cry of their sufferings hath reached unto heaven, and the very sound thereof your ears have heard. This people are greatly beloved, and my Lord will assuredly honour them, and his hand shall be continued to preserve them and defend them against all their enemies whatsoever. He doth reserve them to himself, and for a glorious work that he hath to do by them; and he hath formed them for himself, and they cannot join with any of the horns of the great beast, neither can a place of honour pervert them from their perfect way.

"My Lord compasseth them about on every side, and hath kept them in the midst of trials, reproaches and sufferings, and covered them in the heat, and in the storm, till his pleasure is to make further use of them. They are his, and not their own; and they must fulfil his will, and none besides. They lie at rest in him, while mountains are overturned, and while one potsherd of the earth breaks another; and this must be even till the appointed time. To say no more of them, though much more might be said, they are had in remembrance before the Lord, to do with them even for his own glory, and for the nation's perpetual good.

"To the authority of the Most High, through them, shall kings of the earth, and nations of the world bow and tremble. Wherefore, ye men, touch them not, neither do ye afflict them, even as you hope to prosper. Remember their cause, and suffer it not always to be rejected, as it hath long been. Keep yourselves free from the injustice and cruelty of them that have gone before you, who have been merciless, and oppressors of that people, even till my Lord hath confounded them, and brought them into confusion; for there is the weight of blood, tyranny and oppression, lying upon the nation in that people's cause, and my Lord will avenge them in his season.

"Though they are not weary of their sufferings, but are in the patience which beareth all things, yet the nation can never be happy, nor its government ever blessed, while this people are held in bondage. Their sufferings are deeply considered of the Lord, and the season thereof is drawing towards an end. When this cometh to pass, then wo unto the kingdom of antichrist, and to the false [church and] prophet, even when their strength is dried up, by which they have made war against the Lamb and his followers: yea, woe unto them. Great fearfulness shall be upon all the world when the King of that people reigns upon the earth, and the time is at hand. Blessed is the man that waiteth for it, and blessed is he that is not offended in his coming, but is prepared to receive him in his appearing, which suddenly cometh upon all the world.

"Thus I have told the Lord's present message unto you, which I received from him, and thus far I am clear; and whether you accept it or reject it, my peace and reward is forever with him, who am a subject of his kingdom, and a friend to this nation, however otherwise judged by ignorant men.

"Edward Burrough.

Ninth month, 1659."

How strongly prophetic the language in the foregoing,—"Your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your necks from the axe; your enemies shall charge treason upon you, and if you seek to stop the Lord's work, you shall not cumber the earth very long." Monk was about preparing to move into England with the army from Scotland, and then came the Restoration, with its train of imprisonments, banishments, confiscations, and death.

CHAPTER IX.

In the ninth month, 1659, after writing the Address to the rulers given in our last chapter, Edward Burrough left London. In the same month we find him at East Hamstead in Berkshire, at a public dispute, which was held on the challenge of the priest, Christopher Fowler, and some of his clerical brethren. Two positions affirmed that day by the priest, were that "The Scriptures are the glorious everlasting foundation of foun-

dations;" and also, that "A man may at one and the same time, be a minister of Christ and a deceiver." Little good appears to have resulted from this meeting, for Fowler hastily withdrew, and Edward unavailingly sought to have another opportunity with him. On the 26th of the ninth month, soon after Edward had passed out of that neighbourhood, Christopher Fowler drew up a paper against the people called Quakers, consisting of ten particulars. He said he was able to sustain these charges against them, and was willing to let them choose their own time for a public debate, and it might be as soon as they pleased. Edward Burrough received a copy of Fowler's paper, and sent him word that on fourth-day, the 21st of the tenth month, he would meet with him at Reading.

Fowler perhaps did not desire to debate with Edward, at least he declined meeting him at the time and place designated, although in the challenge he had left this to be fixed by the Quakers. He said Reading was not a suitable place, proposed Oakingham in the same county, and suggested another time. Edward came to Reading two days before the time he had appointed for the dispute, and there he received the priest's reply. He had appointed meetings at divers places, and he found that he could not be at Oakingham at the time designated. He also considered Reading, the town where Fowler preached, as the most suitable place for the dispute. Accordingly he wrote to Fowler, letting him know that he was at Reading, ready to dispute with him, but could not be at Oakingham at the time he designated. Fowler in reply, said, he would not meet him at Reading, for there was no need of dispute there. Edward finding that the public dispute would fall through, answered the charges in print.

Thomas Curtis was with Edward in his travels through Hertfordshire, and perhaps James Naylor. They passed northward into Buckinghamshire, and in the tenth month held a meeting at a place called "The Grove," about a mile from the house of Isaac Pennington. This meeting was remarkable as that at which Thomas Ellwood was convinced of the truth of Quakerism. The whole ministerial service of the meeting fell upon Edward. Thomas says the ministry not only convinced his understanding, but warmed his heart with a heat, which till then he had never felt under the ministry of any man.

When the meeting was over the three friends went to the house of Isaac Pennington, where Thomas Ellwood, with his father and sisters, were on a visit. In conversation with Edward, Thomas's father advanced the Calvinistic doctrine of personal predestination, in opposition to the universal free grace of Christ Jesus, but he soon found himself at a loss for argument to sustain his position. Edward said little in reply to him, but James Naylor took up the subject, and as Thomas says, "handled it with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration, that his reasoning seemed irresistible; and so I suppose my father found it, which made him willing to drop the discourse. As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man, of a ready tongue."

"The next morning we prepared to return home, that is, my father, my youngest sister, and myself; when having taken leave of our friends, we went forth,—they with Edward Burrough accompanying us to the gate, he there directed his speech in a few words to each of us severally, according to the sense he had of our several conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asked him what he thought of us? He answered them, as they afterwards told me, to this effect: 'As for the old man, he is settled on his lees; and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it.' Surely that which he said to me, or rather that spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for."

A few weeks after this interview, Thomas Ellwood going with Isaac Pennington to a meeting at Wiccomb, again met with Edward Burrough, who had come thither from Oxford. It was a monthly meeting, "consisting of Friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts; so that it was pretty large." Thomas Ellwood says, "A very good meeting was this in itself and to me. Edward Burrough's ministry came forth among us in life and power, and the assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small capacity, had a share in it. For I felt some of that divine power working my spirit into a great tenderness, and not only confirming me in the course I had already entered, and strengthening me to go on therein; but also rending the veil somewhat further, and clearing my understanding on some other things which I had not seen before."

"Edward Burrough going home with Isaac Pennington, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to. For the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough, through whose ministry I had received the first awakening stroke, drew me to desire his company, and so away we rode together. But I was somewhat disappointed of my expectation; for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement to have opened myself to him, and to have poured forth my complaints, fears, doubts and questionings into

his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reached, and that the witness of God was raised, and the work of God rightly begun in me—chose to leave me to the guidance of the good spirit in myself, the Counsellor that could resolve all doubts, that I might not have any dependence on man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me; yet at this time he kept himself somewhat reserved, and showed only common kindness to me. Next day we parted, he for London and I for home."

This was about the beginning of the eleventh month. In that same month, Edward wrote a postscript to Francis Howgill's "Heart of New England hardened through wickedness." This contains a sharp reproof to that hard-hearted, liberty-loving, as well as liberty-restricting people. It thus concludes: "O, have you forgotten since you were sufferers yourselves? Then it was well with you,—far better than now. You are at ease in the flesh and have forgotten God, and lost that sincerity which once was in you. The very spirit of the old Bishops which once persecuted you, has entered into your hearts, and now lives in you and acts in you. In the days of your prosperity you are exalted, and have forgotten the Lord, and you requite him evil for his love." This is very descriptive of the spirit manifested about the time this letter was written, and for many previous years, by the magistrates and priests of the Massachusetts colony. Edward's feelings were keenly sensitive to the sufferings of his fellow-believers, and he laboured fervently in various ways to stop the persecution then raging against them in New England.

On the 24th of the eleventh month, he wrote the following letter to Parliament:

"Friends,"

"All these overturnings, and almost wonderful changings, were effected through the justice of the Lord's hand. You are now again at the helm of government, and on the throne; and I dare not but say it is of and by the Lord, and that he hath done it contrary to the expectations of many; and what his end is in it, remains with him. But I am sure one cause is, that you may execute part of his wrath upon that treacherous generation of hypocritical and deceitful men, some of the army I mean. I need not say to you, how that many of them were raised up from a low estate; and, instead of serving the nation, became their lords and oppressors. They have abused the Lord's mercy to them, and exalted themselves, and became as great oppressors, and as grievous to the nation, as ever they were that went before them. Some of them took the very tithes and estates of their enemies, and followed their evil spirit also, though the Lord was long-suffering to them, and gave them a day, and put opportunity into their hands, wherein they might have done good.

"But they also neglected to serve God and the nation, to serve themselves; and because of the ambition and pride of some of them, the Lord suffered them to make this last interruption upon you, which was great treachery in man's account, that thereby their measure might be filled up, and that he might give you occasion against them, and suffer you to be filled with indignation towards them, to break them to pieces. What you do to some of them, in casting them out, and afflicting them, you are but God's executioners therein; you are the executioners of his anger, in what you do to them; and who shall prevent you, or forbid him to go on? For they have long enough dissembled with this nation, in professing more than others, and doing less, and their downfall is now. And God hath looked upon you, to be hard-hearted and cruel enough, and very fit executioners of vengeance upon such men, as I have mentioned.

"But now concerning you, and your present state, as you are in present place and power, I have something to say to you. Though they are fallen, and you yet stand, and you have a little time after them; do not glory over their fall, neither glory as though you should stand for ever; for they were not greater sinners than you are, neither are you one whit more righteous than some of them; but you are as sure to fall, as they are fallen, with no less measure of dishonour and affliction than is come upon them; and you are in your last hour. I dare not say, that God expects much more from you, than for the end aforesaid, viz, to be the executioners of justice upon men as sinful as yourselves; so do not glory over them that are fallen.

"But know that your time also is but short, and your fall may prove to your destruction, and theirs may prove to make them better, and refine them. If God hath chosen you to execute some part of his wrath upon them, for their wickedness, he will doubtless find instruments to execute his wrath upon you, else he will do it with his own hands; for he purposeth not to spare you; for your sins cry as loud as any other people's, and the oppressions are as great under you, as under them whom you condemn. I desire, if there be any good men amongst you, that such who are wise may consider, and mind the hand of the Lord in and through all these things that are come to pass; for God is working as well as you, he is seeking to set up a kingdom as well as you, and his government

and your's cannot stand together; and he will make you know that he is stronger, and his government of more force, and your kingdom cannot stand in place with his.

"Therefore, Oh that you would take heed! Oh that you would be wise, if so be some of you may be spared. And be not too zealous in your way, nor too furious in your proceedings; do but to others as you intend to receive from others, and from the Lord. Go not beyond your commission; for a permission at least you have had from God, even to scourge hypocrites, and to be a judgment upon that hypocritical, seeming religious generation of men aforesaid, which have many a time as it were mocked God, and pretended love to him with their lips, when their hearts have yearned after self-honour, and the treasures of this world. I say, your present hour and permission is for this end, but not to persecute the people of the Lord, nor to destroy God's heritage; but if you shall extend your power unto such a work, and if you do persecute the innocent without cause, and make war against the Lamb and his followers, and make laws and execute them to the oppression of the saints of the Most High, then you go beyond your commission; for God hath not called you unto this, but to be instruments in another cause.

"The children of Zion, trust in the living God and fear not the terror of mighty men, neither can they be afraid at the roaring of the sea, nor at the present threatening of the heathen, for God is with them. I say unto you, the servant of the Lord hath pondered and considered all these proceedings, and viewed the present state of things at this day, and there is no vision from God unto you of peace and comfort, nor of a happy and lasting government, as you stand. If any prophet shall divine this unto you, he speaks what he hath not from the Lord, but the vision of his own heart, and he deceives you and himself; for you are not established upon a right foundation, neither are you acted by a right spirit, which can truly govern for God; but the spirit of wrath and fury is put into you, for the work to which you are called. I know not how to warn you, that you do not persecute the people of God. For why? It may be you must fill up your measure of wickedness thereby, that God may break you perpetually; yet the less will be your judgment, if you do it not. But if you do it, the Lord will take occasion against you, to wound you, and you shall never be healed, and as you do afflict others, so and much more shall it be done unto you from the Lord.

"Wherefore, consider what I have said; for this is the vision of the Almighty unto you, that shall not go unfulfilled. What you do, you must do it quickly; for your time is short, and your power will God subdue; and his kingdom and power will he speedily exalt over your heads, and make you and the nations know that he is God, and that all power is with him, and that he can do whatsoever he will; and it is his right alone to reign, and his children's portion to possess the kingdom with him. Let the whole earth, and all the powers thereof, bow and tremble before him; let not your hearts be stout and rebellious against him, for he can grind you to powder, and sink you into confusion and misery, as a stone into the sea."

This was directed for the hands of the speaker in Parliament, and accordingly was given to William Lenthal, being inclosed to him with these lines following:

"Friend,

"The inclosed I do commend unto thee to present unto the House, and to endeavour sincerely the reading of it in your assembly; for it is of special concernment to you all. In the name of the Lord, and by his Spirit, I do charge thee not to be negligent in this matter, as though it were not of worth to you. I lay it upon thee, as thou wilt answer the contrary at the dreadful day of God, when the King of righteousness shall judge thee and all mankind.

"EDWARD BURROUGH.

"The 24th of the eleventh month, 1659."

About the close of 1658 Edward Burrough had met with a paper circulated for signatures, which purported to be a free call to William Brunsward to exercise his ministry at Kendal. On this, Edward had addressed some queries to the said Brunsward, relative to his call to the ministry and a few other subjects, concluding with a proposition to hold a public discussion with him at Kendal. No notice was taken of this challenge, but Brunsward soon afterward attempted to revenge himself on Edward, for the doubt insinuated in the Queries as to his true call to the ministry, by writing a book, entitled "The Quaker-Jesuit, or Popery in Quakerism." This book was answered by John Story, in a tract called "Babylon's defence broken down, and one of Antichrist's warriors defeated." Edward Burrough added some remarks to this, publishing the Queries he had formerly sent to Brunsward, and renewing the challenge to meet him at Kendal. He says, "These things I am willing to travel through in discourse with thee, the said William Brunsward, or any other that shall accept of the propositions, with the consent of the mayor and aldermen of the town, who may preserve the place and people in peace and soberness; also provided, that each of us on both parts may have full deliberation to speak forth our minds pertinently to the matter, and

that each may have silence from the other, whilst he is speaking; that all fair and sober dealing be amongst us, and the fear of God."

Addressing Brunsward and his party in Kendal, he says, "I am a lover of your souls, and a friend to righteousness; and daily travail in the work of the Gospel to the intent that sinners may be converted to God, and the saints be strengthened in the faith which gives them victory over the world; and I wait for Zion's redemption, and for the overthrow of great Babylon, that hath ruled over the kings of the earth."

About this time an Address, signed by sixty-one ministers of the city of London, was published under the title of "A Seasonable Exhortation;" in which they treat on the present distracted state of the nation, in respect both to civil and religious affairs. Among the evidences of the deplorable condition of the nation, they adduce "The many horrid and hideous errors which for some years past have abounded, against the authority of Scriptures, the deity of Christ, the Holy Ghost, Trinity of persons, immortality of souls, doctrines of repentance, humiliation, sanctification, resurrection of the dead, and the eternal recompense of heaven and hell," "and the divers sects increasing every day in number and power, and under the names of Quakers, Ranters, Seekers, &c., oppugning the received doctrine and unquestionable interest of Christ Jesus."

To these heavy accusations against the society of Friends, Edward Burrough published a reply, entitled, "A Return to the Ministers of London," in which he successfully refutes the accusations, and gives much pertinent advice to the authors of them. From this Essay the following is extracted, viz:

"That many horrid errors have abounded amongst you, is very true, as in many particulars might be instanced. But why do you maliciously charge the Quakers with opposing the interest of Christ Jesus? The Lord shall judge you in his day, when he makes it appear to all the world, that those whom you charge with the contrary, are the very friends of Christ's interest, and have been patient sufferers for his name sake, under the wickedness of your generation. As for the Ranters, Seekers, and others, whom you have reckoned up with the Quakers, it is well known that we are in opposition in spirit unto all these, and have given large testimony in the fear of God against them." "What the Seekers, Ranters, Familists, and the rest mentioned by you, do hold, as in these things you have charged them with, I will leave that, for I am not now pleading their cause, but the cause of God and his people, whom you in scorn called Quakers. And though you have joined them in accusation with others, yet I must separate them from others in my answer, and must tell you in the fear of the Lord, that you have belied them, and falsely accused them. For they do not deny the authority of the Scriptures, but give that authority to them, which the spirit of God that gave them forth hath formerly given. Neither do they deny the Deity of Christ, but do say, In him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead; neither do they deny the Holy Spirit, nor the Father, Son, and Spirit, but say there are three, and these three are one; but as for your Trinity of Persons, that is language beside the Scriptures. We do affirm the soul is immortal: and as for the doctrines of repentance, humiliation, sanctification, resurrection from the dead, the eternal recompense of heaven and hell; these doctrines are publicly held forth by them in words, and also in practice, more than by yourselves. Therefore with what face you could charge them with the denial of these things, is almost wonderful. There are thousands of your congregations that are and have been sometimes hearing [them] in your city, that shall bear witness against your accusations, and give evidence that they have heard them whom you call Quakers, give faithful witness of and for all these things which you charge them with the denial of. Do you think that your congregations are all so blind as to receive for truth what you have herein spoken; nay, I must tell you, some of them are offended with you because hereof."

On the first day of the third month, 1660, Edward Burrough being in Oxfordshire, felt a concern that his brethren should be preserved in the true place of spiritual safety, amid the tumults, agitations, and fears which were shaking the nation, at the bringing in of King Charles II., and addressed them in an Epistle which contained the following:

"Dearly Beloved,

"Whom the Father hath called and chosen into the election of eternal salvation, and who have handled, and tasted, and felt of the judgments and mercies of the Lord; and amongst whom the God of heaven and earth hath appeared in his Spirit, and in his power, which hath begotten you into the heirship of the heavenly kingdom.

"Oh Friends! our kingdom and victory are not of this world, nor earthly, but from above, and spiritual; wherein we have peace and comfort, endless and everlasting, which the world knows not of. I say unto you all that know these things, Live in the peace, and victory, and kingdom which is invisible, and mind the things, as your greatest treasure, that pertain

to that kingdom, even the weighty matters of it, which are eternal and infinite; and that every one of you may feel and enjoy a portion in that kingdom. It is precious for a people to be subjects of the heavenly kingdom, and for a man to have an assurance of life and peace in God; to be an heir of that kingdom that fadeth not away, and to have his name written in the record of Life. Blessed is every one whose hope and confidence, and peace and assurance are in the living God, and whose soul resteth under the government of the Almighty, and who knows him to be Judge, King, and Lawgiver in all things. This is the kingdom that is heavenly, and is altogether blessed; for peace, and truth, and righteousness, and all virtue are enjoyed in it for evermore.

"Now Friends, you must all be subjected in all things under the power of the Lord God, and unto his will, and he must work in you to will and to do; for in this is true rest and peace unto the soul, where the will of the Father is done and suffered in all things, and not the will of man, which worketh sorrow to the creature, and not peace, in the obedience to it, and where it rules. That must be subjected in you, even in every word, work, and motion, unto the eternal Power, that you may die, and Christ may live. In this you will have union and fellowship in spirit with the Lord God, and he alone will be your trust and confidence, and your glory. If he live in you, and walk in you, then you are his people, and he is your God.

"Friends are to mind this, even peace, and union, and fellowship with the Lord, and the comfort of his presence, which is the only happiness of the creature, even the enjoyment of him that is invisible, who is God infinite over all, to whom mortal eye cannot approach, neither can the mortal mind apprehend, but in his own life manifested in mortal flesh, and by the measure of his own Spirit that dwells in us is he seen, felt, perceived, and enjoyed of us. So mind the immortal life begotten of the Father in you, that that may live in you, even the Heir of God, which is his image and likeness, for in that alone is covenant with God made and kept, and in it is the Father's presence enjoyed, and he worshipped without respect of time, place, or visible thing. If that live in you, then you in that will live unto God, in all that is answerable unto him. Your words and works will be accepted of him, and well-pleasing to him, even because it is he that worketh in you to will and to do all good things. He alone is exalted in you, and you subjected, and the Maker is become the Husband, and you married unto him. He lives in power, and rule, and command, and you live in subjection unto him, and in fulfilling his will in what he guideth in, by his Holy Spirit. And this life is very precious.

"Oh, Friends! live in it, and dwell in it always, and then your joy and peace will be over all this world, and you will be comforted when fear and terror comes upon all men. For the Lord God whom we serve and worship in the spirit, will cause his enemies to know his power; and that he doth and can do whatsoever he will, and will smite his enemies, and wound them in their consciences; for all power, dominion, and authority are with him, he is mighty to save, and mighty to destroy, and his reward is to every one according to their deeds.

"This is the God whom we fear and worship, and all flesh must bow before him, when he shows his presence; though men be high and lifted up, and go on in rebellion against him without fear, yet the hand of the Lord will be upon them, and he shall smite them with the rod of his mouth. Wherefore all Friends, have respect unto the Lord in your hearts in all things that you do, and in all things that come to pass, for that is blessed in a people; and they shall prosper, their souls shall be nourished, and their lives refreshed with the mercies of the Lord, even all they that wait upon the Lord, and have respect unto him and his eternal power, which doeth and suffereth all things that be. In this power you must dwell and walk, and feel it in your hearts, and it will be your armour and defence in all things, and it will carry you through all that which worketh contrary.

"It is very precious to be armed with the armour of God, in the day of temptations and trials, that you may not be overcome of the wicked, nor spoiled of the heavenly inheritance. Oh Friends! put on strength, that you may stand, and never be moved from the hope of eternal life, and feel the renewing of your inward man, even the increase and growth of the immortal life in you, that you may live in that unto the Lord God, and that your covenant with him may be preserved, whereby you may be a praise and a glory to him in your generation in the sight of the whole world.

"You who have tasted of the presence and power of the Lord, and who have known his mercies and judgments, and been acquainted with him, may you be kept faithful unto the end, and not be subverted by the wicked one, nor drawn from obedience to the truth, nor lose your crown of immortality, neither by the flattery nor terror of the ungodly, but that you live in the dominion of immortal life, which keeps above all temptations and terror, and gives authority over all. This life is blessed, where the glory and peace of this world, and the troubles and sorrows of it also, are seen over, and felt beyond, and nothing of it can move the heart, nor disquiet the spirit, nor work

any separation from the Father's love. In the Seed of God, where it lives above mortal, is this enjoyed by us and all the faithful.

"But if the man's part live above the Seed of God, that will be drawn aside by the love or by the terror of this world, for that is changeable, and the evil one hath a part in it. So that part is to be kept in subjection in you, under the Seed of God, and it must bear the cross of Christ always, else you will be overcome of the wicked. For in that part (the man's part) which is of this world, the devil hath something, a place to receive him, and part to obey him; but in the Seed of God he hath nothing, neither place nor part. And so Friends live in the Seed of God, for in that is your victory and heavenly dominion, and also your election and assurance for ever, even in the second birth, begotten of the Father; for that is the Heir of God, and therein doth man inherit eternal life, and rest and peace to his soul. Therein are blessings and peace, and life inwardly and outwardly, and all fulness is enjoyed. Here the Lord is the Teacher, the Father, the Shepherd, the Master, the King and Judge. He is become to us the all in all, and the kingdom is delivered to him, and all subjected under him, even God with us, the Substance of all, the End of all. All the contrary is put under, even the lion and the lamb laid down together, and man lives in peace according to the promise; and the mountain of the Lord's house is established on the top of all, in which nothing can destroy or hurt the pure life; but life is in dominion over all, and death is swallowed up of it.

"Oh Friends! this is the mark that is before you. Press on towards it, that you may obtain the final end of all your travail and waiting, of your obedience and suffering, the end of your hope and patience, and the very end of the message sent of God, and delivered to you by us. The end of all is this, "That you may dwell in God, and he in you, and be gathered up to him, to be ever with him; and that he may be your all in all, and you may be to him an honour and praise throughout the world, in your generation; even he your only God, and you his people.

"Friends, certain it is, that the way of life, and peace, and of salvation is made manifest unto you, and you know wherein everlasting peace and reconciliation with God stand. You also know, what the cause is of all trouble, and sorrow, and condemnation. The Lord hath opened many hearts, and given unto many a good understanding. And seeing you know this, live in the way of peace, and escape the other, that you may not come into condemnation; for it is a fearful thing to fall into the condemnation and wrath of the Almighty.

"For this cause, that men should be *saved from wrath, and have peace with God, the Lord hath sent abroad plentifully in this nation the message of life and salvation*, and you have received it, and believed the report, though many have rejected it to their destruction, whose judgment will be upon them. But you have tasted, handled, and felt of the Word of eternal life, by which the Lord hath wounded you, and healed you again; and many hath he slain, and made them alive, even through his word and power, which hath entered into many hearts, which killeth the enmity, and quickeneth the seed, and which breaketh off from all the world's fellowship, both in transgressions and righteousness, and makes all void, all covenants with death and hell, and marrieth unto the Lamb.

"Oh Friends! wait upon the Lord, that ye may possess these things; for to know them, and be in them, is everlasting treasure and riches; the possession of them is riches to the poor, bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and life to the dead. And if ye know these things, lay them up in your hearts, as your most precious treasure, and let none spoil you of it. And if ye are married unto the Lamb, then are you the true and only Church, even his body and living members of it; for such only are the true Church, that are married to Christ, and united to him in his own nature. And in that ye have received the truth, and do know the truth, live in it, and walk in it in all faithfulness. Be not fearful and unbelieving, as though the Lord were not with you, though ye suffer much for his namesake; for he is not wanting unto that man that doth fear his name, and that walks in his way; but for the deliverance of all such will he appear. He will free the oppressed, and the afflicted people he will save, even by his outstretched arm. Wherefore let our eye be unto the Lord in all states and conditions, whether of sufferings or otherwise, for from him salvation cometh, and not from the mountains of the earth. Keep your meetings in your several places and be faithful in all things, that your consciences may be kept void of offence, both towards God and men, that no disobedience or load of iniquity may be upon you, but that in the sight of God, you may feel clearness and freedom of soul and spirit, from the burden of all transgression, that you may know the remission of all sin, and all iniquity may be blotted out, and no guilt of transgression may lie upon you, but you may enjoy peace in your consciences, in the sanctification and justification of the new man; and this is the heavenly life, even upon earth.

"And when you are met together in the name and power of the Lord, mind his presence amongst you, for that is life, and will make

your meetings profitable and full of virtue to your souls, and the Lord will instruct you in all that is good, and Christ will be your minister of peace and comfort, and his Spirit will lead you into all truth, and by his Word, even the speech of God in your hearts, you will be quickened in spirit; and your strength and peace in God will be renewed day by day. Walk in all wisdom, and in the fear of the Lord one towards another, and towards all people, that your righteous and innocent life, and your holy ways and works of truth, may have evidence in the hearts of your enemies, that you are of God, by the shining forth of your light before them, and that the devil, nor all your enemies may have ought against you, saving concerning your God, and the worship of Him, and the matters pertaining to good conscience.

"If any suffer afflictions and tribulation by wicked men, if it be for righteousness sake, and concerning the law of your God, and the matters of his kingdom; in such suffering the Lord will be with you, and not forsake you, but he will give you dominion, and carry you through it all in patience and faith, which gives you victory over all enemies. And nothing shall come upon you, nor happen to you in the anger of God, but all afflictions shall be turned to your comfort, and by persecutions and tribulations the Lord will but try you, and not destroy you, you being delivered from his wrath, and from that which is the cause of it.

"Therefore let us have patience towards all men in all conditions and faith towards God at all times, for therein is our armour of defence, and our weapons to resist all our enemies. Let us give up unto the eternal will of the Father, whether in life or death, in tribulations or in rejoicing, and give our power wholly to the Lord, and not unto any other, knowing that not one hair of our head can fall without him, whose power is over all, and through all. So that if we live it may be unto him alone; and if we suffer and die, it may be for him. Herein peace shall be with us, in whatsoever cometh to pass upon us, if we can receive all things as from the hand of the Lord, and live in the feeling of that power, which doeth all things, or suffereth all things to be done.

"And blessed is he that is not offended in Christ, who cannot be offended in him, nor separated from him by principalities, nor powers of darkness, nor death, nor life, nor any thing. In this growth was the Apostle, and the same is to be waited for; blessed is he that obtains it. That which takes offence against Christ, is of the same with that which gives it. For all offences against him arise from the corrupted nature which knows him not, and that which receiveth any offence against him, is the same which knows him not. Yea, though an offence may be justly given, yet that in which the offence takes place, knows not the Father nor the Son. And Christ said offences should come, but woe unto him by whom they come, and woe unto that which stumbles and falls through offences. Therefore every one is to mind the certain evidence of the Spirit of God, and of the truth and way of salvation in his own heart, and being persuaded concerning the way of salvation by the Spirit of God, that spirit will judge every offence that is given, and not embrace it.

"By that Spirit which judges and casts out that which gave offence against God, may a man be preserved above all offences, so as nothing can separate him from the love of God; but though this offence, or the other, may arise, yet such a one feels and possesses the mercy, love and peace from God in his own spirit, and such a one lives in the heavenly life, and cannot make the evil example of another an occasion of iniquity to himself, but he rather hears and fears, and keeps in more diligence and respect to the fear and presence of God in his own heart. Yet he covers not the offence that is given in itself, but with a spirit of judgment treads it down, and walks over it; and this is the right way for a man of God to walk in. That spirit is not right before the Lord, nor that heart, which takes unto itself an occasion to stumble at, or deny the power and mercy of the Lord, because another may abuse them.

"But if one be gone from the Spirit of God in their own hearts, their mind unsettled upon that, and unseasoned with that, then the offences enter, and work darkness and prejudice in the mind, and the wrong part being up, it receives all things to a wrong end, and it abuses God's mercies, and also wants the authority to pass judgment upon offences, and because hereof is a man undone. For prejudice will eat out the good, and destroy simplicity, and wound the soul, and bring men into death and bitterness of spirit. Therefore this is to all Friends, that you may be kept in the spirit of judgment, which will not receive an offence into the wrong part, but will judge all offences in themselves, and hereby all will be preserved. Truth must travel through all his enemies, and blessed is he that is kept faithful to the end, in the power of the Lord God, that reigns over, and judgeth the power of darkness in every appearance of it, inwardly and outwardly.

"And as concerning the times and seasons, and the present confusions and distractions that are amongst men, much might be spoken; but certainly the end of all these things shall be turned for good unto us and unto all that do abide in faith and patience unto the end. Though the present times be of an heavy countenance towards us, like as if we should be swallowed up through the roaring of the sea, and because

wickedness doth abound by the spirit that now is exalted; yet in this let us respect the Lord, for certain it is, that times and seasons are in his hand, to change them at his pleasure, and to take them from one, and give them to another when he will. The day is his, and the victory is in his hand. Oh! let not mortal men glory against him; man's time is but for a moment, and it is our blessedness and peace to be still; and to have a respect to the Lord through all these overturnings. And though the spirit that now is, be wicked and abounding in iniquity, yet the Lord will limit its way.

"And as for all the confusions, and distractions, and rumors of wars, what are they to us? What have we to do with them? Wherein are we concerned in these things? Is not our kingdom of another world, even that of peace and righteousness? Hath not the Lord called us, and chosen us into the possession of that inheritance, wherein strife and enmity dwell not? Yea, he hath broken down that part in us that is related thereunto, and being dead in that nature of strife, bloodshed, and wars, how can we live in strife and contention in the world, or have fellowship with any therein.

"Can we have pleasure in the confusion and distraction amongst men, or join in any thing with them, if so be we are quickened in the new life to God, which is a life of love and peace, and free from such things? If we are crucified in the life to this world, out of which all strife and confusion arise, how can we live therein? Therefore these things are nothing to us, neither are we of one party, or against another, to oppose any by rebellion, or plottings against them, in enmity, and striving with them by carnal weapons, nor to destroy any men's lives though our enemies: for we war not for any, nor against any, for the matters of this world's kingdom.

"But our kingdom is inward, and our weapons are spiritual, and our victory and peace are not of this world. Our war is against souls enemies, and against the powers of darkness, even by the sword of the Spirit, which God hath given us, and called us to war therewith, to convert people from sin and death, and from the very occasion of wars and contentions about the things that are earthly. This is our calling and work at this day; and these things all the children of the Lord are to mind, and to keep over the spirit of this world in all people, which all this enmity, strife and confusion that is up amongst men, lodgeth in, and ariseth out of it.

"These things are the fruits of the spirit of this evil and sinful world, and the fruits of the Spirit of God are of another nature, even peace and meekness towards all, and not enmity towards any. In this spirit let us live and walk, admonishing all hereunto, and praying for our enemies, and not hating them, but doing good for evil, and not rendering evil for evil; but being meek and humble, merciful and patient towards all. This is the true Christian life, learned of Christ, and this life is blessed in this world, and in the world to come. They that live here are redeemed out of the world, wherein is trouble and confusion, wars and strifes.

"But let us not heed any of these things, for they rise and fall in their season, and are brought forth and effected in the changeable and erring spirit, which worketh not the honour of God, but is in the dishonour to him. Friends, let us be a people separate from all that live therein, waiting for the deliverance of the holy seed in all, and believing, that through all these things the Lord will set up his kingdom. Thus it must come to pass, Babylon must fall with a great noise; for in strife and confusion was she builded, and therein hath she long stood, and thereby must she fall. Tribulations must come upon the earth, that people may learn to fear the Lord through his judgments. And he will speedily do great things in the world, which cannot be believed by many, if it were told them, for hell and death must be destroyed, and the beast must be taken alive, and cast into the lake of the anger of God. But blessed are they that do wait upon the Lord, and rest under his shadow, and wait in his counsel, and receive his instructions; they shall see the marvellous works of his hand; but the wicked and unbelieving shall be turned into darkness, and shall not see the countenance of the Lord to refresh them, but their sorrow shall be increased.

"And as for me, if I were no more, this is the testimony of my love unto the seed of God through these nations, who am a companion to all that travail after truth and righteousness, and that seek the Lord in their hearts that he may rule; and these things were upon me, to send amongst the flock of God, to be read in all your meetings.

"Edward Burrough.

"Oxfordshire, the 1st day of the Third month, 1660."

Charles II. was now established as King over Great Britain, and as many public predictions had been given out by Friends, plainly foretelling that he would be brought in, some of his friends wished to know whether the Quakers could tell if his power was likely to be permanent. Some one, Sewel supposes it to have been Lord Clarendon, drew up several Queries addressed to Friends on this subject. It had this heading; "To the Quakers, some Queries are sent to be answered, that all people may know your spirit, and the temper of it, and your judgment concerning the times and sea-

sons." This was added; "Let your answer be directed, Tradite hanc Amico Regis." "Deliver this to the king's friend."

About the middle of the third month, Edward Burrough replied to this in a work, entitled "A visitation and presentation of Love unto the King and those called Royalists."

In this Essay he replies to a number of queries propounded to the Society, relative to the state of affairs in the government.

In the course of his answers he deals with his catechist in a strain of honest and fearless exposition, not sparing to reprove their evil practices; and warning them faithfully what must be the consequences if they persist in suffering wickedness to go unpunished, while the righteous are persecuted for their conscientious adherence to the law of their God.

Although busy with his pen, Edward Burrough still found time to travel in the work of the ministry as his Master led him. Soon after writing the foregoing he went into the west of England. Being in Somersetshire on the 25th of the fourth month, he felt his heart drawn in love to salute his fellow-believers in London with an epistle.

He remained some time labouring amongst Friends in the west. On the 4th of the sixth month he was at Bristol, where he had been for several weeks. Whilst at this place he wrote "a Presentation of wholesome information to the king of England." This was a defence of the Society of Friends from an attack made upon them by a George Wellington, of Bristol, in a work then just published, entitled "The thrice happy welcome of king Charles the Second."

Of his labour at Bristol he says, "I continued about Bristol two months in much precious service for the Lord, and truth had good authority over all, and great acceptation in the hearts of many. Some were convinced, and some edified and confirmed, as many can witness. Until after the time of the fair I was not clear of that city, but immediately after I was free."

A concern had been long on his mind to pay a second visit to Ireland, and the time now seemed come to fulfil it. Almost immediately after writing the above answer to Wellington, he took shipping with Joseph Coale and others for Cork. In that city he remained for a considerable time, labouring in the work of the ministry, with his usual faithfulness and success. On the 21st of the sixth month he once more addressed an epistle to his beloved Friends in London.

At the close of this epistle he says, "I am now according to the will of the Father in Ireland. It is some weeks since I arrived in Cork city in much peace and safety, with my dear companions, it having been long upon my spirit to visit the seed of God in this nation. Of love have I felt it in me; not of constraint, but of a willing mind—a free spirit and not of force. After a time of patience and waiting for many days to see my way clear for it, the Lord hath ordered it and brought it to pass, acceptable to me and many here. This is the time when this visitation must be effected, for till now my way was not clear. But that this journey hath laid upon me I should have rejoiced to have been present among you, either in testimony, by suffering, or otherwise. But this is the will of God, and it is in my heart to pass through this nation, and to visit the seed of God, by the love and word of the Father, as he gives of his life and strength, and opens the way before me. I perceive in this land Friends are generally well, and truth grows in victory and dominion, and the Lord is adding to the numberless number of them that must stand on Mount Zion; and through the rage of men, and above it all, the little flock is preserved in its beauty, and the seed sown in weakness and affliction, is received and quickened in much power, which is my joy." "I hope in the continuance of the power and presence of the Lord with me through this work. In his power I am compelled, even to do and suffer all things for his name-sake, and that by virtue of his own life that dwells in me. The Lord preserve all the brethren like-minded, that the work of the Lord may be fulfilled and finished by us. Amen."

He travelled throughout Ireland, and for six months laboured abundantly in the defence and promulgation of the truth in that nation. Of the particulars of his service but little information has been preserved.

Towards the close of his visit, he was once more in Cork. At this time persecution was beginning to rage in London, and many Friends there were cast into prison. The account of this stirred up the warm feelings of Christian love in Edward, and it would seem, from the following eloquent and fervent letter, he had a foresight that he would speedily suffer, even to death, amongst them.

"My very dear and beloved Friends:

"My very heart is filled with love to you, and never was the affection of a brother to his brother, more lively, fervent and full. I am wholly affected with your integrity and faithfulness. Shall I say, like as a father loves his children, so do I you,—wishing and desiring with my whole heart, the increase of blessing and peace upon you, when I am no more, by any outward testimony in this world. How it shall be [with me], and whether my testimony must pass the outward world with my blood, I

cannot tell; but if so, I doubt not but to receive great gain. My witness is with the Lord, that I have served him from a child.

"I am brimful of deep, serious and weighty contemplation concerning what hath been, what now is, and what must be,—not lawful to be declared. Well, as for Friends in London, my kind and dearest love salutes them all. Tell them that I am well, and that as they are faithful in God's truth, it adds to my joy. To my dearly and truly beloved G. F., F. H., R. H., and all the rest who know me, let this be mentioned.

"The truth of our testimony and its glorious effects through the world, for these some years ye know. God hath been with us in a very large measure, and he will not forsake us unto the end. When we are no more, our memorial shall be precious, and our testimony shall not die. Let me be mentioned to all our friends who are in prison in the city, and elsewhere. My heart longeth after you,—even that you may be faithful to the end. Our God shall conquer for us;—if he were not our strength, we should be swallowed up quick. There is great wickedness hatching against us. Our enemies are thirsting for our blood. This is so. God hath not deceived me; but his hand can deliver us, if he will. But if he will not, as you have often heard me say, let us not bow to the devil. My heart is full,—but I must cease from writing, though never from love, nor from being your very dearly and tenderly beloved EDWARD BURROUGH.

"How shall I mention any by name in the remembrance of my love. I heartily love all the saints, and bid all the faithful in my soul farewell. I cannot give any particular account of my peril and sore travail;—but all is well as to truth in this land, and God hath been, is, and let him ever be, with me.

"Cork, the 18th of Eleventh month, 1660."

From Cork, Edward Burrough appears to have taken passage to Bristol, from which place on the 11th of twelfth month, he addressed an Epistle "To his companions in the travail and labour of the Gospel of Christ," in which he exhorts them to stand faithful amid the sufferings and trials which attend them, and not to be dismayed or discouraged, but lift up their heads in humble hope and confidence in the Lord, and commit themselves wholly into his hand. He thus concludes, viz:

"It is now eight days since I left Ireland, where my service hath been precious for the Lord, for full six months; all which time the Lord carried me in much faithfulness and diligence in his service, to the confirming of many in the truth of God, and to the converting of others; and through and because of the presence of the Lord, which was with me, I had a very precious time, and was wonderfully preserved through many dangers and trials. I travelled nearly two thousand miles to and fro in that land, and had very free passage in the principal cities and towns, till my work for the present was fully ended there, having more time than could be expected to clear my conscience to all people. It would be too large to mention every particular transaction, wherein I perceived the eminent hand of God with me; and also many things I observed concerning the present state of things, which I shall not now mention; for what have we to do with the affairs of worldly kingdoms? But as for Friends, it was well with them, they grow and increase in the blessings and fulness of the Father. When I came thence all was quiet, and very few in prison, though I suppose the tidings of things as they are here, will produce the same sufferings upon them. But I hope they will be bold and valiant for the truth, in giving their testimony by faithful sufferings, till these things be finished.

"Thus I remain in life and death, and when I am no more, in everlasting remembrance, your dear brother and companion, by doing and suffering for the name of the Lord and his truth. I am well, and at liberty as yet.

"EDWARD BURROUGH.

11th of the Twelfth month, 1660."

The insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, had occasioned a proclamation from King Charles against the meetings of the people called Quakers. At Bristol there were many ready and willing to do all they could to suppress the meetings in that city. On the 15th of the eleventh month, before the king's proclamation had been published there, a company of soldiers with their officers, took sixty-five persons from the meeting at Dennis Hollister's, and carried them to the Guild-hall. Dennis Hollister and George Bishop being selected from the rest, were taken before the mayor. He examined them apart, and endeavoured to persuade them, and to frighten them with threats from holding religious meetings. Unconvinced by his arguments, and undaunted by his threats, they answered with Christian courage and boldness, "that they thought it their duty so to meet, in obedience to the requirings of the Lord, whom they ought to obey rather than man. In so doing they had broken no law, not even the proclamation which had not yet been published." The mayor then demanded of them sureties for their good behaviour. This they refused to give, because they knew that the mayor held their attending their religious

meetings to be a breach of good behaviour. Whilst speaking on this subject they told the magistrates, "That they might as well think to hinder the sun from shining, or the tide from flowing, as to think to hinder the Lord's people from meeting to wait on him, whilst two of them were left together."

The mayor, who had respect to persons, sent to prison all the men arrested, except Dennis Hollister and George Bishop, who had been great men in that community before they turned Quakers, and indeed men of influence through the nation. When the magistrates told these two that they might go to their own houses, they felt indignant at the perversion of justice, and nobly said, "We seek not liberty at the hand of those who have ordered our brethren to prison, nor can it be just to commit poor men, and let us go free."

They were, however, left at liberty, but Dennis Hollister was the next day committed, and George Bishop two days after, the last being taken from a meeting at his own hired house. The first arrest of sixty-five was made on third-day, Dennis Hollister on fourth-day, George Bishop on sixth-day, and the next first-day sixty-five more were committed. Some were arrested at private houses, and at this time, the 20th, there were one hundred and ninety in the prison.

On the 24th they were all released in consequence of a second proclamation of the king, obtained by the efforts of Margaret Fell, who represented to him the grevious sufferings his first proclamation had occasioned. When Edward Burrough arrived in Bristol in the twelfth month, Friends were generally at liberty, except a few imprisoned for refusing to contribute towards the charge of the militia, and others for not taking the oath of allegiance.

On the 11th day of the twelfth month, a petition or address from the court of Boston in New England, was presented to the king. It was an endeavour on behalf of the rulers in New England to justify their persecution of Friends, and the taking of their lives. To expose the fallacies of this address, Edward Burrough was soon ready with a work, entitled "Some Considerations," in which he says:

"I do testify to the king, and before the whole world, that we do profess and believe concerning the Father, Son and Spirit, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessed Gospel, and the Holy Scriptures. I say, we do believe and make profession in truth and righteousness concerning all these things, and by our doctrines and instructions do persuade all people to believe, and not to seduce any from these truths of the Gospel." "As for the Scriptures being the rule of life, we say, the Spirit of God that gave forth the Scriptures is the rule of life and faith unto the saints, and leads not contrary, but according unto, the Scriptures, in the belief and practice of whatsoever the Scripture saith. If these petitioners did make the Scriptures the rule of their lives and practices, for the denial of which they accuse us, they would not have cut off ears, banished and put to death for the cause of conscience, which is contrary to the Scriptures, and proceedeth from another spirit than that which gave forth the Scriptures.

"Concerning government. We are not enemies unto government itself, as these our accusers do charge us; but it is our principle, and hath ever been, and it is our practice to be subject to whatsoever government is set up over us, either by doing or suffering. And neither to vilify nor rebel against any government or governors, by any malicious plots and contrivances; but to walk in meekness and humility towards all, being subject for conscience sake.

"As for our doctrines tending to subvert both church and state, this is also a false accusation and slander; for our doctrines are to convert, and not to subvert. Even to convert to God, and truth, and righteousness, that men should live in these things, and forsake all that which is contrary."

As many things were stated falsely concerning the doctrines and practices of Friends, Edward Burrough deemed it right to draw up something more full on some points than he had yet done. He accordingly prepared "A just and righteous plea, presented unto the king of England and council." In this he treats on "swearing," "meeetings for worship," "tithes," "giving security to live peaceably," "concerning government," and "persecution." It is preceded by an epistle to the king and his council, written on the 10th of the second month, 1661.

About this time a book came forth anonymously, bearing the title, "Semper Idem, or a Parallel of Phanaticks." This was the production of a Roman Catholic, and appeared as a justification of the burning of those Protestants commonly called martyrs, who are designated ancient fanaticks. To this work Edward replied in a publication entitled, "Persecution impeached, as a traitor against God, his laws and government; and the cause of the ancient martyrs vindicated, against the cruelty inflicted upon them by the papists of former days." "Wherein is contained a relation of the martyrdom of many such as dissented and opposed the Church of Rome; who are in the said book vilified and reproached by the name and term of ancient phanaticks. This is sent forth as an answer thereunto, to pursue it, apprehend it, and condemn it, as a pamphlet of calumnies and slanders against the Protestants, both of former and present days; who are all of them scorned in the said book,

the one as ancient, the other as modern phanaticks."

On the 26th of third month, 1661, Edward again appeared as a champion of the violated rights of man, in an Address, entitled "The case of Free Liberty of Conscience in the exercise of Faith and Religion, presented to the King and both houses of Parliament."

CHAPTER X.

On the 10th day of the third month, 1661, on the coronation of the king, he, as an act of grace, gave forth a royal proclamation, by which he discharged from prison all who were in confinement under the act for refusing the oath of allegiance, or for meeting for worship, contrary to his former proclamation. Religious liberty was not yet heartily approved of by the rulers, and in a few days after this an attempt was made in Parliament to obtain a special act to crush the Society of Friends. Edward Burrough says; "The 26th day of the third month, it was moved by a certain member of the House of Commons, whose name I shall not now mention, that whereas the Quakers were a numerous people, and growing more numerous daily, and upon the king's indulgence and fair promises towards them, especially that proclamation for their release out of prisons, were very high and confident; and met together in great numbers, and were of dangerous consequence, and prevailed much to the seducing of the king's subjects; that therefore that House would be pleased to take into consideration, by what way and means to proceed to check and restrain their confidence; and to enact somewhat concerning their refusing to take oaths, and their great meetings. Whereupon it was put to the question in the House, and resolved upon the same, that it should be referred to a committee to prepare and bring in a bill to prevent the ill consequence to the government, by Quakers, Anabaptists, and other schismatics, refusing to take oaths, and numerously and unlawfully convening together, with such penalties as may be suitable to the nature of those offences, and profitable to work upon the humours of such fanatics."

About six weeks after the appointment of this committee they reported a bill, which being twice read, was committed again to a committee. To this committee Edward Burrough, George Whitehead, and Richard Hubberthorn obtained access; and presented to them in writing their reasons against such a bill being enacted, and also had liberty to speak of its unreasonableness, and the woeful consequences which would follow. The committee met again on the 13th, and Friends again were admitted to address them. George Whitehead has recorded what he said to the committee, and one sentiment spoken by his friend Edward Burrough, which the latter has more fully given us. Edward says, "The last thing that was said by one of us was, that if ever this bill now under debate was finished into an act to be executed, he was so far from yielding conformity thereunto, that he should, through the strength of Christ, meet among the people of God to worship him; and not only so, but should make it his business to exhort all God's people everywhere, to meet together for the worship of God, notwithstanding that law and all its penalties. And he desired this might be reported to the House."

The committee were more moderate with the Friends at the second opportunity than at the first, and the spirits of some of them seemed brought down and subjected under the power of truth; although one called Sir John Goodrich inveighed very bitterly at first against Friends. The bill was finally reported to the House on the 19th of the month, and the three Friends who had attended the committee being joined by Edward Pyott of Bristol, presented themselves at the bar of the Commons, requesting permission to give their reasons against it, which was granted. Edward Burrough insisted "That our meetings were no ways to the terror of the people, as was suggested in the preamble to the bill, but peaceable, only for the worship and service of Almighty God, as we are required by the law of God placed in our hearts and consciences, which they ought not to make any law against. No human law ought to be made contrary to the law of God; for if they did make any such law, it would not be binding." He quoted their ancient law book, "Doctor and Student," which he had in his hand, wherein treating of the law written in the heart of man, it says, "Because it is written in the heart, it may not be put away, neither is it ever changeable by diversity of place or time; and therefore against this law, prescription, statute, or custom may not prevail; and if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions, statutes, nor customs, but things void and against justice." After reading this Edward said, "If they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God, and void, or ought to be void, ipso facto."

The others then each spoke freely their objections to the bill. Edward, on summing up the whole, says, "The Lord opened our mouths, and we showed divers sound reasons unto the House against the aforesaid bill, and why it ought not to pass into an act;—first, because of the falsity and unsoundness of it in its

ground; 2ndly, because of the unreasonableness and injustice of it in itself; and 3rdly, because of the evil effects of it, which must needs follow if it passed. Divers other things were spoken in the name and authority of the God of heaven, as concerning our peaceableness, &c., and of the absolute proper right that belonged to us, both from God and men, to enjoy the liberty of our consciences in the exercise of our religion, &c. And we had a good time to clear our consciences to them as about that bill, showing how it was contrary to the law of Christ, and to the king's promises, and destructive to many thousand good people."

The House heard what the Friends had to say with patience, and afterwards long debated the bill, but at last they passed it. When the bill came before the House of Lords, Edward Burrough presented some reasons and considerations against it. They were the same in substance as he had urged before the Commons, and are forcibly expressed. The bill did not become a law until the third month of the next year.

About the beginning of the seventh month, 1661, information reached London of the martyrdom of William Leddra at Boston, and the probability that other members of the Society of Friends, would shortly suffer the same fate. On learning this, Edward Burrough, on behalf of his fellow members in England, whose hearts were touched with sympathy for their distant brethren, obtained an audience with king Charles on the subject. He told the monarch, that a vein of innocent blood was opened in his dominions, which if not stopped would overrun all. The king, who, though dissipated in his morals, was yet good natured, and willing to grant a favour, if it did not give himself much trouble, replied, "But I will stop that vein." Edward requested him to act speedily in the case, "for we know not how many may soon be put to death." Charles said, "as soon as you will;" then addressing some one present he said, "call the Secretary, and I will do it presently." The Secretary came at the summons, and at the will of the king drew up a mandamus which was properly and officially executed. A day or two afterwards Edward called again on the king; the mandamus had been prepared, but the case slumbered. Indeed it probably would never have been attended to, if he had not been further pressed on the subject. In excuse for delay, the king said he had no occasion to send a ship to New England. Edward, who knew there were many chances of getting such a thing conveyed to its destination, by those who had a heart in the matter, enquired if he would be willing to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker. The king answered, "yes, to whom you will." Edward then named Samuel Shattock, an inhabitant of New England, banished from thence on pain of death, and the king made him his deputy.

Samuel Shattock was soon ready to sail, for Friends made an agreement with Ralph Goldsmith, one of their members, who was master of a good ship, to sail in ten days, with or without freight. For this they paid him three hundred pounds. He reached his destination in safety, and at the sight of this mandamus, the proud rulers of Boston were forced to yield up their prey. All then in prison were discharged.

Edward Burrough, after seeing the deputy with the mandamus in a way to be speedily forwarded, set out to visit Friends in the north of England. Whilst in Westmoreland he appears to have found various manuscript essays written by him at different times, which on reading over he now concluded to publish, and called his book "a Discovery of divine Mysteries." The preface bears date the 25th of the seventh month. Whilst still in the north he addressed another general epistle to the saints.

He continued labouring about the place of his nativity for some time, and on the 28th of the eighth month, addressed another epistle to Friends of the truth in and about London.

We have no further account of the labours of Edward Burrough, until we find him in the latter part of the tenth month, or the beginning of the eleventh month in Oxfordshire, visiting Thomas Ellwood, then sick of the small pox. From Oxfordshire he went to his old field of labour, the city of London. Here in the twelfth month he wrote "an epistle to the rulers in the Christian world," as a preface to a new work he was about publishing, entitled "Antichrist's government justly detected of injustice, unreasonableness, oppression and cruelty."

About this time John Perrott began to lay claim to greater spirituality than his brethren, and to be elevated with spiritual pride and self conceit. He does not appear ever to have been qualified for, or called to much service in the church. Yet when he was humble, he was without doubt accepted in that little which his heavenly Father required. Now, however, being puffed up, he put on, to draw attention and admiration, the appearance of great sanctity. He declared himself not easy to take off his hat in the time when any of his fellow ministers engaged in public prayer, unless he felt a particular sense of duty thus to uncover his head. This began to create some diversity of feeling amongst Friends, and some unpleasant scenes in their meetings. Edward Burrough was favoured to see the root, from whence the affected singularity of John Perrott in this particular had its rise, and as one instructed in the ways of righteousness, administered to him a sharp rebuke.

Edward Burrough once more felt his mind drawn to visit Friends about Bristol. He was but a young man, and in years and bodily strength was in the prime of life, yet he felt as if his day's work was nearly over. In his ministerial labours in several meetings, and whilst parting with particular friends, he bade them farewell with unusual solemnity, saying many times that he did not know that he should see their faces any more, and exhorting them to faithfulness and steadfastness, in that wherein they had found rest to their souls. His last words to some were; "I am going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst Friends in that place." London had ever had a strong hold on his affections, and he had said to his friend Francis Howgill, at a time when persecution was hot there, "I can freely go to the city of London, and lay down my life for a testimony to that truth, which I have declared through the power of the Spirit of God."

Thus under a sense of the near approach of death he came up to London. Soon after arriving there, about the close of the third month, being at a meeting at the Bull and Mouth, which Francis Howgill says, "the people of the Lord had kept for many years, to hear and speak of the things of God to edification," he was arrested whilst preaching. Those who arrested him violently pulled him down, and carried him to the guard, and from thence before Alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. He was taken to the sessions in the Old Bailey, and his accusers, and those who had personally abused him, were the sole witnesses against him. His case was before the court at two or three sessions, and at last he was fined, and sentenced to lay in prison until the fine was paid.

Many Friends were in Newgate at that time, shut up among felons, and not having sufficient room to accommodate them, and being in filthy places, their health and strength gave way. Richard Hubberthorn, arrested shortly after Edward Burrough, soon grew sick; and about the time he had been two months in prison his spirit was released. He had been in a holy state of waiting, looking for his change, and lifted up above all the pains of nature. To some Friends who visited him he said, "There was no need to dispute matters, for he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord." Of this Friend, Edward Burrough wrote a memorial. Although confined in prison, he was busy with his pen. One of his productions is entitled, "A testimony concerning the beginning of the work of the Lord, and the first publication of truth, in this city of London; and also concerning the cause, end, and service of the first appointment and setting up of the men's meeting at the Bull and Mouth; that it may be known to all perfectly, how the Lord hath begun and carried on his work to this day."*

About the middle of the ninth month he addressed the following letter to some of his friends in the country.

"Dear and beloved Friends!

"The lively remembrance of you dwells always with me, praying for the increase of peace and blessing to you from the Father. I know ye have learned Christ, and are acquainted with the teachings of his grace and spirit, which leads you into all truth, and is a comforter unto you in all conditions, which is present with you, and in you, in all times and places, even the Spirit of the Holy God, which is given you, because you are children of him, who is God, blessed over all.

"Dearly beloved, my heart is filled with fervent love towards you at this time, and the lively sense of the Lord's suffering people rests upon my spirit, with the dear embraces and salutations in the same love with which I am loved of Christ Jesus my Lord, whom I hope ye have so learned as never to deny his name and truth. I am persuaded concerning you, that the greatest tribulations, afflictions and sufferings, can never move or shake your hope or confidence in God, nor separate you from his love, life and peace, which many of you have had large manifestations of, and some the assured possession of for evermore; and I hope nothing can separate you from that love which is of God, or divide you from it in the absence of the Father's presence, which is full of joy and peace. Nothing, I say, can be able to break our fellowship with the Lord, but that he is ours, and we are his, whatsoever wars, actions or tribulations may pass upon our outward man. I write unto the faithful, and I need not say unto you, 'know the Lord,' but I may say, 'stand fast, faithful and valiant unto death, for the knowledge of God which ye have received, and give yourselves to be destroyed, rather than to renounce or deny Christ before men, or to cease from the exercise of your consciences in what his Holy Spirit persuades your hearts in the verity of.

"Friends here are generally well in the inward and outward man, and the presence of the Lord is manifest with us through great trials, and sore afflictions, and grievous persecutions, which we have met withal this last half year. It would be too large to relate, and piercing to your hearts to hear, the violence and cruelty which Friends have suffered in this city in their meetings, and in prisons; it hath been very hard

* This very interesting document has already appeared in the "Friends' Library."

to bear the persecution inflicted every way, though the Lord hath given strength and boldness, and his power alone hath carried through, else many would have fainted, and not have been able to stand. Many have given up their lives in faithfulness in this place, and their faithfulness in keeping meetings, and in patiently enduring many tribulations and cruel exercises, is a crown upon Friends in this city. Here are now near two hundred and fifty of us prisoners in Newgate, Bridewell, Southwark and New Prison. In Newgate we are so extremely thronged, that if the mercy of the Lord had not preserved us, we could not have endured. There are near an hundred in one room on the common side among the felons, and their sufferings are great; but the Lord supports. For about six weeks the meetings were generally quiet in the city, but these last three weeks they have fallen on more violently than ever, and imprisoned many Friends. But through all this truth is of good report, and the nobility of it gains place in many hearts, which are opened in pity and compassion toward innocent sufferers, and truth is increased through all trials. Our trust is in the Lord, and not in man; and we desire the same spirit may dwell and abide in you also, that ye may be like-minded with us, and we all of the mind of Christ, who seeks men's salvation, and not their destruction."

King Charles, who appears to have entertained much respect for Edward Burrough, hearing of the crowded condition of the prison, and the number who were sick or dying in it, sent a special order for the release of Edward Burrough and some other of the prisoners. This order, however, the cruel and persecuting alderman Brown and other London magistrates contrived to thwart; and Edward, who had become quite weak and sickly, from the pestilential air of the jail, rapidly grew worse. It soon became evident that this faithful and devoted servant of Christ, was hastening to the close of his labours on earth, to enjoy the crown immortal in heaven. The same meek, enduring and fervent spirit which had shown forth in his active and useful life, was apparent in the approach of death. As his sickness increased, he abounded in patience and composure, and the spirit of supplication rested richly upon him. By night and by day he poured out his prayers to God, for himself and for his people. His heart being replenished with grace, he uttered many expressions indicating the heavenly frame of his soul, greatly to the comfort of his surviving friends. At one time he said, "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love to me from my youth up; and my heart has been given up to do His will."

His deep interest in the city of London, and the prosperity of the Society of Friends there, continued with him; and on one occasion he exclaimed, "I have preached the gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the gospel's sake." "There is no iniquity lies at my door, but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life, I feel justifies me." His heart overflowing with the love of God, and with a precious sense of God's love extended to him, he seemed borne above his weakness and sufferings, already enjoying a foretaste of that heavenly rest and peace, into which he was soon to enter. In addressing his heavenly Father, he would say, "I have loved thee from my cradle—from my youth unto this day; and have served thee faithfully in my generation."

Filled with a lively sense of the preciousness of that love, which is the fulfilling of the law, he exhorted his friends to "love one another, and to live in love and peace." He prayed for Richard Brown, one of his principal persecutors, by name; thus showing forth the spirit of his divine Master, who, when suffering on the cross for the sins of mankind, interceded for his murderers in this affecting language; "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do." Thus calmly and peacefully he drew toward the close of life, the spirit of his Lord and Master being in dominion in him, and his faculties bright and clear, notwithstanding the violence of his disorder. Sensible that his death was near, he said, just before it occurred, "Though this body of clay must return to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God in my generation; and that spirit which has acted and ruled in me shall yet break forth in thousands." Thus sustained by the power of God, in the faith and hope of the gospel of Christ, he closed his life, a martyr for the name and testimony of the Lord Jesus, on the 14th day of the twelfth month, 1662.

Those who have followed this undaunted soldier in the Lamb's army, through his life of laborious dedication to the gospel, and his peaceful and triumphant death, can subscribe to the language of George Fox respecting him: "His name is chronicled in the Lamb's book of life, a righteous spirit, pure, chaste and clean. Who can tax him with oppressing them, or burdening them, or being chargeable to them, who through suffering hath finished his course and testimony; who is now crowned with the crown of life, and reigns with the Lord Christ forever and ever.

"In his ministry in his life-time he went through sufferings by bad spirits. [He] never turned his back on the truth, nor his back from any out of the truth. A valiant warrior, more than a conqueror, who hath got the crown through death and sufferings. Who is dead, yet liveth amongst us."

TESTIMONIES

Concerning Edward Burrough, deceased.

In a testimony given forth concerning him by Francis Howgill, his companion and fellow traveller in the ministry of the gospel, we find the following, viz:

Shall days, or months, or years wear out thy name, as though thou hadst had no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou hast wrought through the power of Him that separated thee from the womb, live in generations to come? Yes! the children that are yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in generations who yet have not a being, and they shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go out as the snuff of a candle? Nay thou hast penetrated the hearts of many, and the memorial of the just shall live for ever, and be had in renown among the children of wisdom. Thou hast turned many to righteousness, and shall shine as a star of God in the firmament of His power, for ever and ever.

They that are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be seen in mutability. I cannot but mourn for thee, yet not as one without hope or faith, knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well-being in my heart by the Spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for Abner, when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause. Died Abner as a fool dieth? Nay! he was betrayed of his life; even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppressor, whose habitations are full of cruelty. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow, because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee.

It was my lot, which I cannot but say fell in a good ground, to be his companion and fellow labourer in the work of the gospel, whereunto we were called for many years together. And when I consider, my heart is broken; how sweetly we walked together for many months and years! in which we had perfect knowledge of one another's hearts, and perfect unity of spirit. Not so much as one cross word, or one hard thought of discontent ever rose, I believe, in either of our hearts, for ten years together. Our souls were bound up in unity and peace, having the frame of our hearts bent after one and the self same thing, to wit, the propagation of that truth by which liberty was obtained, and salvation received through Jesus Christ the true light of the world. Seeing through his light the whole world to lie in wickedness; a necessity lay upon this person of whom I am speaking, being constrained by the Spirit of the Lord, by which he was made an able minister of the everlasting gospel, to preach repentance, conversion, salvation and remission of sins.

Accordingly he went forth in the name and power of the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of mankind, and was an able minister of the glad tidings of salvation, in many, or most parts of this land; and also he travelled again and again through the whole nation of Ireland; in some part of Scotland, and part of Flanders; and his ministry was made effectual, through the Almighty power of God, in turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God. There are many thousands living in the body, and alive in the truth, who can in the Spirit of the Lord bear testimony to the power and verity of his ministry, in many countries where he travelled; for he laboured much in divers places, even in the heat of the day, though he began early in the morning.

In the beginning of his travels and labours, it was his share to break up rough places and untilled ground, and to walk amongst many briars and thorns, which scratched and pricked. He often trod the paths and ways which had not been occupied in the truth; and where darkness had the dominion and was as a covering, he broke through as an armed man, not minding the opposition, but the victory, and the good of all souls, though to my knowledge his sufferings and trials have not been small, nor his exercise a little.

He was in travels often, oftentimes buffeted, sometimes knocked down by unreasonable men, who had not faith; loaded with lies, slanders, calumnies and reproaches, besides the exceeding weight of service from week to week, insomuch that he had seldom many hours of repose; and he often suffered by those spirits who lost their first love, and rose in opposition. He was very diligent and faithful, true hearted and valiant, and the yoke at last came to be easy unto him, though no ease at all in the body, as to the outward man; for he made the work of the Lord his whole business, without taking so much liberty unto himself, or about any outward occasion in this world, as to spend one week to himself, to my knowledge, these ten years. He had ventured himself often, for the body's sake; and a great care I know was in his heart, that those to whom he had ministered, and others that had believed in the same truth, might prosper and walk as becometh the gospel of Jesus Christ.

He was of a manly spirit in the things of God. He engaged himself often upon the Lord's account singly in great disputes, when there were many opposers. He hath stood in

the door, and in the gap, against all his enemies, for the worthy name of God, and took the whole weight of things upon his own shoulders, that others might be eased, though often to the weakening, and almost destroying of the outward man, yet doing all in love to the Lord, and for his people's sake. He did it with cheerfulness, and it was a grief to him if any opportunity was missed of doing good. He was a man of no great learning in natural tongues, which men so much applaud; yet his heart was full of matter, and his tongue was as the hand of a ready scribe.

He had the tongue of the learned, having had experience of the work of the Lord, and being acquainted with many conditions which God had carried him through, he could speak a word in season unto all who declared their conditions to him or otherwise. In his public ministry he was elegant in speech, and had the tongue of a learned orator, to declare himself to the understandings and consciences of all men with whom he conversed, by which many received great profit, and their understandings came to be opened; for his words ministered grace to the hearers, and were forcible and very pleasant, as apples of gold in pictures of silver.

This young man, of whom I am speaking, was one of the first, with some others, who came to the city of London, where he met with no small opposition, both from professors of divers forms, and also profane, who heeded no religion at all. The way of truth seemed contemptible, and without form or comeliness to them all. This made the opposition so great, and the labour hard, notwithstanding it pleased the Lord to reach to the consciences of many, and many were pricked to the heart, so that they cried out, What shall we do to be saved?

God made his ministry very effectual to the conversion of many in the city of London, whereby a great change was wrought in the hearts of many, and many hundreds brought to know the Lord their teacher, which are as seals unto the word of life through him unto this day. He continued in this city very much at times, between eight and nine years together, preaching the word of God, and speaking of the things of his kingdom to all that look after it; with great watching travail and exercise in the work of the Lord; and his earnest desire was, that all might have come to know God's salvation, and the redemption of their souls. His great diligence was known unto many, that his only rejoicing was in the prosperity of the work of the Lord, and the increase of faith amongst them that did believe.

His heart was much drawn towards this city, and oftentimes hath he said to me when sufferings did come for the gospel's sake, which he knew would come, I can freely go to that city, and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth which I have declared through the power and Spirit of God: which in the end indeed came to be his share, and will for ever be his crown, who loved not his life unto death for the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the same year, 1662, being pressed in his spirit to go visit them, who were begotten unto the faith of God's elect at the city of Bristol, and in divers other counties, he took his leave of them, saying to very many, "that he did not know he should see their faces any more;" exhorting them all to faithfulness and steadfastness in that wherein they had found rest for their souls. To some he said, "I am going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the gospel, and suffer amongst Friends in that place."

A little after his return to the city, at a public meeting, which the people of the Lord have kept these many years, to hear and speak of the things of God to edification, at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate—by certain soldiers, under the command of Richard Brown, then General of the City of London, he was violently plucked down, and haled away in a barbarous manner, and carried to the guard, and so committed to Newgate; not for evil-doing, but for testifying unto the name of the Lord Jesus, and for the worship of God; as though this were become a great crime, worthy of bonds, and at last, death. He was had to the sessions in the Old Baily, and his accusers were witnesses against him, and they that had abused him violently, their testimony was received as good proof against him.

After two or three sessions he was fined by the court one hundred marks, which at last was reduced to twenty marks, and to lay in prison until payment; where he continued a pretty long season, about eight months, with six or seven score prisoners besides, upon the same account; many being shut up among the felons in nasty places, and for want of prison room, the natures of many were suffocated and corrupted; till at last they grew weak, sickened and died.

After relating the circumstances of his sickness and death, which have already been given in the memoir, he thus concludes:

And after a little season he gave up the ghost and died a prisoner, and shall be recorded and is in the Lamb's book of life, as a martyr for the Word of God, and testimony of Jesus, for which only he suffered, and gave up his life, whose death was precious in the eyes of the Lord. But now he ever liveth with God, and his works follow him, and his labours shall

testify of him in generations to come; and thousands beside myself can bear witness, his life and death was to the praise, honour and glory of the grace of God; unto whom be the glory of all his works for ever, Amen.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD SAYS RESPECTING HIM:

As for Edward Burrough, our dear brother and companion in travel, suffering and consolation for the everlasting gospel's sake in his day, his testimony lives with us. He was a preacher of righteousness, and one who travailed for the redemption of the creature from under the bondage of corruption, and proclaimed liberty to the captives, in the power and authority of God. Therein he was a true witness against oppression, and all the antichristian yokes imposed in the night of apostacy upon the persons and consciences of people. Truly and valiantly he held forth the liberty of conscience, and vindicated it to the great men of the earth, in things appertaining to God in matters of religion and worship, against persecution and compulsion which had their original and rise from the power of the beast, which hath made war against the righteous seed, that men might be left free to the guidance of the infallible spirit of God, which is not to be limited in these matters, and not be compelled or brought under the corrupt wills of men, nor their fallible judgments nor invented forms in these cases.

The name of this minister of righteousness is written in the Lamb's book of life; and all the enemies of his life can never be able to blot it out, nor extinguish his memorial. The remembrance of his integrity, uprightness and sincerity, hath deep impression upon my heart; and that tender love and affection in God's truth which he was filled with towards all the upright, who are lovers of peace and unity in the Lord, is never to be forgotten by us who are yet remaining in the work of the Lord, and the everlasting gospel, for which he hath left a glorious testimony, the glory of which shall never be extinguished, but thousands shall praise the Lord our God because thereof.

To live, was to him Christ, and to die was gain. And though in his time many were the sufferings and afflictions which he underwent, and his upright spirit suffered by, both from his open enemies and persecutors in the world, because of his valour and courage for the truth of God, and from deceitful and transforming exalted spirits, which burden the holy seed; yet now his life is caught up above them all, and is out of their reach in the transcendent and unspeakable glory, in the everlasting habitation of God's power, where he hath shined, and doth shine among the stars that have kept their habitations, as one that hath turned many to righteousness, and that hath overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his testimony. And though he be ceased from his labours, his works do follow him, which will be had in living remembrance, and precious esteem among the upright.

And they who, in a prejudiced spirit of enmity, are lifted up because of his decease, are not worthy of him, nor of his testimony. They have cause to mourn and lament amongst those that have pierced the just, and slighted and despised the messengers of truth and righteousness, whom God hath therein honoured; and God will debase such and their vain glory unto the dust, and exalt the testimony and life of his faithful witnesses over all their heads.

But we, who have been well acquainted with the deep suffering of the righteous seed, and with the worth of true unity, in the weighty body and Spirit of Christ, and therein do behold the glory and completeness of the city of our God, which is at peace within itself, cannot but prize the ministers of righteousness, and every member of the same body. How blessed and precious is the memorial of the righteous in our eyes! and how deeply is my soul affected with that comfortable communion, and those many and living refreshments that we have enjoyed one with another, even with him and others, who have finished their course.

In this I am satisfied, that though we be left in travel, and our days have been days of affliction and suffering, for Christ and the gospel's sake, as in the world; yet in him, whom the prince of this world hath nothing in, we have peace; being come into communion with the spirits of just men, who are the family of God, written in heaven, and called by one name both in heaven and earth.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.

London, the 12th day of the first month, 1663.

THE END.

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